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# Mieczysław Porębski: Man and Architecture in the Iconosphere

I.

A complete renewal and transformation of the architectural image of the world that surrounds us already seems to be a necessity and it appears to be quite easy to implement today. Automation and miniaturization of production, the shifting underground of excessively burdensome industrial transport and its warehouse and refuse base, the liberation of the surface of the earth from superfluous and cancerous developments, a reconstruction on the broadest possible scale of the natural landscape and the historical substance of urban centers, a new conception of linear settlement that piles up in open spaces – constitute but one, maybe even the easiest side of the problem. The other side is infinitely more difficult, as it can neither be solved by the introduction of new technology, nor by new organization. It may only be attained by new spatial poetics which will restore sense and dignity to the place of every man and, at the same time, of the whole of mankind on this devastated though still living planet.<sup>1</sup>

The above was written in 1972 by Mieczysław Porębski, an art critic, theoretician and art historian, one of the pioneers of research on twentieth-century art in Poland² (fig. 1). Born in 1921, this ex-prisoner of the concentration camps in Gross-Rosen and Sachsenhausen had graduated from the department of art history in Kraków after the war. Since the time of the German occupation of Poland, Porębski had been closely associated with Tadeusz Kantor, a painter and subsequently the creator of the influential theater Cricot II. In 1949, Porębski left Poland for France, where he became acquainted with surrealist circles and familiarized himself with the publications of Georges Bataille and

86 Wojciech Balus

fig. 1 Mieczysław Porębski, Photo: Adam Rzepecki, Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.



Roger Caillois. After a short socialist-realist episode in the early 1950s, during the post-Stalin political thaw (that is, after 1955), he once again became interested in the modern world as well as in Polish art (in the works of painters grouped around Kantor, among others). Porębski's successive scholarship in Paris (1960–1961) brought about his fascination with semiotics, structuralism and information theory; it also aroused his interest in the writings of Norbert Wiener, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roland Barthes and archaeologist André Leroi-Gourhan.<sup>3</sup> Yet he remained totally impervious to existentialism.<sup>4</sup> From his return until 1970, Porębski resided in Warsaw, where he worked as a lecturer at the Academy of Fine Arts. Afterwards, he obtained the post of professor of art history at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, where he continued to work until his retirement. He was a member of the Communist Party until 1981. He died in 2012 at the age of 91.

The quotation at the start of this chapter has been taken from Porębski's book *Ikonosfera* [*Iconosphere*] (fig. 2). In this publication, he tried to create the foundations of a complex theory of art that would combine into a coherent whole all symptoms of human creative activity from the first Palaeolithic rock paintings to pop art, *Nouveau réalisme* and happenings. The book not only explained the causes of the changes that art had undergone over the course of its existence, it also diagnosed its contemporary condition.

The excerpt quoted was incorporated in *Iconosphere* to sum up the chapter devoted to architecture. It has a particularly "prophetic" overtone that is not present with such intensity in other parts of the book. One is struck not only by the author's care for the endangered earth, but above all by a certain visionary eloquence stripped of all criticism. Porębski oversteps his professional competence. In a book devoted to the theory of art and culture, he writes without any reference to scientific prognoses or architectural theories about "shifting underground the entire industrial transport" system, doing



fig. 2 Mieczyslaw Porębski, *Ikonosfera* (Warsaw, 1972), cover of the book.

away with "cancerous housing developments" and implementing new urban conceptions characterized by "linear settlement." At the same time, he talks of the need to "renew the architectural image of the world" and of restoring to man his dignity and sense of life; according to the author, these goals can only be implemented with the help of a "new spatial poetic," that is, artistic activity.

### 11.

If Porębski's bold visions of the future – in which the entire industrial transport system was to be moved underground and "cancerous developments" as well as warehouses and refuse-storage sites were to disappear entirely from the surface of the planet – may be regarded as influenced by futurology, which was fashionable in the 1960s, his conception of linear settlement is quite a different story. Ignoring at this point the obvious references to utopian ideas, which – as shown by Colin Rowe – were reborn at that time among architects, the concepts of linear cities originated in the thinking of various architects during the Cold War period. In postwar Poland, the most well-known project was the Linear Continuous System (LCS), proposed by architect Oskar Hansen, a professor at the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. 6

In 1968, Porębski participated in a debate that was published in the journal *Projekt*; it is worth mentioning here that at that time he worked together with Hansen at the same academy.<sup>7</sup> Porębski was not an uncritical enthusi-

88 Wojciech Bałus

ast of Hansen's concept. If in this vision of the future he saw some hope for humanity in the realization of a "band settlement that piled up in the open spaces," it was because he regarded the uncontrolled growth of the existing metropolises as a greater threat. In his novel Z., published in 1989, which constituted a literary attempt to sum up his many years of long reflections on the essence of history, he described his view of what a historian would see in the year 2045, repeating his well-known metaphor of cancer:

up until now, the entire multi-billion growth of world population has been absorbed by the continually expanding cities, or rather, to be more precise, by these urbanized slums, which the former metropolises, perishing in this encirclement, have had accumulating around them. There was no chance to [...] control the tightening grip; the conurbations surrounded by this living, cancerous tissue became rapidly devalued; the increasingly obsolete and non-renewable industry abandoned these places, whereas the social and cultural facilities crumbled and disintegrated.<sup>9</sup>

### III.

In the opening quotation from Porębski's writings, the author summoned a renewal of the architectural image of the world. He did so not only in response to the notion of the "cancerous tissue" of cities that could have posed a threat to mankind in the future, but also because the architecture arising right in front of the eyes constituted, as he put it, "only a vast amorphous housing, an anonymous multi-segment macro-shell which gave no possibility of self-definition." <sup>10</sup>

Porębski defined urban design and architecture as a "technique and a system of communication which speaks about space with the language of space with respect to its natural and arbitrary divisions and peculiarities, and to the significance it has for the man who lives and works in it."11 This definition was a consequence of the author's conception of culture as a system of communication.<sup>12</sup> For Porebski, human creativity carried, above all, a message which allowed both old and new societies to exist and function together. At the same time, though relying strongly on the achievements of semiotics and information theory, he vehemently opposed the tendency to limit all forms of human communication to a linguistic model. Hence he emphasized that architecture speaks with the "language of space." This language has a completely different structure than the language of words. The latter consists of "particles," distinguished and isolated through a system of differences. In the language of space, there are no individual particles combined with each other to form sensible bigger units, like sounds, syllables, words, or sentences and complex narrations. Architecture is defined in turn by "boxlike" structures.

Buildings enclose a certain space and, at the same time, they themselves are located in a spatial environment. This environment usually consists of more than one building. This way, there arises a conglomerate of separate internal spaces, enclosed and filled with human artifacts, and with continuous and empty external spaces which flow between the external shapes of buildings, leading out of the urban organism to rural areas, fields, forests and, subsequently, to other human communities.

As a "system of communication" mentioned in the definition, architecture transcends its physical localization. According to Porebski, buildings may acquire their sense as either metaphors or metonymies: "The saying: 'My home - my world' constitutes an architectural metonymy, whereas the saying: 'My home - my castle' is an architectural metaphor." A prototype of an architectural metonymy is a prehistoric cave, a "symbol of a life-giving Mother's womb, from which everything takes its origin and to which everything returns to renew its strength and resources." <sup>14</sup> In the nineteenth century, an apartment in a tenement building fulfilled this role and, in particular, its living room, that public space in the middle of a private space: "a separate, fragmentary world of a middle class interior with the mandatory private shrine - the salon: grand piano or piano, music scores, a glass cabinet, a whatnot with books, patriotic prints, a portrait, a watercolor landscape on the wall, a lamp with a shade, a Columbine and Pierrot in the corner on the sofa, an album with family photos and artistic postcards and another one brought from abroad, and a third one brought from the latest world exhibition."15

While metonymy often treats a part as a whole (a cave isolated from a vast massif as a synecdoche of the womb of the Great Mother, a middle-class salon as pars pro toto of the world), metaphor "becomes like or distinguishes itself in relation to analogous wholes." Metonymy "has a share in the mysteries of the entire universe which is concentrated in it" – that is, in the building – whereas metaphor "protects one's own mysteries against this universe; it informs and misinforms, teaches and deludes." The architectural metaphor reveals itself in the shape of a building or on its facade. Sumerian ziggurats rise up to the skies like great mountains, whereas decorations of abutments on Greek temples, Romanesque portals and Gothic churches reveal theophanic religious truths.

According to Porębski, since early modern times the metaphoric properties of architecture had begun to shrink, while its former suggestive power has moved on to the technical and architectural equipment of transport:

It is no longer the ancient and mediaeval city walls, the church or fortified castle towers rising up to the skies and not even the border defense structures such as the Roman limes or the Chinese wall together with the

internal network of land and sea routes, but the caravels, galleons and frigates, the nineteenth-century steamship, the steam train engine, the twentieth-century car and airplane, and finally the space ship with the entire necessary equipment, port facilities, a system of railways and thoroughfares, railway stations, airports and cosmodromes, that constitute the proper metaphoric and metaphorizing facade of contemporary man and his world. The latter is far more powerful and more suggestive than what is still commonly regarded as architecture today.<sup>17</sup>

Although in his speculations concerning the language of architecture Porębski called external space – into which boxlike buildings have been inserted – an "empty space," he at the same time emphasized strongly that since time immemorial the human experience of space had had axiological character. In one of his subsequent articles, he distinguished a continuous and empty physical space from the axiologically marked, anthropological, symbolic space.<sup>18</sup> In *Iconosphere*, he remarked that:

from the beginning and by the very nature of things the human habitat is a qualified, functionally and emotionally heterogeneous space. This habitat has always possessed its own natural, more or less visible and discernible borders beyond which everything that is familiar, acquired, expected and everyday comes to an end. It possesses its own natural orientation, clearcut directions [...] It also possesses from the very beginning what can be described as top and bottom.<sup>19</sup>

Following French anthropologists, Porebski subsequently referred to this primal diversification of symbolic space as the spheres of sacrum and profanum. Similarly to Stefan Czarnowski, a Polish disciple of Emile Durkheim, he wrote that there exists an internal sacrum where organized rituals and customs predominate, as well as an external sacrum which is unbridled, demonic and wild. Symbolic space has a concentric structure (fig. 3). At its center, one finds the city with a temple in the middle (temenos, templum); the city is surrounded with walls (pomoerium). Beyond city walls, one finds a hostile, alien world, which is unspecified and divided into zones which are less and less cognized and more and more wild: ager effatus (zone of agricultural produce), ager peregrinus (zone intersected by the routes of neighborly peregrinations), ager hosticus (alien and principally hostile zone) and ager incertus (zone where unknown powers hold sway). Wanderers from this external world sometimes do find their way to the city; they are, for the most part, merchants, prophets and jugglers who appear and perform in the agora, which is a specific outpost of the external sacrum in the area enclosed by city walls.<sup>20</sup>

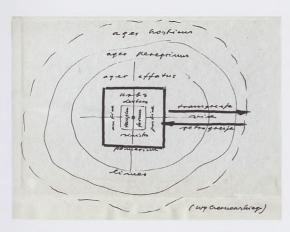


fig. 3 Mieczysław Porębski, diagram of the internal and external sacrum, drawing published in his book Sztuka a informacja (Kraków, 1986).

As a consequence of Europe's expansion onto other continents, this experience of space began to change. Caravels, steamships, cars and spaceships have shifted the boundaries of the known and tamed world beyond the earth's borders right up to the moon (Porębski published *Iconosphere* three years after the Apollo 11 mission). In this way, it was the technical means of transport that became the modern-day *pomoerium* – the boundary and outpost of human culture. Naturally, it was a metaphorical boundary that took over the meanings which had earlier been anchored in architecture. Airports, railway stations, airplanes and cars began to express not so much the power of a deity but the might of man, his glory and greatness.

However, if there is no more room for a city surrounded by walls and for ager effatus, peregrinus, hosticus and incertus in modern-day space, the only sensible new urban proposition for the future becomes a linear development which takes into consideration a system of highways and express trains, one that treats the entire territories of states and continents as an axiologically uniform, internal, controlled and tamed area of social activity. Yet this did not mean that the author excluded altogether the so-called focal points within the individual stretches, as he described them during the *Projekt* debate on Hansen's LCS project; for the need to organize spatial centers was "archetypically" rooted in human nature.<sup>21</sup>

#### IV.

When on February 1, 1972, Porębski had finished writing *Iconosphere*, Europe had just emerged from a series of serious social and political upheavals. The year 1968 had changed the social and mental order of the Western world, whereas the events in Poland and Czechoslovakia had revealed the imperialist, nationalistic and anti-Semitic faces of the communist system. <sup>22</sup> December

1970 had brought strikes along the Polish coast as well as demonstrations in Gdańsk that were brutally suppressed by the militia (the Communist police). The era of utopian faith in the possibility of creating a "socialist system with a human face" had come to an end.

Porębski was a witness to the tragic events in Poland. Although he must have seen the student demonstrations and the brutal militia interventions of on the streets in Warsaw in March 1968, he wrote no word about the political dimension of the public sphere. In *Iconosphere*, we find no passage about the relation between the urban space and state or ideological power.

Porębski's strategy was dictated not so much by his awareness of the presence of censorship, which surely would not have allowed obvious allusions to the inconveniences of life under communism, but rather by a conscious decision to ignore political barriers so as to incorporate his reflection into the main current of the arguments and debates taking place in the West at that time. It was a rather typical attitude among Polish intellectuals at that time; despite the cold war and the difficulties in foreign travel, most tried not to lose touch with Western civilization.<sup>23</sup> But the decision not to comment on political differences illustrated the author's tacit agreement to the existing order in Europe, which could not be changed and in which one had to continue living, whether one wanted to or not.

After the Stalinist period in Poland, one of the ways to go beyond the opposition of the two major political systems was modernization. This gave a feeling of participation in the main current of world development. Porebski also thought along these lines. In Iconosphere, modern technology - cars, airplanes, ships and space rockets - clashed with amorphous contemporary architecture as well as with meticulously depicted middle-class nineteenthcentury interiors, echoing the contrastive juxtapositions found in Le Corbusier's Vers une architecture [Towards a New Architecture]. In the Swiss architect's words, "Tail pieces and garlands, exquisite ovals where triangular doves preen themselves or one another, boudoirs embellished with 'poufs' in gold and black velvet, are now no more than the intolerable witnesses to a dead spirit."24 And he adds: "If we forget for a moment that a steamship is a machine used for transportation and look at it with a fresh eye, we shall feel that we are facing an important manifestation of temerity, of discipline, of harmony, of a beauty that is calm, vital and strong."25 Nearly fifty years separated the publication of Towards a New Architecture and the first edition of Iconosphere. Through studying the products of technology, Le Corbusier had shown modern architects a way out of historicism and past academic rules. But Porebski came to the conclusion that the experiment had not succeeded. In the second half of the twentieth century, technology continued to retain

its avant-garde character, whereas architectural modernism only replaced the former insincerity of historical styles and of middle-class interiors with a "completely amorphous architecture, characterized by an anonymous, multi-segment macro-shell, which gave no chance of a self-definition." Modern buildings were not capable of fulfilling their informative function because modernists were incapable of turning their creations into metonymies or metaphors. In this respect, there was no difference between the capitalist and socialist worlds.

But the informative function, this semantic surplus, had not disappeared from the world altogether. It had only moved away from architecture to the products of modern technology and civilization, Porebski wrote. "The only ways of escape which allow it [contemporary architecture] to move beyond its own territory are TV, cinema, one's own 'four wheels' of appropriate class and character." The first two were for the author a modern-day embodiment of metonymy, which gave the possibility of "collective initiations and metonymic participations." The car, on the other hand (most probably following Roland Barthes' *Mythologies*), was becoming a metaphor that mythologized the owner's status. As Barthes noted: "I think that cars today are almost the exact equivalent of the great Gothic cathedrals: I mean the supreme creation of an era, conceived with passion by unknown artists, and consumed in image if not usage by a whole population which appropriates them as a purely magical object." 28

## V.

In *Iconosphere*, Porębski tried to describe a new cultural formation arising out of technological progress right before his eyes. He observed that the civilization of print was coming to an end while the civilization of mass communication, in which images would fulfill the fundamental informative role, was taking its place. These images ceased to belong to the sphere of art and began to lead a life of their own:

The man of the second half of the twentieth century no longer looks for the first information and initiations that are important for him in books or in what may be referred to as literature of artistic or musical images. [...] He looks for the *first*, *initiating* information on the radio, on television, in the cinema, in a shop window, on advertisements or propaganda posters, in a magazine richly illustrated with colored photographs, in publications which have glossy covers and which can easily be folded and put in one's pocket.<sup>29</sup>

As a result of the expansion of new media, the urban-architectural external space of cities began to change, as did the internal space of homes and apartments. Advertisements, neon signs, shop windows, posters, traffic lights and TV sets in homes created an environment permanently filled with images the author referred to as the iconosphere. The reality of the iconosphere had shaped the world of man then to such an extent that even the forms for expressing prestige had shifted from traditional media, such as architecture and visual arts, to images such as the car; contact with what was important was now supplied by a TV set.

Porębski did not have a critical view of the changes taking place in culture. He noticed and described them, leaving critical commentary on these phenomena to art itself. Yet he concluded that Dadaism, surrealism, pop art, happening and hyper-realism did not became immersed in the new reality for the purpose of creating a new mimesis: "A pop picture is an image of a new, superior type, an image of the image, not its copy, replica or amplification. Its object is not the reality of modern man, for this we know from elsewhere, but its specific language, the language of iconic stereotypes, conventions and symbols." The essence of the new art became "the portrayal of the portrayal—an evolution of all transformations, a realization of their effects and determination of its scope." The essence of the new art became "the portrayal of the portrayal—an evolution of all transformations, a realization of their effects and determination of its scope."

In the section devoted to architecture from which the opening quote of this chapter is taken, Porębski postulated the need for a "complete renewal and transformation of the architectural image of the world that surrounds us" while at the same time pointing to the decisive role of a "new spatial poetics, restoring sense and dignity to every man's place," in this respect. However, we do not learn from *Iconosphere* what this new poetics should look like. Porębski's article about the multiplicity of space, published a few years later, does not explain this issue either. We learn from it that:

creating space within a space [...] may be effected in various ways: either directly through shaping our architectural, urban, or landscape surroundings; through closing and extending, or through opening windows onto other spaces in this surrounding, through suggesting by various means a scenic or artistic illusion. It may also be created through placing in it three-dimensional images of residents (or envoys) of the other spaces – idols, silhouettes, monuments or statues.<sup>32</sup>

The author made diagnoses, but did not specify which roads to follow in the future.

Porębski's approach strikes one particularly when juxtaposing his presentation of iconosphere with the slightly earlier analysis by Guy Debord's of

the society of the spectacle. For the French situationist, the contemporary primacy of sight and the transformation of the world into a visual representation were not simple facts belonging to the sphere of culture. "The spectacle," Debord wrote, "is the ruling order's nonstop discourse about itself, its neverending monologue of self-praise, its self-portrait at the stage of totalitarian domination of all aspects of life." In Porębski's writings, we shall not find an equally critical approach (Debord's book is regarded as one of the revolutionary fuses that had helped ignite the events of 1968 in France). According to Porębski, the world should also solve burning issues associated with protection of the environment, urban design and humanization; and yet he does not indicate by what means these goals should be achieved. Where Debord treated Marxism as a call for revolution, Porębski in fact announced the end of history.

The author of *Iconosphere* explained the former festive, political and artistic negations of the social and political order by referring not only to the conception of the internal and external sacrum but also to Bataille's *Accursed Share*, where the need to destroy the surplus of accumulated goods is explained by means of the category of transgression.<sup>35</sup> While analyzing twentieth-century reality, Porebski concluded that all revolutionary movements had a transgressive character. They had assumed the function of instruments helping to relieve accumulated social tension. The victory of the Bolshevik revolution, aided by avant-garde art that was subversive in character and that targeted existing, ritual academic art, had led to ultimate transgression. "For if," he wrote, "the essence of every revolution, likewise of every holiday, is *transgression – a spectacular contravention* of the normal, socially sanctioned order of things, festive transgression should be looked upon as temporary and recurrent, while revolutionary transgression as permanent and irreversible." <sup>36</sup>

In a reality encapsulated by the victorious revolution, no new transgression could have taken place. Naturally, the author was aware of the existence of both capitalist and socialist states, but he treated this condition as a permanent one. In his analysis, he consciously ignored political motifs, as he did not take into consideration a change of the post-Yalta political order. Thus, in his conception of architectural space, there were no references to the political sphere. He regarded the streets as empty spaces, not as zones of social argument or places marked by domination of power. Hence, in his presentation, the Iron Curtain did not assume the shape of a new *pomoerium*, but neither had it disappeared altogether in favor of conviction about the unbounded expansion of a tamed, uniform world stretching off as far as the moon.

For Porębski, contemporary man was a consumer of the iconosphere, someone who accepted technological modernization and who discovered

in the products of modern technology materials for the creation of up-to-date metaphors and mythologies. This man, who had been evicted from middle-class interiors, now lived in lackluster interiors, or even in houses that reminded one of cancerous growths accumulated around the historical tissue of former cities. But his problem consisted of not so much a lack of his own, separate and tamed space in the form of an internal home sacrum, but exclusively in the general nondescript character of architecture and "the inability to organize space in city centers." <sup>37</sup>

The juxtaposition of Porębski and Debord illustrates effectively the conditions in which intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain had to work and live. For them, history had been a closed chapter. The victorious revolution we read about in *Iconosphere* involves both the events of 1917 and the metaphor of Yalta. The political reality was seen as determined once and for all by the stranglehold between the US and the USSR. Thus, one could not appeal for change, as had been done by the situationists, as this would not bring about any results. It would not bring change in the future as one could not hope to alter the political system, and it would not bring changes in the present as one could easily lose one's personal freedom by upholding subversive political views.

At the same time, intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain tried not to lose touch with the West. Porebski's conceptions concerned the culture of the twentieth century in general, as if the unity of Europe could easily become a fact. In the communist camp, the road to this much-dreamed-of unity was to lead through modernization - the local variety of a modernist regeneration myth.38 In the sphere of technology, it was to bring a development of the iconosphere, and in art, an acceptance and assimilation of current artistic trends. Meanwhile in architecture, which was being criticized for its amorphous, anonymous, lackluster character and cancerous urban development, it was to lead to a realization of more interesting and sounder conceptions of linear development. Yet all of this could only be implemented on the condition that modernization received a more "human dimension"; in other words, that new, humanistic poetics were found for the development of the future. As repeated above, Porebski did not specify what this new poetics should look like. It was supposed to simply be better, more convenient and more people-friendly; it was also supposed to be more humane in the midst of the political reality, which in the existing circumstances appeared impossible to change...

#### **Endnotes**

I would like to express my thanks to Carolyn Guile, PhD, for checking and correcting language in the present paper. –W.B.

- 1 Mieczysław Porębski, *Ikonosfera* (Warsaw: PIW, 1972), 169. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are from the author. The last chapter of the book was published in English as "The Iconosphere," *Polish Perspectives*, 6:11 (1973), 10–20; the book appeared in Yugoslavia as: Mječislav *Porempski*, *Ikonosfera*, trans. Peter Vujičič (Belgrad: Prosveta, 1978).
- 2 Krystyna Czerni, "Mieczysław Porębski (1921–2012)," Biuletyn Historii Sztuki, 75:3 (2013), 591–605.
- 3 Porębski, Granica współczesności 1909–1925 (Warsaw: WAiF, 1989), 416.
- 4 Porębski, Pożegnanie z krytyką (Kraków: WL, 1983), 63.
- 5 Colin Rowe, "Die Architektur Utopias," in *Die Mathematik der idealen Villa und andere Essays*, trans. Christoph Schnoor (Basel/Berlin/Boston: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1988), 209–226 (pp. 221–225); Andrzej Szczerski, "LSC, or What Is a City?", in *Oskar Hansen: Opening Modernism. On Open Form Architecture, Art and Didactics*, eds. Aleksandra Kędziorek, Łukasz Ronduda (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), 91–113.
- Tadeusz Zaleski, "Polish Plans for Linear Cities," *The Architect*, 1:3 (1971), 71–72; Łukasz Stanek, "Team 10 East: The Socialist State as an Architectural Project," in *Oskar Hansen*, 61–88; Piotr Juszkiewicz, *Cień modernizmu* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2013), 84–126.
- 7 "Linearny System Ciągły/The Linear Continuous System/Le Système Linéaire Continu," *Projekt*, 64 (1968), 37–51.
- 8 Ibid., 49.
- 9 Porębski, Z. Po-wieść (Warsaw: PIW, 1989), 457.
- 10 Porebski, Ikonosfera, 168.
- 11 Ibid., 153-154.
- Wojciech Bałus, "'Der verfemte Teil'. Die polnische Kunstgeschichte und der kommunistische Diskurs nach dem Tod Stalins," *Kunsttexte.de/Ostblick. E-Journal für Kunst- und Bildgeschichte*, 4 (2015), accessed April 20, 2016, http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/kunsttexte/2015-4/balus-wojciech-6/PDF/balus.pdf.
- 13 Porębski, Ikonosfera, 163.
- 14 Ibid., 164.
- 15 Ibid., 167; see also Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 45.
- 16 Ibid., 164.
- 17 Ibid., 167-168.
- 18 Porębski, "Wielość przestrzeni," in *Sztuka a informacja* (Kraków: WL, 1986). 215–224 (p. 217).
- 19 Ibid., 152-153.
- 20 Porębski, *Ikonosfera*, 126–127; also "Wielość przestrzeni," 217–218.
- <sup>21</sup> "Linearny System Ciągły," 46, 49, 50.
- 22 Rewolucje 1968, ed. Hanna Wróblewska, et al. (Warsaw: Agora SA, 2008).
- 23 See Bałus, "Die Sigismundkapelle in Krakau oder die Renaissanceforschung zwischen dem wissenschaftlichen Diskurs der Stalinzeit und dem Venezianischen Spiegel des Eisernen Vorhangs," *Ars*, 48:2 (2015), 145–159 (pp. 156–157).

- 24 Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, transl. Frederick Etchells (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 91.
- 25 Ibid., 102-103.
- 26 Porębski, Ikonosfera, 168.
- 27 Ibid., 167.
- 28 Roland Barthes, "The New Citroën," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: The Noonday Press, 1991), 88–90 (p. 88).
- 29 Porębski, Ikonosfera, 110.
- 30 Porębski, "The Iconosphere," 20; Porębski, Ikonosfera, 285.
- 31 Ibid., 20; 285.
- 32 Porębski, "Wielość przestrzeni," 220.
- Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Ken Knabb (Canberra: Treaston Press, 2002), 9 (para. 24).
- Jarosław Lubiak, "Sytuacje rozkoszy. Sytuacjonistyczna rewolucja życia codziennego," *Rewolucje 1968*, 21–26 (pp. 21–22).
- 35 Bałus, "Der verfemte Teil."
- 36 Porębski, Ikonosfera, 120–121.
- 37 Porębski in the discussion "Formy przestrzenne w krajobrazie miasta / Spatial Forms in an Urban Landscape/Les formes spatiales dans le paysage de la ville," *Projekt*, 66 (1968), 33–44 (p. 43).
- 38 Juszkiewicz, Cień modernizmu, 67-71.