

Piotr Korduba

INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ADAM MICKIEWICZ UNIVERSITY, POZNAŃ

Above Standard: Villas Designed by Jan Dudek-Kornecki as a Contribution to the Study of the Housing Culture of Affluent Residents of Poznań in the Last Decades of the People's Republic of Poland

In the 1970s both sociologists and experts on housing culture¹ correctly noted that a tendency towards consumerism was developing in Polish society.² Shortages were permanent and the classification of Polish society as a “queue society” was immutably valid;³ however, the “small-scale stability” of the 1960s, followed by the pseudo-prosperity and ostensible affluence in the era of Edward Gierek (a period known as the “decade of luxury”⁴), resulted in a significant re-orientation

- 1 The article is an extended version of P. Korduba, “Mieszkać luksusowo. Rozważania nad kulturą mieszkalną zamożnych poznańskich ostatnich dziesięcioleci PRL-u” [To live in luxury. Reflections on the housing culture of affluent residents of Poznań in the last decades of the People's Republic of Poland], *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2017, 4, pp. 223–237.
- 2 From a sociological perspective, mainly in: *Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce* [Life-style. Changes in contemporary Poland], ed. A. Siciński, Warsaw, 1978; I. Kurz, “Konsumpcja: „coca-cola to jest to!”” [Consumerism: “Coca-cola is the thing!”], in: *Obyczaje polskie. Wiek XX w krótkich hasłach* [Polish customs. The 20th century in short entries], ed. M. Szpakowska, Warsaw, 2008, pp. 145–156. In the context of residential culture, e.g. T. Kuczyńska, “Więcej fantazji niż pieniędzy” [More imagination than money], *Ty i Ja*, 1973, 4, p. 21.
- 3 M. Mazurek, *Spółczesność kolejki. O doświadczeniach niedoboru 1945–1989* [The queuing society. On the experience of shortages 1945–1989], Warsaw, 2010.
- 4 A. Szczerski, “Dekada luksusu. PRL i hotele w latach 70. XX wieku” [The decade of luxury. People's Republic of Poland and hotels in the 1970s], in: idem, *Cztery nowoczesności. Teksty o sztuce i architekturze polskiej XX wieku* [Four modernities. Texts on Polish art and architecture in the 20th century], Cracow, 2015, pp. 143–168. Essentially on this period also: A. Boćkowska, *Księżyc z Peweksu. O luksusie w PRL* [The Pewex moon. On luxury in the People's Republic of Poland], Wołowiec, 2017. Cf. P. Piotrowski, *Dekada. O syndromie lat siedemdziesiątych, kulturze artystycznej, krytyce, sztuce – wybiórczo i subiektywnie* [The decade. On the 1970s syndrome, artistic culture, criticism, art – selectively and subjectively], Poznań, 1991.

of Polish pauperism – in lifestyles as well.⁵ The emergence of a neo-bourgeois style was noted, a term that was intended to distinguish it from the style associated with the pre-war bourgeoisie (or, more correctly, petty bourgeoisie).⁶ The neo-bourgeois style was supposedly characterised by a focus on material possessions and prestige, with the latter being perceived as, partially at least, a *sui generis* possession, a place in the social hierarchy. The achievement of affluence was pronounced to be the life aim of this group's representatives, and the outward symbols of affluence (and the act of demonstrating them) were deemed to be an important element of favourable self-assessment. It was noted that these consumerist aspirations resulted from the citizens' acceptance of Western models. It was also stated that the main indicators of this style were the apartment itself, its standard and fittings, and the culture of leisure time. According to researchers, a pursuit of modernity was a characteristic feature of this consumerism, demonstrated as a fascination with the products of modern technology (furniture and utensils), an admiration for all things foreign, and a penchant for travel abroad, coupled with an aversion towards objects of everyday use produced in Poland. Moreover, it was noted that the choice of items was motivated by their decorativeness rather than their functional qualities and that the very mechanism of the neo-bourgeois style produced many models for spending free time.

In order to explain this phenomenon – one that was to a certain extent unexpected, considering the post-war political transformation and permanent shortages – it was pointed out that the inherent differences between the capitalist and socialist systems were not sufficient to diversify people's preferences and lifestyles in the social context, and that prestige brought by property and consumption, so typical of the former class society, was now becoming widespread.⁷ Analyses of other lifestyles, e.g. those evident in the peasant, worker or intelligentsia communities, revealed that the third group had in the recent years turned to an elite version of its lifestyle,⁸ characteristic of a prosperous intelligentsia, whose wealth could usually be traced back more than one generation (e.g. solicitors, medical doctors, selected scientists). Also, this group used its lifestyle, clearly and self-consciously, in order to differentiate itself from other social groups. This was done not only in terms of the

5 The category of lifestyle is here used as proposed by sociology: *Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce*, ed. A. Siciński, Warsaw, 1978; *Style życia i porządek klasowy* [Lifestyle and class order], eds. M. Gdula, P. Sadura, Warsaw, 2012.

6 A. Jawłowska, E. Mokrzycki, "Style życia a przemiany struktury społecznej. Propozycja typologii historyczno-socjologicznej" [Lifestyles vs. transformations of social structure. A conjectural sociological and historical typology], in: *Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce*, ed. A. Siciński, Warsaw, 1978, pp. 155–160.

7 A. Jawłowska, A. Pawełczyńska, "Mechanizmy makrospołeczne a różnicowanie stylu życia" [Macro-social mechanisms vs. lifestyle diversity], in: *ibid.*, pp. 201–202.

8 A. Pawełczyńska, E. Tarkowska, "Style życia jednostek i rodzin" [Lifestyles of individuals and families], in: *ibid.*, pp. 239–258. Described on the example of Witold Lutosławski's home in Z. Mycielski, *Dziennik 1960–1969* [Diary 1960–1969], Warsaw, 2001, pp. 566–567. Another surviving and well-documented example is Dr Stanisław Książek's villa in Tarnów, *Tarnów. 1000 lat nowoczesności* [Tarnów. A 1000 years of modernity], eds. E. Łączyńska-Widz, D. Radziszewski, Warsaw–Tarnów, 2010, pp. 267–369.

ways of spending leisure time, preferred entertainment or social contacts, but also in terms of the considerable attention paid to the housing culture. In their apartments, antique furniture was often paired with works of modern art. What is more, it was prognosticated that this elite style would, in time, become popular within society and transform itself into a style typical of the owner class, and that it would be predicated on an income derived from occupations that enjoyed universal prestige.⁹

The transformation that occurred in the late 1980s and the following decade introduced a certain disorder into these prognoses, and especially into the perception that their fulfilment was still a long way away;¹⁰ yet the above observations cannot be considered entirely off the mark. So far, however, they have not been subjected to professional – and, out of necessity, interdisciplinary – research that would produce a critical assessment of something which in the 1970s had been perceived as a social phenomenon, but which today is located in the sphere of confused memory as a past experience and, perhaps, one more phenomenon of the ambiguous era of the People's Republic of Poland.

In the face of this paucity of research, it is necessary to mention the recently published popular-history book *Księżyc z Peweksu. O luksusie PRL*.¹¹ The nature of this book clearly shows that contemporary Poles are curious as to how their country used to look like then; however, it also lays bare the condition of contemporary reflection on the exclusive character of the lifestyle models in that era. This text is not an academic study supported by comprehensive research based on quantitative criteria that would permit the author to determine which social practices were widespread; it stops on the level of perceiving and describing selected strategies within the debated issue. The current article is, to a certain extent, similar in scope, as it is limited to observations regarding a single element of the lifestyle model, i.e. the housing culture of affluent residents of Poznań in the period in question. In addition, owing to the author's professional competencies, this article focuses on residential architecture and household equipment, with less attention given to the social practices of the era. However, in this context, housing is not understood sole-

9 A. Siciński, "Hipotetyczne perspektywy przemiany stylu życia", in: *Styl życia*, op. cit., pp. 364–365.

10 Cf. e.g. *Co nam zostało z tych lat... Społeczeństwo polskie u progu zmiany systemowej* [What has survived from those years... Polish society at the threshold of systemic change], ed. M. Maroda, London, 1991; *Warunki życia i kondycja Polaków na początku zmian systemowych* [Living conditions and the situation of Poles at the beginning of systemic changes], ed. L. Beskid, Warsaw, 1992; H. Palska, *Bieda i dostatek. O nowych stylach życia w Polsce końca lat dziewięćdziesiątych* [Poverty and affluence. On new lifestyles in Poland in the late 1990s], Warsaw, 2002; O. Drenda, *Duchologia polska. Rzeczy i ludzie w latach transformacji* [Polish ghost lore. Objects and people in the period of transformation], Cracow, 2016; M. Szczesniak, *Normy widzialności. Tożsamość w czasach transformacji* [Visibility norms. Identity in the period of transformation], Warsaw, 2016; *Polskie Las Vegas i szwagier z Corelem. Architektura, moda i projektowanie wobec transformacji systemowej w Polsce* [The Polish Las Vegas and a brother-in-law with a Corel. Architecture, fashion and design in the face of the systemic transformation in Poland], ed. L. Klein, Warsaw, 2017.

11 A. Boćkowska, *Księżyc z Peweksu...*, op. cit.

ly as a space determined by given architecture plus its material equipment, but as a web of interdependencies between its users, their domestic space and the objects that filled it.¹² We are, of course, aware that the determining factor of “affluence” is not clear-cut, considering that it is now impossible to establish in economic terms; but at the same time this affluence was a *conditio sine qua non* for practising the residential model under discussion herein, and it was possible to actually ascertain at the time. Yet the current study will consider not only the criterion of affluence (in practice understood as the ability to afford a house with a certain standard of architecture and equipment), but also the criteria of the social and cultural capital.¹³ These criteria, which come into play in the lifestyle practised by a given individual, are herein understood as a network of social interdependencies and contacts, and as signs of the level of education.¹⁴

Concerning the topographic aspect, there are several reasons why Poznań may seem to be an interesting territory on which to focus these reflections. Firstly, the social memory of that era is still alive there, which makes it possible to use data derived from oral history in the current analysis. Furthermore, the material residuum of the neo-bourgeois or the elite intelligentsia lifestyle (houses, designs) is still in existence.¹⁵ Secondly, it is Poznań that had for a long time been associated (not only in popular perceptions) with the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois lifestyle, the entrepreneurial spirit, and affluence. The tangible basis for this perception is provided by, for instance, the fact that the richest family in Poland, the Kulczyks, comes from this city and has been living there for some generations; but scholarly research con-

12 A similar approach in anthropological and sociological perspective, e.g. J. Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses*, Cambridge, 2003; *At Home. An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, ed. I. Cieraad, New York, 2006; D. Miller, *The Comfort of Things*, Cambridge, 2008.

13 This distinction is based on the concepts of cultural capital and *habitus* in the class system relativity, P. Bourdieu, *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement*, Paris, 1979, and the possibility of applying them in the research on these issues in Poland, M. Gdula, P. Sadura, “Style życia jako rywalizujące uniwersalności” [Lifestyles as rival universalities], in: *Style życia*, op. cit., Warsaw, 2012, pp. 15–34. Owing to the specificity of political, social and economic conditions in Poland in the period in question, other conceptions of the class system, self-presentation strategies and mechanisms of consumption, which are recognised, but have been developed in relation to the Western world and its society, are hardly applicable, e.g. R. Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*, Stanford, 1959; E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York, 1959. For the above reasons, the issues of interest to us here are located in the sphere of mechanisms known from other communist countries, cf. S. Merl, “Staat und Konsum in der Zentralverwaltungswirtschaft. Russland und die ostmitteleuropäischen Länder”, in: *Europäische Konsumgeschichte. Zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des Konsums (18. bis 20. Jahrhundert)*, eds. H. Siegrist, H. Kaelble, J. Kocka, Frankfurt-New York, 1997, pp. 205–241, and esp. I. Merkel, *Utopie und Bedürfnis. Die Geschichte der Konsumkultur in der DDR*, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1999, pp. 243–255; eadem, “Luxus im Sozialismus. Eine widersinnige Fragestellung?” in: *Luxus und Konsum. Eine historische Annäherung*, eds. R. Reith, T. Meyer, Münster–New York–München, 2003, pp. 220–236.

14 M. Gdula, P. Sadura, “Wstęp”, in: *Style życia*, op. cit., p. 8.

15 Recently, and from various perspectives, to be found in *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, op. cit.

ducted there since before the war,¹⁶ as well as selected memoirs, point to the same perception.¹⁷ This does not alter the fact that this issue has not been scientifically researched and described. In addition, neither for Poznań nor, in fact, for the other regions of Poland do we have even preliminary studies regarding the social stratification in that period, which might permit us to precisely describe the elites of the era and characterise them in terms of their economic and cultural capital. Housing culture, in turn, has been described in more detail only with respect to architecture, and, in addition, only the architecture of mass residential buildings, i.e. one that set the standards rather than exceeded them.¹⁸ All this compels us to make use of sources of information that are highly diverse in terms of genre (which also means in terms of their quality), beginning with scholarly studies, press materials from the era in question and then moving on to personal accounts obtained by means of interviews. We remain aware of the shortcomings and unavoidable generalisations resulting from the currently limited state of research on the subject of our interest; nonetheless, let us attempt to provide a preliminary outline of the issue at hand in the hope that it will facilitate its further, more comprehensive study.

To have a villa

In the waning years of the People's Republic of Poland, a detached house for one family, or a villa – especially one constructed to an individually commissioned design and with equipment that exceeded the standards in various aspects – was a clear and socially distinctive status symbol to a far greater extent than it is at present.¹⁹

16 F. Znaniecki, *Miasto w świadomości jego obywateli: z badań Polskiego Instytutu Socjologii nad miastem Poznaniem* [The city in its citizens' awareness: from the Polish Institute of Sociology's research on the city of Poznań], Poznań, 1931; *Życie w Poznaniu 1997: mieszkańcy Poznania o swoim mieście* [Living in Poznań 1997: residents of Poznań on their city], eds. R. Cichocki, K. Podemski, Poznań, 1998; *Miasto w świadomości swoich mieszkańców* [The city in its citizen's awareness], eds. R. Cichocki, K. Podemski, Poznań, 1999; *Życie w Poznaniu: miasto – mieszkańcy – instytucje* [Living in Poznań: the city – the residents – the institutions], eds. R. Cichocki, K. Podemski, Poznań, 2002; *Wskaźnik jakości życia mieszkańców Poznania* [Quality of living index for the residents of Poznań], ed. R. Cichocki, vol. 1, Poznań, 2005; U. Kaczmarek, M. Wójcicki, *Wizerunek społeczny i medialny Poznania na tle dużych miast Polski* [The social and media image of Poznań against the background of other large cities in Poland], Poznań, 2013.

17 Selected: W. Czarnecki, *To był też mój Poznań* [That was my Poznań, too], Poznań, 1987. J. z Puttkamerów Żółtowska, *Dzienniki. Fragmenty wielkopolskie 1919–1933* [Diaries. Fragments from Greater Poland 1919–1933], ed. B. Wysocka, Poznań, 2003; T. i W. Tatarkiewiczowie, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], Poznań, 2011, p. 201; B. Zakrzewska, *Było... Wrocławsko-wielkopolska historia domowa* [It was so... A story from Wrocław and Greater Poland], Wrocław, 2016.

18 P. Marciniak, *Doświadczenia modernizmu. Architektura i urbanistyka Poznania w czasach PRL* [The experiences of modernism. Architecture and urban planning in Poznań in the period of the People's Republic], Poznań, 2010.

19 M. Arczyńska, "Polityka, prestiż i odreagowanie. Dom jednorodzinny w okresie transformacji" [Politics, prestige and abreaction. A detached house in the period of the transformation], in: *Polskie Las Vegas...*, op. cit., p. 54.

For various reasons, not only financial, such villas used to be available only to the select few – very few; but starting from the 1970s it became more possible to acquire one.²⁰ In the post-war decades the main type of architecture were mass residential buildings, mostly high-rise blocks of flats located in residential estates; the construction of detached houses intensified from the 1970s onwards. It acquired the official endorsement of state authorities, expressed, for example, at the 5th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party in 1972, which was devoted to the issues of residential housing construction.²¹ The imprimatur of the highest authorities was expressed by Edward Gierek; it embraced not only detached housing and private ownership, but also the awareness of a certain tendency: "This will manifest itself in [people's] ambitions to create better conditions for themselves, ones exceeding the general standard, by means of additional equipment [and] better, more comfortable arrangement of their homes. These ambitions conform to social interests and are eminently worthy of support".²² In Poznań, too, the 1970s were a period of development for this type of construction, with not only many single houses, but, in fact, the interesting estates in Ławica, and above all the "Za Cytadelą" and "Zodiak" estates in the Rataje district, were being developed at the time.²³ This, however, does not say much regarding the central problem of the current essay, i.e. the houses of the most affluent residents of Poznań. This problem may seem entirely impossible to research because of, for instance, the absence of registers of any kind or publicly accessible archives; in addition, those houses were built in widely scattered locations and many of them have been restructured, changed owners or simply ceased to exist. Some universal observations can, however, be made.

20 A. Basista, *Betonowe dziedzictwo. Architektura w Polsce czasów komunizmu* [The heritage of concrete. Architecture in Poland in the communist period], Warsaw–Cracow, 2001, p. 68.

21 E. Gierek, "Cel naszego perspektywicznego programu – samodzielne mieszkanie dla każdej rodziny" [The goal of our long-term programme – an independent apartment for every family], in: *Plenum KC PZPR 10–11 maja 1972 r. Podstawowe dokumenty i materiały*, [Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, 10–11 May 1972. Fundamental documents and materials], Warsaw, 1972, pp. 17–32; W. Nieciufński, "Czterdzieści pięć i dziewięć lat polityki mieszkaniowej w Polsce" [Forty-five and nine years of housing policy in Poland], in: *Przeszłość i przyszłość polskiej polityki mieszkaniowej* [The past and the present of Polish housing policy], ed. L. Frąckiewicz, Warsaw, 2005, pp. 116–117. Significantly, in 1971 the entire issue of *Architektura* (no. 3) was devoted to detached housing; until then, it was unthinkable for such a periodical to do so. Four years later, in no. 11, the column "Dom" (The House) began to appear, initially presenting single designs for detached and summer houses placed on the last pages (the cover). In the course of the following years, the column steadily grew and began to include also colour photographs of existing interiors. It was extremely popular. In the letters to the editor, many readers expressed their desire to build the houses presented in the periodical; for this reason the periodical decided to publish detailed information on the legal aspects of making use of the designs shown therein, *Architektura*, 1976, 4, p. 72.

22 Gierek, op. cit., p. 25.

23 Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 179–181.

Some of the most affluent residents of Poznań wanted, as much as it was possible, to live in an old building, preferably a pre-war villa located in one of the historic, prestigious districts or areas of the city which retained their high status in the period of the People's Republic of Poland.²⁴ However, it was rarely possible for family to acquire an entire building for its sole use, since such villas had usually been divided into separate apartments. This, of course, forced a few families to coexist; neither did it guarantee as much space as desired, even though the living area in such a villa by far exceeded the area of apartments in residential blocks. In some cases one family would buy out the others, thus returning the old building to its original status of a one-family house.²⁵ Considering these shortcomings, as well as the ambiguous purpose of the old residential architecture, the majority of affluent residents decided to build their own house. This solution, although also burdened with troublesome limitations, at least guaranteed the sole ownership of the private space.

In the 1970s and later, many Poznań architects designed detached houses; however, Jan Dudek-Kornecki (1928–2019), a graduate of the Faculty of Architecture of the Gdańsk Technical University, was particularly popular and sought after by the city's wealthy, and wealthiest, residents.²⁶ In the 1970s and 1980s he was generally recognised as a fashionable designer. Among his clients were Henryk Kulczyk (a businessman, father of Jan) and Adam Smorawiński (a businessman, rally driver and pilot), as well as numerous lawyers, medical doctors, wealthy scientists, high officials and very prosperous craftsmen.²⁷ Dudek-Kornecki's clients located their houses in traditionally prestigious districts (Grunwald, Sołacz), but also in those which were only just coming into fashion (Winogrady, Smochowice). In the 1970s, the overall cost of a villa designed by Dudek-Kornecki was several times higher than the price of a Fiat 126P car, which stood at 69,000 zloty. His clients were usually in their forties when their houses were under construction.

Dudek-Kornecki's vigorous activity as a designer coincided with the period when the restrictions, in terms of both administrative decisions and available materials, were still considerable. The maximum living area of a detached house could not exceed 110m²; in 1982 an additional 40m² and 50m² were permitted for houses belonging to an independent professional or a teacher respectively.²⁸ In practice,

24 On the process of purchasing old villas by the affluent representatives of private enterprise or affluent intelligentsia in the post-war period, P. Korduba, *Sołacz. Domy i ludzie* [Sołacz. Houses and people], Poznań, 2009, pp. 121, 160–163. On this tendency, on the basis of interviews, also J. Głaz, "Swojscy, nasi, bogaci" [Familiar, ours, rich], *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2017, 4, p. 218.

25 Ibid.

26 Information based on an interview with Jan Dudek-Kornecki, conducted on 11 Jan. 2017, subsequent consultations with members of his family, and materials from his private archive.

27 A list of completed projects with the names of clients is found in Jan Dudek-Kornecki private archive and includes 30 items, i.e. 29 individual detached houses and one estate of detached houses, located mainly in Poznań and its environs; unfortunately, the dates of construction are not given. According to interviews with the architect and members of his family, this list fails to include at least two more villas constructed in Poznań (1 Kujawska St., 29 Matejki St.).

28 Marciniak, op. cit., p. 178.

this regulation was often circumvented by building a “high ground floor” or “high cellar”, which had a height of 2.2m and was thus not counted within the building’s living area. As Jan Dudek-Kornecki himself admitted, his villas were thus a compromise between the architectural conception and the technological capacities. It must be noted that the architect would design not only the general shape and the spatial disposition of the house, but also some furnishings (e.g. fireplaces). A team of craftsmen (carpenters, blacksmiths etc.) with whom he cooperated on a permanent basis would create details that were difficult to obtain from industrial manufacture, as well as more individualistic commissions.

Detached houses by Dudek-Kornecki were characterised by interestingly varied forms and by the tendency to unite a range of materials, both on the façades and in the interior design (Fig. 1–2, 4–5). It is not possible to point to a single solution that dominated his designs, but he often combined a flat-roofed rectangular cuboid with a pent-roofed segment. The architect himself admitted that this solution was dictated not only by compositional plans, but by difficulties in purchasing a quantity of roof tiles sufficient to cover the entire building with a full pitched roof (Fig. 2–5). The large area of window glass in the first-floor bay was a noticeable feature of the front façade. The bay, similarly to the pent-roofed segment, was usually clad with timber. Apart from timber, Dudek-Kornecki often introduced stone or clinker brickwork into the design of ground-floor elevations; the same materials were used to accentuate selected sections of the upper floor and as facing on a fence around the property. Such facings interestingly contrasted with the white-plastered elevation. It was precisely such finishing elements that marked the design as original, confirming that it had been specially commissioned; in addition, considering the problems with acquiring such materials – problems of which everyone was well aware – and their price, their presence communicated the client’s high social and financial status. A garage, which by then was a standard feature of such villas, would be inserted into the composition discreetly, with a simple gate that smoothly blended with the timber cladding of the façade. The subtle play of solid forms, very large windows, contrasting materials, elevations with deftly constructed planes, front fences designed as related to and consistent with the façade; all this set such a villa apart from the standard detached buildings known as “cubes” or from the simplified architecture of cooperative estates of detached housing. Today, these villas still stand out against the background of their streets.

Official restrictions, which have already been mentioned, as well as Dudek-Kornecki’s own compositional solutions, made the interior spaces considerably varied as well. The villas often consisted of no less than three levels with ceilings of varying heights; for instance, just one, or even just a part of one, would reach the standard of 2.7m (Fig. 3). The architect’s repertoire of solutions included a high-ceilinged day room, which at that time was often described with the posh-sounding term *living-room*, with a mezzanine lit by a skylight. In this case, the mezzanine served as the communication corridor of the upper floor and, lined with bookshelves, it became the house’s library. Access to it was via Dudek-Kornecki’s favourite: winding stairs made of metal and faced with timber. A fireplace, often combined with a space for



Fig. 1. Jan Dudek-Kornecki, villa at 16 Grodziska St. in Poznań, after 1975, photo in the architect's private collection

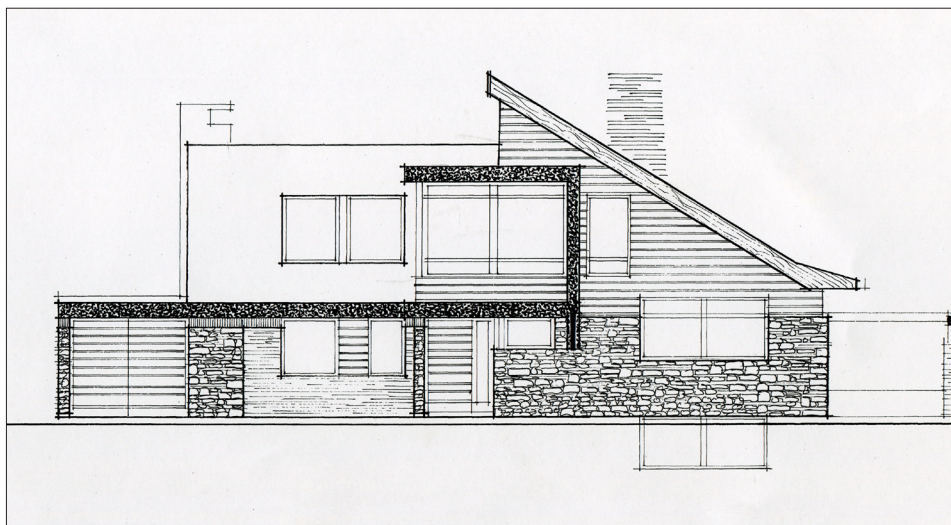


Fig. 2. Jan Dudek-Kornecki, design for the Smorawiński family villa, 8 Złota St. in Poznań, mid-1970s, photo from the architect's private collection

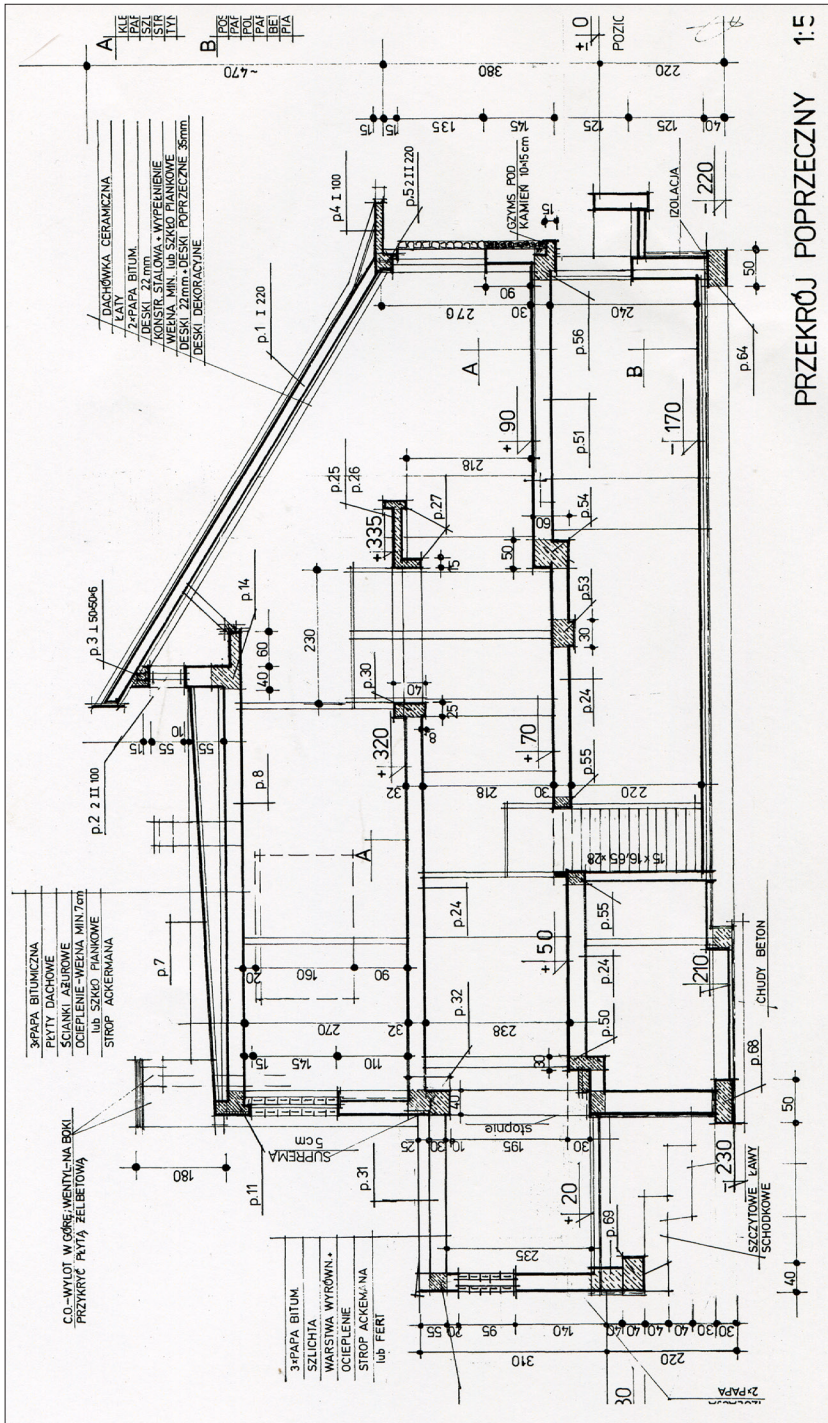


Fig. 3. Jan Dudek-Kornecki, design for the Smorawiński family villa, cross-section, 8 Złota St. in Poznań, mid-1970s, photo from the architect's private collection



Fig. 4. Jan Dudek-Kornecki, the Smorawiński family villa, 8 Złota St. in Poznań, mid-1970s, photo from the architect's private collection



Fig. 5. Jan Dudek-Kornecki, a villa, 5B Słoneczna St. in Poznań, mid-1970s, photo from the architect's private collection

a TV set, was a regular element of the living-room. The fireplace, and often one of the walls, were clad in stone or timber, similarly to parts of the outer elevations. Also the living-room floor would be made of stone, whereas timber appeared in the form of counterfeit ceiling beams. Another solution, one which in the 1970s was only slowly gaining popularity, was a kitchen that opened into a dining area inside the living room. These two spaces would often be connected by a wooden bar; quite frequently a fish aquarium would be used as a quasi-closure between these spaces. These villas usually had a second, “no-frills” kitchen on the high ground floor or in the cellar; in some families, this supplementary kitchen was more regularly used than the “ceremonial” one on the main floor of the building. The lower floor, which had ceilings lower than the building standard, contained other rooms whose presence indicated higher-than-average affluence and social aspirations at that time. Those were a timber-clad sauna and a *piekielko*, i.e. a “little hell” – a timber-and-stone-clad room with a bar and a dance floor, intended for late-night social events held in, as Dudek-Kornecki himself put it, the “cowboy style”.

Jan Dudek-Kornecki remained an active creator throughout the construction process, promoting some solutions among his clients and thus often contributing to a change in their tastes or habits. Considering the typical disposition of residential houses at the time, which meant a division into rooms and communication corridors, his designs were truly innovative, since they included open-plan spaces arranged as described above or, in another version, on mezzanines, each with a different functional purpose (Fig. 3). In addition, the architect encouraged his clients to return to the traditional concept of the dining table surrounded by chairs, even though he did not advocate having a separate dining-room. The initial resistance among his Poznań clients quickly disappeared, considering that it resulted from their being accustomed to space limitations in post-war mass residential architecture and to multi-purpose furniture (e.g. low bench tables instead of dining tables). A folding table proved convenient not only in day-to-day family life, but also during larger social gatherings; in addition, an impressive set of a table and chairs constituted another ceremonial element that indicated the financial status of the house's residents. Such a set was not easy to buy, but the residents of Poznań found it easier than people from other cities, since it usually came from the nearby furniture factory in Swarzędz (Swarzędzkie Fabryki Mebli); those who had wide-ranging social contacts found it even easier. Even the wealthiest of Dudek-Kornecki's clients were happy to display such sets. Another solution promoted by the architect was the use of white in the interiors; this initially met with considerable opposition, especially among those of his clients who hailed from the artisan class. Jan Dudek-Kornecki's renown is confirmed by the fact that he designed several villas not only in the vicinity of Poznań, but also in other regions of Poland. As he stresses, in the 1970s and 1980s Poznań was considered to have a high housing culture; higher than elsewhere in Poland. In his opinion, the Poznań International Fair played an important role in

popularising his work among affluent Poles; they became familiar with the city and would ultimately contact him.²⁹

A villa designed and finished in this manner could certainly be classified as modern, but not as avant-garde, since its style included noticeable rustic elements that could be loosely associated with regional architecture. Detached houses built in the same style, dating from the 1970s and early 1980s, can be found in other regions of Poland as well; yet this moderate modernity with a rustic touch can be considered characteristic for the region of Greater Poland, especially considering that the entirely new idea for, and design of, the famous roadside inns known as *gościńiec*,³⁰ which were based on essentially similar formal and artistic solutions, evolved in this part of Poland. It is also worth noting that the '70s brought a country-wide increase in the construction of summer houses³¹ resulting from the growing accessibility of private car transport. The affluent residents of Poznań were no exception; and also in this case they availed themselves of Dudek-Kornecki's services, building their summer houses or weekend retreats in attractive locations around the city or a little further away, Kamińsko and Tuczno being especially popular.

In the living-room and its vicinity

At the very beginning of the 1970's Teresa Kuczyńska, a journalist and critic specialising in interior design and furnishing, announced the birth of a new, Seventies style which was allegedly typified by minimalist equipment, a reduced amount of furni-

29 One day a potential client drove the architect to a certain villa, saying that he wished to have one like it; the villa turned out to be of Dudek-Kornecki's design. The architect did not replicate his own designs, however; in addition, some clients – for instance the Smorawiński family – wishing to own a truly one-of-a-kind house, clearly stipulated that its design would not be repeated.

30 E. Cofta, W. Łęcki, B. Zgodziński, *Wielkopolskie gościńce* [The inns of Greater Poland], Poznań 1975; T. Barucki, "Karczmy i zajazdy" [Inns and guesthouses], *Projekt*, 1977, 3, pp. 40–45; T. Tulibacki, *Hotelarz* [The hotelier], 1979, 12, pp. 9–10; W. Bryl-Roman, "Wielkopolskie gościńce typowe – przykład standaryzacji i indywidualizacji w polskim pejzażu architektonicznym doby gierkowskiej" [The inns of Greater Poland. An example of standardisation and individualisation in the architectural landscape of Poland in the Gierek era], *Człowiek i Społeczeństwo. Projektowanie w latach 70.*, 2017, XLIII, pp. 165–189. On the issues of regionalism in architecture, K. Bieda, Z. Bielak, "Forma tradycyjna w kształtowaniu współczesnej architektury regionalnej" [Traditional form in the shaping of contemporary regional architecture], *Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury*, 1980, XIV, pp. 115–121.

31 T. Kuczyńska, "Nowe hobby – domek letni" [A new hobby – the summer house], *Ty i Ja*, 1973, 3, pp. 44–47; Z. Kamiński, "System adaptacji terenów i zabudowy wiejskiej dla celów „drugiego domu” (aspekt społeczny i przestrzenny)" [Systematic adaptation of rural land and architecture for the needs of the "second home" (social and spatial aspects)], *Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury*, 1978, XII, pp. 35–42.

ture, a lighter colour range in interiors, and a dependence on Scandinavian models.³² Soon, however, she had to revise her views and admit that the glimmerings of this new style had not come to dominate the *Zeitgeist* and that the culture of wealthy, ceremonial interiors had grown even stronger, feeding on a perceived boom.³³ In addition, the history of Polish decorative art clearly indicates that it was precisely in the 1970s that the interest in revivalist styles began to increase and various production centres began to turn out copies or versions of historical furniture which were extremely popular – but, due to their price, almost exclusively among the most affluent clientele.³⁴ The stylistic pluralism of that decade increased further as the influence of Western cultural patterns began to be more perceptible, as indicated by, for instance, the expanding scope of issues associated with apartment interior design discussed in the influential periodical *Ty i Ja* (even though these problems had already been interestingly treated there earlier). In the 1960s, its column “My flat is my hobby” presented mostly apartments filled with antique pieces or ingenuously furnished on the basis of pieces produced by state-owned factories (with the considerable input of the owners’ inventiveness); from the early 1970s onwards, the periodical began to showcase Western-European interiors and single pieces of furniture.³⁵ In the following decade, it was noted that affluent bourgeois style of interior decoration was still very much *en vogue*.³⁶ It is worth noting here that Poznań held a special position within that trend, various reasons for this fact being noted in contemporary sources:

The most important of those [reasons] being the following: furniture production is the specialty of Greater Poland; the Faculty of Interior Decoration is the pride of the local higher education system; the city is one of the most vigorous centres of both trade and art. The wealth of old material culture, which in the Poznań Land had been better entrenched than elsewhere in Poland, was also not without importance.³⁷

The role of the Poznań trade fairs is also crucial, since the residents of Poznań had a constant and regular opportunity to see even those single, unique pieces of furniture which were not available on the market; hence they could follow the trends in furniture design. Also, if they were well connected, they could buy pieces from the exhibition and were very happy to do so.³⁸ The furniture shown at such fairs as the International Furniture Triennale in the early 1980s was described as outright elitist; critics pointed out the limited functionality of these pieces and

32 T. Kuczyńska, “W stylu lat siedemdziesiątych” [In the ‘70s style], *Ty i Ja*, 1970, 3, p. 8–11.

33 T. Kuczyńska, “Więcej fantazji niż pieniędzy” [More ingenuity than money], *Ty i Ja*, 1973, no. 4, pp. 20–24.

34 I. Huml, *Polska sztuka nowoczesna XX wieku* [Polish modern art in the 20th century], Warsaw, 1978, p. 200.

35 Essays by Joanna Drac in the same periodical.

36 T. Kuczyńska, *Mieszkanie z wyobraźnią* [Imagination in an apartment], Warsaw, 1986, pp. 5–6.

37 D. Wróblewska, “Międzynarodowe Triennale Mebla” [International Furniture Triennale], *Projekt*, 1981, 2, p. 2.

38 As asserted by the artist Jan Kapela, a furniture designer, in an interview dated 5 October 2016.

pointed out that they had been intended for spacious, affluent houses, where one room or one piece of furniture did not need to combine various functions:

On the whole, this exhibition was filled with pieces of furniture which spoke (because furniture does have its own, clear language) of a luxurious, relaxed lifestyle: armchairs whose shapes and constructional solutions were intriguing, but which only the person sitting in them would (perhaps) find comfortable while the one who had to ensure cleanliness and tidiness in the apartment certainly would not; low tables clearly intended for relaxation, quite all right for putting an aperitif glass and a newspaper on, but not for eating at, spreading one's papers, doing homework, etc.³⁹

Despite these optimistic comments, which indicate that the emphasis, at least in furniture design if not always in actual production, had shifted from the area of necessity to the area of comfort and luxury, the true state of affairs with regard to interior equipment was that an average citizen still had to face permanent shortages.⁴⁰ Industrially produced furniture was not only seldom available, but also, in general, of poor quality and unsatisfactory aesthetic value. More to the point, at least in the context of the issue under analysis here, it was also devoid of any touch of singularity or an aura of luxury – those elements that permitted their owners to stand out from the society as a whole, to fulfil their aspirations or, in practice, to utilise their financial resources by buying valuable objects and pieces of furniture. This aspect, as shall be demonstrated further on, was also not without significance.

In the period in question, there existed some methods of acquiring above-standard furniture and paraphernalia, but this required not only a larger financial outlay, but also personal contacts in the supply centres. One generally known enterprise to trade in such objects was the famous Cepelia [Centrala Przemysłu Ludowego i Artystycznego – Centre for Folk and Artistic Industry]. Although associated with folk art, in reality it mainly supplied objects designed by various artists.⁴¹ Apart from cheap pottery and straw mats, it offered many items that were unique, expensive and difficult to obtain (fabrics, furniture, jewellery). But an interior would rarely be furnished with Cepelia products in its entirety, even the most deluxe ones; sophisticated or affluent clients in particular would avoid this. The already quoted *Ty i Ja*, where the apartments of Warsaw elites were regularly discussed, featured the aforementioned Cepelia products, but only as components used to balance the decor or as a starting point for unusual adaptations (e.g. seats made from wicker baskets).⁴² Poznań was the seat of Cepelia's famous branch, the Sculpture and Artistic

39 A. Osęka, "O piękno demokratyczne" [For democratic beauty], *Projekt*, 1981, 2, p. 9.

40 More on this topic, M. Mazurek, *Spółczesność kolejki*, op. cit., and in the context of furniture, B. Brzostek, "Wokół Emilii" [Around Emilia], in: *Emilia. Meble, muzeum, modernizm* [Emilia. Furniture, museum, modernism], ed. K. Szotkowska-Beylin, Cracow–Warsaw, 2016, pp. 77–90.

41 P. Korduba, *Ludowość na sprzedaż. Towarzystwo Popierania Przemysłu Ludowego, Cepelia, Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego* [The folk style for sale. The Association for the Support of Folk Industry, the Centre for Folk and Artistic Industry, the Institute of Industrial Design], Warsaw, 2013.

42 Ibid., pp. 242–244.



Fig. 6. Bogusława Kowalska, traditional furniture designed for the “Rzeźba i Stolarstwo Artystyczne” Cooperative in Poznań, an agency of the Central Bureau for Folk and Art Industry, International Furniture Triennale at the Poznań International Fair, 1980, The Cepelia Archive



Fig. 7. Traditional furniture designed by pupils for the “Rzeźba i Stolarstwo Artystyczne” Cooperative in Poznań, late 1960s, The Cepelia Archive

Furniture Cooperative [Spółdzielnia Rzeźba i Stolarstwo Artystyczne], which turned out expensive antique-style pieces or variants thereof; their author, Bogusława Kowalska, recalls that they were sought by the affluent residents of Poznań, the crème de la crème of the local intelligentsia (Fig. 6–7).⁴³

Another, perhaps even more important enterprise whose offer was interesting to the financial (and intellectual) elites, was DESA S.O.E., which monopolised the trade in works of art and antiques.⁴⁴ The very atmosphere and character of its show-rooms, always located at prestigious addresses, and the items on offer, carefully selected by the assessment and pricing commissions, made it a socially exclusive place with considerable influence in terms of setting patterns of behaviour. This aspect is delightfully illustrated by the scene of buying a “portrait of an ancestor”, with Irena Kwiatkowska as the main character, from the episode entitled *Kosztowny drobiazg czyli rewizyta* [An expensive trifle, or, a return visit] (1976) of the popular TV series *Czterdziestolatek* [A forty-year-old]. In Poznań, as in other cities, DESA clients were usually affluent. Some of them were true collectors, having an impressive specialised knowledge and looking for very concrete collectibles, but the overwhelming majority was interested in amassing elements of interior design; they, too, had their own tastes and preferences that changed over the decades.⁴⁵ According to the assessment offered by Maria Radoła, the long-time head of the Poznań DESA, early-modern (17th- and 18th-century) artefacts, especially paintings and Baroque furniture, were popular in the 1970s. The 19th century began to be appreciated only towards the end of that decade and in the following one; Biedermeier furniture, well-liked by the residents of Poznań as it reflected their desire for prosperous bourgeois respectability, and the Louis Philippe style, popular with those who appreciated the decorative and ornamental aspect of their purchases, enjoyed a boom. Taste in paintings changed at that time as well, with the painters of the Young Poland movement coming into fashion. The purchase of works by Jacek Malczewski, Olga Boznańska or Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz required serious expenditure; however, in addition to these, there emerged a nearly canonical set of “living-room painters” whose works were desirable as decorations for affluent interiors: Teodor Axentowicz, Wlastimil Hoffman, Julian Fałat, Alfons Karpiński. Art Nouveau became fashionable later, and the

43 J. Kowalski, *Mebles Kowalskich. Ludzie i rzeczy* [The Kowalskis' furniture. People and objects], Dębogóra, 2014, pp. 286–287. The “Ład” Artist Cooperative, incorporated into Cepelia in 1950, was associated mainly with Warsaw; it was decidedly less renowned in Poznań.

44 In sociological studies pertaining to housing culture, furniture purchased therein constituted a separate category (Antique-style furniture in the “Desa” type), cf. Z. Jarząbek, *Kultura mieszkaniowa w nowych osiedlach wielkomiejskich* [Housing culture in new housing estates of large cities], w: *Mieszkanie. Analiza socjologiczna* [The apartment. A sociological analysis], ed. E. Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska, Warsaw, 1982, pp. 227–228.

45 Information based on an interview with Maria Radoła, the former head of DESA's Poznań branch, dated 16 July 2017. Mrs Radoła had been employed at DESA since 1967. M. Radoła, “Antykwariusz o antykach” [An antiquarian talks about antiques], *Dziennik Poznański*, 25 October 1991; eadem, “W antykwariacie. Było, minęło...” [In an antiquarian shop. This is how it used to be...], *ibid.*, 13 November 1991.



Fig. 8. Poster of the Domus Gallery at 11 Wielka St. in Poznań, private collection

vogue for Art Déco and objects dating from the interwar period was noted as the last. DESA was also the preferred source of artistically decorated objects of everyday use, especially silverware and porcelain tableware. Products of the Meissen manufactory were the most sought after; Rosenthal tableware was also readily bought, but was seen as utilitarian rather than decorative. This certainly resulted from its pre-war popularity among the prosperous bourgeoisie of Poznań, and hence its still considerable availability there.⁴⁶ Many affluent housewives desired the famous “Maria” service, but its place was on the table during family celebrations, not in the display vitrine. Such tableware was combined with old silverware or the more available stylised cutlery turned out by the state-owned enterprise HEFRA. Buying household objects at DESA satisfied the clients’ aesthetic needs and helped them to equip their houses with utensils not provided by contemporary production, but it also had additional value: superfluous financial resources could thus be invested in original works, whose authenticity was guaranteed by the firm, which, as underlined by Maria Radoła, enjoyed the clientele’s trust. For many extremely wealthy residents of Poznań purchases at DESA were the only way to invest very substantial sums;⁴⁷ hence the weight of silverware or the size of precious stones in the pieces of jewellery were of paramount importance to some clients.

In addition, the more affluent citizens of Poznań – and those having less typical expectations – could visit the once-famous Domus Gallery, owned by the artist Andrzej Kapela and located at 11 Wielka St. (Fig. 8).⁴⁸ Established in the early 1970s, it was an interior decoration boutique modelled on similar shops in what was then West Berlin. Its offer materially differed from industrial production. According to an advertising poster, it supplied furniture and applied art forms made from wood and metal, lamps, glass, pottery, textile art, prints and paintings, and jewellery. Its furniture, lighting and smaller elements of interior decoration was dominated by minimalist forms, natural wood and light colours; its aesthetic orientation can thus be described as Scandinavian. Many of the items on sale had been designed by the gallery owner himself or by his brother, Jan Kapela, often on the basis of seemingly useless prefabricate elements available on the market (e.g. bamboo), which constituted a starting point for creative ideas; the resulting objects were produced in small batches. The boutique did not, of course, offer overall equipment for interiors, but rather single elements in prices that varied from low to very high. In addition, the Kapela brothers designed interiors in private houses and were held in great esteem by the Poznań elites.

46 A. Warlikowska, *Wokół kultury stołu. Recepcja porcelany Rosenthala po 1989 roku w Poznaniu* [On dining culture. The reception of Rosenthal porcelain in Poznań after the year 1989], M.A. thesis, Poznań, 2018, Art History Section, Faculty of History Library, Adam Mickiewicz University.

47 Głaz, op. cit., pp. 217–218.

48 Information on the boutique based on an interview with Jan Kapela, an artist and brother of Andrzej (1943–2016), also an artist, dated 5 October 2016.

Conclusion

The above sketch reveals not the actual picture of the houses owned by affluent citizens of Poznań in the waning years of the People's Republic of Poland, or their interiors, but rather the mechanism that governed their creation. This is because a clear and integrated aesthetic style thereof seems difficult to pinpoint. Such a style is more discernible with regard to the architecture and finishing of the houses, as exemplified by Jan Dudek-Kornecki's designs. As for the above-mentioned mechanism, it involved mainly the privilege of choice. Owing to their financial resources, as well as social and professional contacts, these residents of Poznań could avail themselves of incomparably better opportunities of acquiring rare or, in fact, rationed material goods than the average citizen.⁴⁹ Unique or prototypical products of Polish mass production, custom-made pieces of furniture or elements of interior decoration, deluxe goods offered by Cepelia, DESA or PEWEX, and even purchases made in West Berlin, made possible by the relatively small distance between that city and Poznań, but also by the business contacts of the richest residents of Poznań⁵⁰ all helped to achieve what must be considered the fundamental category for describing a model house of the era, that is, a variety in interior decoration. This, however, did not necessarily equal the individual approach that was distinctive to interiors in, chiefly, Warsaw homes owned by the intellectual, not the financial elites of the era.⁵¹ It may be fairly safe to assume that the aesthetics of apartments owned by affluent residents of Poznań – and similarly positioned citizens of other cities – was governed by a certain repetitiveness. This quality resulted not so much from any limitations in this privileged choice, but from its distinctiveness, that is, the fact that some architectural solutions, pieces of furniture, antiques, works of art or pieces of mechanical equipment were fashionable and communicated their owners' inclusion into the elite, while others did not. Also, it is worth noting that the data assembled herein indicate a certain conservativeness, repetitiveness even, in making these choices, instead of an avant-garde spirit or a willingness to try out new solutions. This conformism is another obvious trait of this exclusive consumerism; what is more, this trait had already been discernible among the Poznań elite in the markedly different conditions of the interwar period.⁵²

Translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz

49 On this mechanism in German Democratic Republic, cf. Merkel 1999, op. cit., pp. 243–255; eadem 2003, op. cit., pp. 222–224.

50 This is mentioned by Jan Dudek-Kornecki as well. Cf. also Głaz, op. cit., pp. 220–221.

51 A good overview of those is found in the books: F. Uniechowska, *Moje hobby to mieszkanie* [My apartment is my hobby], photographs by A. Pisarski, Warsaw, 1978; Kuczyńska, *Mieszkanie*, op. cit.

52 E. Syska, *Marian Swinarski (1902–1965): poznański antykwariusz i bibliofil* [Marian Swinarski (1902–1965): a Poznań antiquarian and bibliophile], Poznań, 2014, pp. 100–124; P. Korduba, A. Paradowska, *Na starym Grunwaldzie. Domy i ich mieszkańcy* [At old Grunwald. Houses and their residents], Poznań, 2012, p. 20; A. Przybylski, *Abisynia. Osiedle na poznańskim Grunwaldzie* [Abisynia. A housing estate in the Grunwald district of Poznań], Poznań, 2017, pp. 120–121; M. Michalak, H. Wróbel, “Całość imponująca rozsądkiem” – mieszczański dom

References

- Arczyńska, M., "Polityka, prestiż i odreagowanie. Dom jednorodzinny w okresie transformacji", in: *Polskie Las Vegas i szwagier z Corelem. Architektura, moda i projektowanie wobec transformacji systemowej w Polsce*, ed. L. Klein, Warsaw, 2017, pp. 44–69.
- Barucki, T., "Karczmy i zajazdy", *Projekt*, 1977, 3, pp. 40–45.
- Basista, A., *Betonowe dziedzictwo. Architektura w Polsce czasów komunizmu*, Warsaw–Cracow, 2001.
- Beskid, L., ed., *Warunki życia i kondycja Polaków na początku zmian systemowych*, Warsaw, 1992.
- Bieda, K., Bielak, Z., "Forma tradycyjna w kształtowaniu współczesnej architektury regionalnej", *Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury*, 1980, XIV, pp. 115–121.
- Boćkowska, A., *Księżyc z Peweksu. O luksusie w PRL*, Wołowiec, 2017.
- Bourdieu, P. *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement*, Paris, 1979.
- Brzostek, B., "Wokół Emilii", in: *Emilia. Meble, muzeum, modernizm*, ed. K. Szotkowska-Beylin, Cracow–Warsaw, 2016, pp. 77–90.
- Bryl-Roman, W., "Wielkopolskie gościńce typowe – przykład standaryzacji i indywidualizacji w polskim pejzażu architektonicznym doby gierkowskiej", *Człowiek i Społeczeństwo. Projektowanie w latach 70.*, 2017, XLIII, pp. 165–189.
- Cichocki, R., ed., *Wskaźnik jakości życia mieszkańców Poznania*, vol. 1, Poznań, 2005.
- Cichocki, R., Podemski, K., eds., *Miasto w świadomości swoich mieszkańców*, Poznań, 1999.
- Cichocki, R., Podemski, K., eds., *Życie w Poznaniu: miasto – mieszkańcy – instytucje*, Poznań, 2002.
- Cieraad, I., ed., *At Home. An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, New York 2006.
- Cofta, E., Łęcki, W., Zgodziński, B. *Wielkopolskie gościńce*, Poznań, 1975.
- Czarnecki, W., *To był też mój Poznań*, Poznań, 1987.
- Dahrendorf, R., *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*, Stanford, 1959.
- Drenda, O., *Duchologia polska. Rzeczy i ludzie w latach transformacji*, Cracow, 2016.
- Gdula, M., Sadura, P., ed. *Style życia i porządek klasowy*, Warsaw, 2012.
- Gdula, M., Sadura, P., "Style życia jako rywalizujące uniwersalności", in: *Style życia i porządek klasowy*, eds. M. Gdula, P. Sadura, Warsaw, 2012, pp. 15–34.
- Gierek, E., "Cel naszego perspektywicznego programu – samodzielne mieszkanie dla każdej rodziny", in: *Plenum KC PZPR 10–11 maja 1972 r. Podstawowe dokumenty i materiały*, Warsaw, 1972, pp. 17–32.
- Głaz, J., "Swojscy, nasi, bogaci", *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2017, 4, pp. 207–222.
- Goffman, E., *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York, 1959.
- Hanson, J., *Decoding Homes and Houses*, Cambridge, 2003.
- Huml, I., *Polska sztuka nowoczesna XX wieku*, Warsaw, 1978.
- Jarząbek, Z., "Kultura mieszkaniowa w nowych osiedlach wielkomiejskich", in: *Mieszkanie. Analiza socjologiczna*, ed. E. Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska, Warsaw, 1982, pp. 227–228.
- Jawłowska, A., Mokrzycki, E., "Style życia a przemiany struktury społecznej. Propozycja typologii historyczno-socjologicznej", in: *Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce*, ed. A. Siciński, Warsaw, 1978, pp. 155–160.
- Jawłowska, A., Pawelczyńska, A., "Mechanizmy makrospołeczne a zróżnicowania stylu życia" in: *Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce*, ed. A. Siciński, Warszawa, 1978, pp. 201–202.

w międzywojennym Poznaniu" ["An impressively reasonable whole" – a bourgeois house in the inter-war Poznań], *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2017, 4, pp. 182–190.

- Kaczmarek, U., Wójcicki, M., *Wizerunek społeczny i medialny Poznania na tle dużych miast Polski*, Poznań, 2013.
- Kamiński, Z., "System adaptacji terenów i zabudowy wiejskiej dla celów „drugiego domu” (aspekt społeczny i przestrzenny)", *Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury*, 1978, XII, pp. 35–42.
- Klein, L., ed., *Polskie Las Vegas i szwagier z Corelem. Architektura, moda i projektowanie wobec transformacji systemowej w Polsce*, Warsaw, 2017.
- Korduba, P., *Sołacz. Domy i ludzie*, Poznań, 2009.
- Korduba, P., *Ludowość na sprzedaż. Towarzystwo Popierania Przemysłu Ludowego, Cepelia, Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego*, Warsaw, 2013.
- Korduba, P., "Mieszkać luksusowo. Rozważania nad kulturą mieszkalną zamożnych poznańców ostatnich dziesięcioleci PRL", *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2017, 4, pp. 223–237.
- Korduba, P., Paradowska, A., *Na starym Grunwaldzie. Domy i ich mieszkańcy*, Poznań, 2012.
- Kowalski, J., *Mebel Kowalskich. Ludzie i rzeczy*, Dębogóra, 2014.
- Kuczyńska, T., "W stylu lat siedemdziesiątych", *Ty i Ja*, 1970, 3, pp. 8–11.
- Kuczyńska, T., "Nowe hobby – domek letni", *Ty i Ja*, 1973, 3, pp. 44–47.
- Kuczyńska, T., "Więcej fantazji niż pieniędzy", *Ty i Ja*, 1973, 4, p. 21.
- Kuczyńska, T., *Mieszkanie z wyobraźnią*, Warsaw, 1986.
- Kurz, I., "Konsumpcja: „coca-cola to jest to!", in: *Obyczaje polskie. Wiek XX w krótkich hasłach*, ed. M. Szpakowska, Warsaw, 2008, pp. 145–156.
- Łączyńska-Widz, E., Radziszewski, D., eds., *Tarnów. 1000 lat nowoczesności*, Warszawa–Tarnów, 2010.
- Marciniak, P. *Doświadczenia modernizmu. Architektura i urbanistyka Poznania w czasach PRL*, Poznań, 2010.
- Marody, M., ed. *Co nam zostało z tych lat... Społeczeństwo polskie u progu zmiany systemowej*, London, 1991.
- Mazurek, M., *Społeczeństwo kolejki. O doświadczeniach niedoboru 1945–1989*, Warsaw, 2010.
- Merkel, I., *Utopie und Bedürfnis. Die Geschichte der Konsumkultur in der DDR*, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1999.
- Merkel, I., "Luxus im Sozialismus. Eine widersinnige Fragestellung?", in: *Luxus und Konsum. Eine historische Annäherung*, eds. R. Reith, T. Meyer, Münster–New York–München, 2003, pp. 220–236.
- Merl, S., "Staat und Konsum in der Zentralverwaltungswirtschaft. Russland und die ostmitteleuropäischen Länder", in: *Europäische Konsumgeschichte. Zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des Konsums (18. bis 20. Jahrhundert)*, eds. H. Siegrist, H. Kaelble, J. Kocka, Frankfurt–New York, 1997, pp. 205–241.
- Michalak, M., Wróbel, H., "Całość imponująca rozsądkiem" – mieszczański dom w międzywojennym Poznaniu", *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2017, 4, pp. 182–190.
- Miller, D., *The Comfort of Things*, Cambridge, 2008.
- Mycielski, Z., *Dziennik 1960–1969*, Warsaw, 2001.
- Nieciński, W., "Czterdzieści pięć i dziewięć lat polityki mieszkaniowej w Polsce", in: *Przeszłość i przyszłość polskiej polityki mieszkaniowej*, ed. L. Frąckiewicz, Warsaw, 2005, pp. 116–117.
- Oseka, A., "O piękno demokratyczne", *Projekt*, 1981, 2, p. 9.
- Palska, H., *Bieda i dostatek. O nowych stylach życia w Polsce końca lat dziewięćdziesiątych*, Warsaw, 2002.
- Pawelczyńska, A., Tarkowska, E., "Style życia jednostek i rodzin", in: *Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce*, ed. A. Siciński, Warsaw, 1978, pp. 239–258.

- Piotrowski, P., *Dekada. O syndromie lat siedemdziesiątych, kulturze artystycznej, krytyce, sztuce – wybiórczo i subiektywnie*, Poznań, 1991.
- Przybylski, A., *Abisynia. Osiedle na poznańskim Grunwaldzie*, Poznań 2017.
- Radola, M., "Antykwariusz o antykach", *Dziennik Poznański*, 25 October 1991.
- Radola, M., "W antykwariacie. Było, minęło...", *Dziennik Poznański*, 13 November 1991.
- Siciński, A., "Hipotetyczne perspektywy przemiany stylu życia", in: *Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce*, Warsaw, 1978, pp. 364–365.
- Siciński, A., ed., *Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce*, Warszawa, 1978.
- Szczerski, A., "Dekada luksusu. PRL i hotele w latach 70. XX wieku", in: *Szczerski, A., Cztery nowoczesności. Teksty o sztuce i architekturze polskiej XX wieku*, Cracow, 2015, pp. 143–168.
- Szcześniak, M., *Normy widzialności. Tożsamość w czasach transformacji*, Warsaw, 2016.
- Syska, E., *Marian Swinarski (1902–1965): poznański antykwariusz i bibliofil*, Poznań, 2014.
- Tatarkiewiczowie, T., W., *Wspomnienia*, Poznań, 2011.
- Tulibacki, T., *Hotelarz*, 1979, 12, pp. 9–10. Uniechowska, E., *Moje hobby to mieszkanie*, photographs by A. Pisarski, Warsaw, 1978.
- Warlikowska, A., *Wokół kultury stołu. Recepcja porcelany Rosenthala po 1989 roku w Poznaniu*, M.A. thesis, Poznań, 2018, Art History Section, Faculty of History Library, Adam Mickiewicz University.
- Wróblewska, D., "Międzynarodowe Triennale Mebla", *Projekt*, 1981, 2, p. 2.
- Zakrzewska, B., *Było... Wrocławsko-wielkopolska historia domowa*, Wrocław, 2016.
- Znaniecki, F., *Miasto w świadomości jego obywateli: z badań Polskiego Instytutu Socjologii nad miastem Poznaniem*, Poznań, 1931.
- Żółtowska, J. z Puttkamerów, *Dzienniki. Fragmenty wielkopolskie 1919–1933*, ed. B. Wysocka, Poznań, 2003.
- Życie w Poznaniu 1997: mieszkańcy Poznania o swoim mieście*, eds. R. Cichocki, K. Podemski, Poznań, 1998.

Abstract

In the 1970s both sociologists and experts on housing culture correctly noted that a tendency towards consumerism was developing in Polish society. These tendencies were described as the neo-bourgeois lifestyle. This lifestyle was supposedly characterised by a focus on material possessions and prestige. The achievement of affluence was pronounced to be the life aim of this group, and the outward marks of affluence (and the acts of demonstrating them) to be an important element of favourable self-assessment. It was noted that these consumerist aspirations resulted from the citizens' acceptance of Western models. It was also stated that the main indicators of this style were the apartment itself, its standard and equipment, and the culture of leisure time. Poznań in the last years of the communist government in Poland seems to be a particularly fitting place to exemplify the phenomena characterised herein. It has for a long time been associated (not only in popular perceptions) with the bourgeoisie, the entrepreneurial spirit, and affluence; scholarly research points to the same fact. In those days, a detached house for one family, or a villa – especially one constructed to an individually commissioned design and with equipment that exceeded standards in various aspects – was a clear and socially distinctive signal of status to a far greater extent than it is at present. Such buildings were commissioned by members of the affluent intelligentsia, but also by numerous private entrepreneurs. Jan Dudek-Kornecki (b. 1928) was particularly

fashionable and sought after as a designer of such villas. His designs were a compromise between the aspirations of his clients, the restrictions imposed by construction law, and the availability of building and finishing materials. Nevertheless, in terms of equipment they differed significantly from contemporary residential quarters, mainly due to the presence of antiques and works of art, as well as unique pieces of contemporary furniture acquired from exhibitions at the Poznań International Fair or from the furniture factory in Swarzędz. The essay offers an analysis of the practices and strategies of deluxe living in Poland in the period before the 1989 breakthrough.

Keywords: housing culture, residential housing, interior design, furnishings, luxury, lifestyle