

# Damnatio Memoriae. The Case of Mart Stam

Simone Hain



- [B] What do we understand by taking a stand regarding architecture and design, and particularly of the Bauhaus and Modernism?

architectural historiography  
of modernism

As early as 1932, 33-year-old Mart Stam was preoccupied with the idea that he might be counted as dead as far as architectural history, or rather the «West», was concerned, because for over a year and a half he had failed to provide new material for art history.

«We Are Not Working Here with the Intention  
of Influencing How Art Develops and Making  
New Material Available to Art History»

- [B] On August 20th, 1932, he wrote to Sigfried Giedion, the most important art historian for architects: «You will be amazed to receive another little letter from me after I have been dead for a year and a half. Yes, I am immersed in our Russian work, in one of the most difficult tasks that will ever exist. I know that we won't be able to build a lot of flawless buildings here, that we won't be able to produce wonderful material compositions, that we won't even be able to implement pure floor plans and apartment types, maybe not even flawless city plans. [...] we are not working here with the intention of influencing how art develops and making new material available to art history, but rather because we are witnessing a great cultural-historical development that is almost unprecedented in its scope and extent [...]»<sup>1</sup>

societal projects of modernism  
reshaping the world

Stam describes his activities in Russia *ex negativo*, knowing full well that in doing so he is violating the well-established relationship between himself and Giedion and all the rules of the game in the industry. Giedion—a pioneer of Modernism and both co-initiator and first Secretary General of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM)—had idolized Stam for years as the rising star in the architectural heavens and promoted him as Le Corbusier's successor. The aspect that distinguished Stam from Le Corbusier was precisely this rather particular attitude that did not limit his vision to producing images. He was much more interested in participating in a civilization-building undertaking that constituted a quantum leap in humankind's social reproduction—Karel Teige refers to «plans for another globe».<sup>2</sup> This avant-garde attitude was linked to an affirmation of belonging to an overarching community of values, in which cultural progress is inextricably linked to another, alternative form of economic management, cooperation and consumption. As a leading representative of the Constructivist movement, Stam operated at the interface between the aesthetic and political avant-garde and shared with

collectivist ethos

constructivism

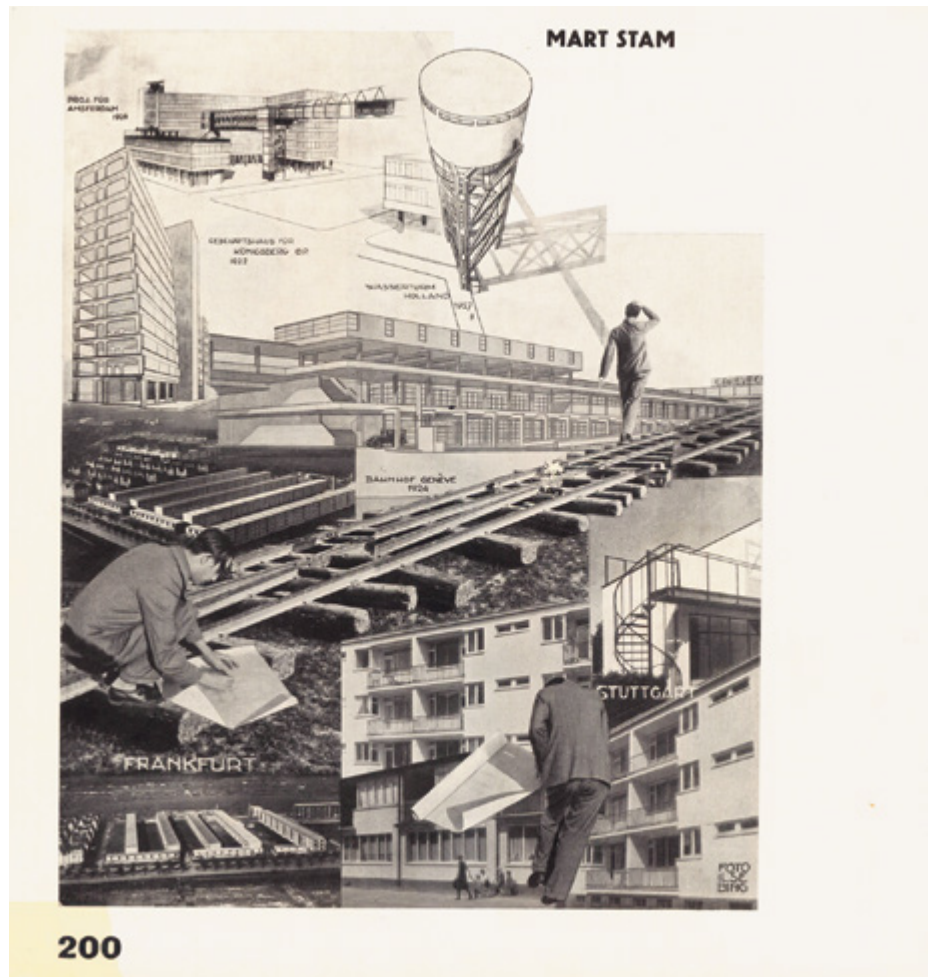


Fig. 1  
Projects and buildings by Mart  
Stam in a photomontage by Ilse Bing,  
in: *Das neue Frankfurt*, 9, 1930



Fig. 2  
Lotte Beese, Portrait photograph of  
Mart Stam (detail), around 1929/30

- [M] What are the criteria for being included in history or excluded from it, and for historical relevance? What kinds of stand do they reveal, and which blind spots and cognitive shortcomings do they generate?

his fellow Constructivists a conviction that there is a structural force in all life that is self-organizing and pushes for change: *autopoésis*. All one can do is serve this sacred power, and authorship is an illusion.

Stam's lines from *Makiivka* capture something that plays scarcely any part in the current reappraisal of Communism, which focuses on dictatorship and terror: On the one hand, the «travellers to Russia» initially endured severe depressions, yet on the other hand they also reaped rich rewards—on the building sites in this vast, wild country or at the dachas of their Russian friends, with El Lissitzky and Kazimir Malevich. They were largely in agreement in expressing their love for this country of new beginnings, which remained completely incomprehensible in the West, as well as in refraining from any attempt to dominate the country as experts. In keeping with Karl Marx's concept of political economy and the Constructivist theory based on it, they see themselves as workers, although perhaps a little better organized and more efficient because of their bourgeois origins and Western mindset. When they finally left, indeed were even forced to flee, all their «material for art history» remained there in confiscated crates that would never reappear. The dearth of images of their human engagement later became problematic, as did their «homelessness» and «displacement», as Ryan Fred Long points out, not to mention the strictest discretion of their political resistance. If it were not for «co-op 2» in Amsterdam, we would have only learnt by chance what the Bauhaus painters, photographers, and architects did in the Resistance. Hundreds of forged birth certificates and passports, made by a German soldier in uniform, are suddenly found in the attic of a Jewish community in the Netherlands.

The relationship between Giedion and Stam makes absolutely clear what it means to end up with nothing to show for your activities and to be in a sense a blank slate professionally. After Giedion's emigration to the USA, one reads almost nothing more about Stam, the artistic genius and accelerator of Modernism. As Sokratis Georgiadis put it, at the age of 31, Mart Stam was already history for the herald of *Neues Bauen*.<sup>3</sup>

What had Giedion appreciated about Stam? He was indubitably impressed that during the 1920s Stam <sup>Fig. 1,2</sup> was the first in every realm of innovation: structural design, typological development, spatial conception, material aesthetics, urban planning. His little-known Chicago Tribune design alone puts him decades ahead of all his competitors <sup>Fig. 3</sup>. These are the kind of inventions

processes of oblivion  
and repression

homelessness as a concept  
displacement as a concept

[M]

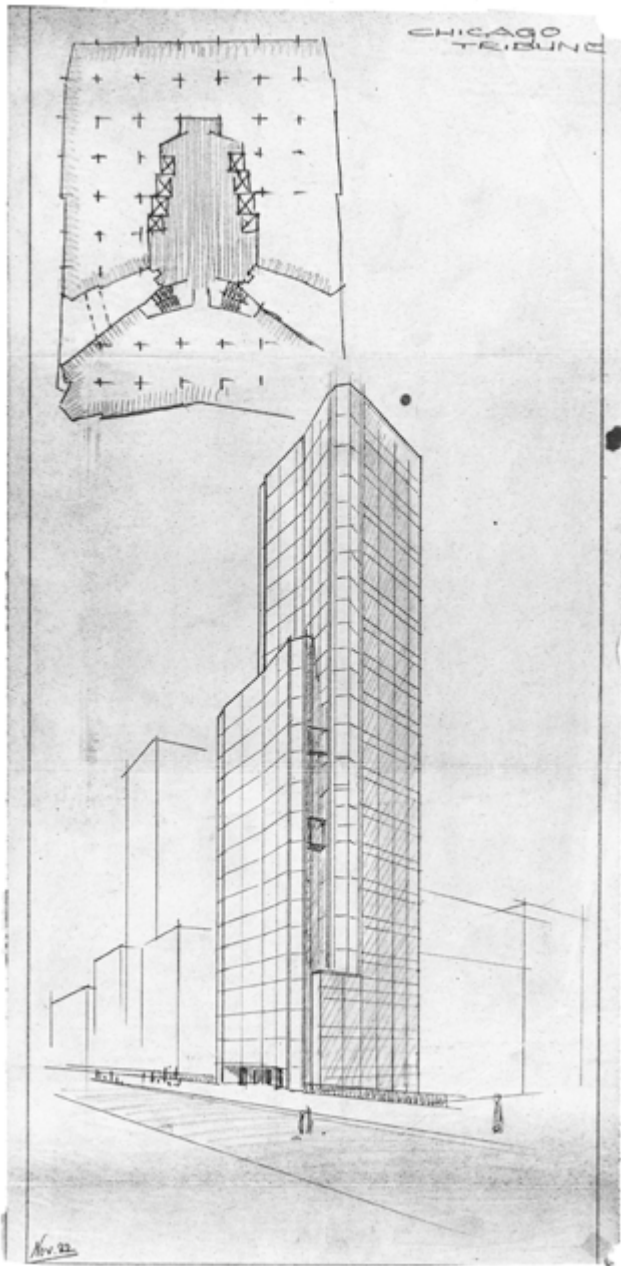


Fig. 3  
 Mart Stam's concept sketch for the competition launched by Chicago Tribune in 1922



Fig. 4  
 Mart Stam's revolutionary chair—an epitome of Bauhaus design—in the prototype version for the Weißenhof Housing Estate, 1927. Poster by Alp Eren Tekin, 2019.



Fig. 5  
 Film clip of «Wo wohnen alte Leute», [«Where old people live»] by Ella Bergmann-Michel with residents on the balconies of the Henry and Emma Budge Home in Frankfurt am Main

with which one makes a name for oneself in art, yet they scarcely make a mark on the history of technology. Stam regarded the cantilever chair <sup>Fig. 4</sup> as a fundamental technical idea that would be continuously refined by other developers, just like the bicycle. In this sense, it was perhaps Stam's heroic altruism that left the most profound impression on Giedion. The latter's monumental history of mechanization—*Mechanization Takes Command. A Contribution to Anonymous History*, New York 1948—is an «anonymous» history of technology and its inventors that is not about icons and copyrights, but about common ware, common property. This was Stam's home ground: in a nameless discourse, in which architecture is a specific genre in its own right and is about the production of a world, a frame, but is not art.

### The Enigma of Stam Grows Clearer

However, it was not just that Stam was dead for Giedion in terms of the reception track of art history. Stam had felt increasingly persecuted ever since his authorship was first contested over the cantilever chair and the Budge Retirement Home in Frankfurt am Main <sup>Figs. 4</sup>. His alleged paranoia began with experiences in the GDR, but intensified after he returned to live in the Netherlands. His status was disputed again and again; a character assassination campaign was underway. He had to be cautious and think carefully about what he said.<sup>4</sup> The proud giant was a completely broken man.

There was therefore an even greater sense of relief in finally discovering the reasons for the young architect's initially almost unbelievable reputation. Former Bauhaus student Hubert Hoffmann described him as an exceptional person, «preceded by his reputation of having <replaced an entire office at Taut>. This was confirmed for us in competitions: a very fast thinker, with captivating logic and a kind of juggler at the drawing board. Rails and angles whirled to and fro—lines and surfaces—perfection—floor plans were created as if by magic. He seemed a little uncanny to us. That arose due to a spectacular introductory lecture he had given in the auditorium: <M-Art>—during which there had been violent attacks on Albers. Unperturbed, he asked the surrounding students: <This is M-Art? Is architecture the art of impressing people?>»<sup>5</sup>

Mart Stam, who for Giedion and analytical Swiss historiography was almost superhuman, yet on the other hand was

a self-proclaimed «Anonymous», has nothing at all to offer museum curators who exhibit icons. That is not a contradiction in terms! He was a highly gifted man who, in the architectural sense, lackadaisically left Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius standing, and architects like Ferdinand Kramer or Hermann Henselmann were eclipsed by him. Stam was vulnerable to attack on multiple fronts, for he wanted to possess nothing, to hold no titles. We come to understand why it is so important to consider the judgment of contemporaries from the office and the Rotterdam architecture business, who experienced Stam as a Circensian design machine, referring, in the case of Van Nelle, the Rotterdam Bauhaus twin, simply to «Stam's factory». That attribution from those closely involved denotes a fascination that Stam exuded, which eludes art-centred architectural history. Even today, people in the Netherlands know exactly where Stam's work on «his factory» ended and where the work of the company owner began. Stam's contribution was the abrasive, structurally adventurous constructive part of the project, not the «*lekker*» [appealing] rooftop tearoom. Stam—as always, it seems—completely exhausted himself in the pioneering work, the revolutionary columns, the sandwich-layered structures, the extremely Functionalist building layout. The ensuing Constructivist masterpiece can hold its own in comparisons with Wladimir Tatlin, Konstantin Melnikov or Turin's FIAT architects. With the Van Nelle factory, Stam is at least on a par with Walter Gropius, as Bruno Taut scholar Kurt Junghanns in the GDR was the first to note and acknowledge.

functionalist approach  
constructivist approach

The utmost admiration also becomes apparent in the words of Paul Meller, Oud's construction supervisor who describes Stam's rousing performance at Stuttgart's Weißenhof as follows: « Then Stam!!!! God have mercy. Like a young girl from the country who came from the village at 6:10 a.m. and wanted to be fashionable at 7:00 a.m. [...]. His living room stunned us all. It was beautiful [...] and showed me the depravity of my aesthetic attitude [...]. »<sup>6</sup> With his «*Holländereien*», i.e. his architectonic promotion of Mondrian's art, this Stam was not only the underpinning of Swiss Modernism but also changed the world through design. However, in Stam's eyes these were merely formal virtuosités, simply Dadaist fun on the margins of a completely different project: the «plan for another globe», design politics «on the Czech model». The syntax came from the Netherlands and Belgium, the programmatic approach from Prague, while practice was gleaned in the Soviet Union.



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collective design  
collectivist ethos

- [B] Stam set out to serve a community idea that had both spiritual and Socialist roots for him. Integrated into a larger collective of constructivist artists and very much in agreement with, for example Karel Teige, the Prague spokesman of this movement, Mart Stam, as a leader among equals, was among those who wanted to bring about the «death of the author». Collective design was the goal, smashing the old aura and drawing on mutual assistance, like in the manifestos of Pjotr Kropotkin. Historically, the principle of «collective design» was associated in the 1920s with undertakings reflected in collective writing projects that were derived from «Una-anima» or Unanimism (after Jules Romains' *La vie unanime*, 1908), such as the journal *Krise und Kritik*, planned by Walter Benjamin with Bertolt Brecht. The Basel architecture magazine *ABC* was another such project. Co-op instead of M-Art. Instruments instead of monuments. This group of early structuralist architects no longer attacked historicism, instead directing their criticism at Le Corbusier and the «by me» principle, with its veneration of the author.

#### Stam's Steep Path to «Success» is Piecework and Inconclusive for His Lifetime Achievement

Born in 1899, Stam was one of many in his generation who took an informal route to a career, i.e. he did not pursue formal studies. Like Le Corbusier or Mies van der Rohe, it was primarily as a draftsman that he found his way to designing but that did not prevent him from developing self-confidently. He was in Berlin when marvellous construction projects for the trade union buildings were developed there in 1922, under Max Taut—Stam was a key team member for Max Taut—and directly experienced Mies van der Rohe's pioneering spirit in introducing the free floor plan, the curtain wall principle and glass architecture with his high-rise building on Friedrichstraße. He was likewise involved with Piet Mondrian<sup>7</sup> and the emerging De Stijl movement and at the centre of the revolutionary art of Dada and the Constructivist International. In 1924, together with architects Hans Schmidt, Emil Roth and El Lissitzky, he initiated the first Swiss avant-garde journal *ABC—Beiträge zum Bauen*. When CIAM was founded, the ABC Group became Le Corbusier's greatest challenger. Stam was invited by Mies to the Werkbund exhibition in Stuttgart-Weißenhof and was courted by Gropius as his successor. He taught at

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the Bauhaus for one semester, followed the call to Ernst May's *Neues Frankfurt* [New Frankfurt urban planning and housing programme] <sup>Fig. 1</sup>, caused a furore with the cantilever chair with no back legs <sup>Fig. 4</sup>, built an interdenominational retirement home conceived as a collective dwelling <sup>Fig. 5</sup> and developed a strong architectural presence in Prague. Under his influence, Karel Teige declared war on Le Corbusier in 1929 in the «Functionalism dispute». «Where the architect turns on his brain, the inclination to art ends. [...] Instead of monuments, architecture creates instruments.» This sentence is a variation on Stam's general theme of «M-Art».

[B]

The shattering of the erstwhile aura and age-old conventions of mimetic likeness in architecture was almost completed. For the first time ever, art historians had begun to understand cutting-edge developments in architecture as art, be it the machine for living or the pneumatic wall. Stam reached the peak of his success in 1930, at least if innovative creation and artistic perfection are taken as the yardsticks. Up to that point, however, he had focused on individual works, not yet on a new culture.

architectural historiography  
of modernism

### Turning Point: Escape into Life

In terms of his own logic, Stam could not fail to head to a place where isolated acts became a civilization-forming challenge. He had heard that hundreds of cities, factories, railway lines and canals were being built in Russia. Seemingly unimpressed by the trench warfare in Moscow, he worked tirelessly for *Sotsgorod*, creating new cities in Makiivka, Magnitogorsk, Orsk.

At some point, however, there was a rupture, when Stam found it unacceptable to build a residential town for a coppermine at Lake Balkhasch in the midst of the most inhospitable desert terrain. Stam suggested that the workforce should be allowed to regularly commute 200 kilometres. Little concrete information is available about the dispute, but a delegation from the GDR heard rumours in 1950 that Stalin had personally declared Stam a *persona non grata*. He had allegedly been expelled.

societal projects of modernism  
new building of the future  
reshaping the world

### No Way Back

Anyone who had gone to Moscow was under at least twofold secret service surveillance and was denounced as a Comintern partisan. When the German Wehrmacht invaded the Netherlands in 1939, a squadron of motorcyclists drove ahead of the front and straight to the office addresses of Mart Stam, his wife Lotte Beese, and others, hoping to confiscate plans of Soviet industrial cities or data on warehouses or other information about the Soviet economy that could be essential to the war effort.

In 1948 when Stam moved to the Soviet-occupied zone, which later became the GDR, he once again flung himself entirely into the project: He wanted to revive the Bauhaus tradition in higher education policy and, following the example of the Design Council in London, sought to establish a design policy headquarters for the industrial sector, which was already nationalized. He managed to set up a central research and development institute that would be equipped with a pool of design patents, technological innovations or advertising services for all industrial sectors to utilise in future. There has been no research on the extent to which Stam thus established the future GDR's industrial design system and its details, and his role is also repeatedly called into question. A continuous, direct connection from the Bauhaus to the early GDR via the Communist Bauhaus members—Franz Ehrlich, Waldemar Alder, Max Gebhardt as well as Herbert Hirche, Wils Ebert, Hubert Hoffmann—is more than clearly documented in Selman Selmanagić's papers.<sup>8</sup> Stam's oeuvre has however scarcely been researched, as is also the case for the relevant documentation.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, reception of the GDR Bauhaus is not even mentioned in this 100th anniversary year.<sup>10</sup> The Bauhaus was purportedly taboo in the GDR, but in fact it was a driving force.

In the GDR, Stam headed two High Schools: the Staatliche Hochschule für Werkkunst, Dresden [State High School for Industrial Art], and, on a provisional basis, the city's Akademie der Bildenden Künste [Academy of Fine Arts], until both were transformed by him in early 1949 to form the Hochschule für Bildende Künste [Dresden Academy of Fine Arts], with Stam as Director; and Weißensee Kunsthochschule Berlin [art college], after 1950, the Berlin-Weißensee applied arts college, the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst (later Weißensee Kunsthochschule Berlin [Weißensee Academy of Art]) Fig. 6 where he founded the Institut für industrielle Formgestaltung [Institute for Industrial Design]

bauhaus reception in the  
german democratic republic

bauhaus centenary

bauhaus reception in the  
german democratic republic

processes of oblivion  
and repression

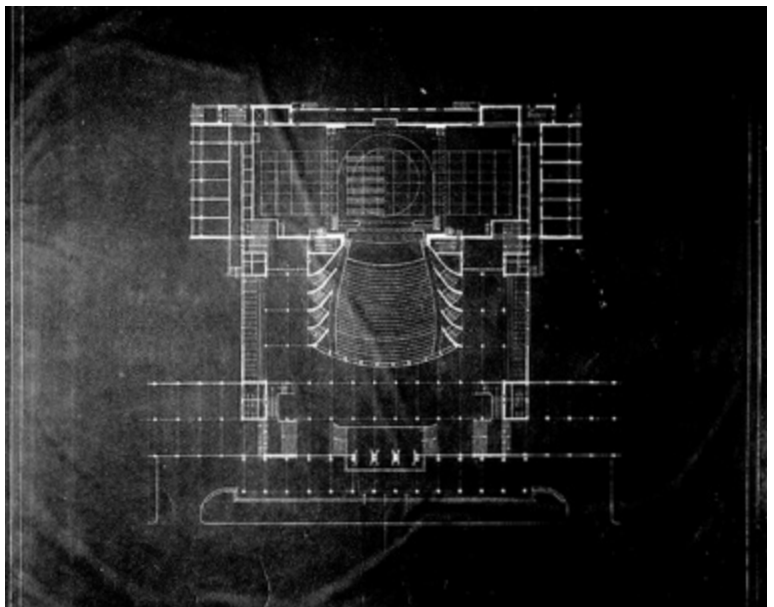


Fig. 6  
Rector Mart Stam with architect and  
Bauhäusler Selman Selmanagić at one of  
the famous carnivals at the Berlin-  
Weißensee Art Academy, probably in 1951

Fig. 7  
Competition entry for a cultural centre in  
Boehlen (GDR), 1950, floor plan

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(1950) as its Director. In addition, his range of activities encompassed designing exhibitions as well as drawing up reconstruction and building plans <sup>Fig. 7</sup>.

### Mart Stam in Architectural History

- [M] While Stam was indubitably famous, even held in the highest esteem by his colleagues, there has always been a hint of doubt about this, especially since he was not self-employed most of the time. Against this backdrop, the cantilever chair has remained controversial, as has his contribution to the Van Nelle factory. Until 1991 there were no publications about him at all; he had last been interviewed by Karel Teige for *Stavba* in 1935. Jean-Louis Cohen and Marco de Michelis had nonetheless reflected in 1979 on his urban development work in the Soviet Union.<sup>11</sup> In the GDR, Stam was first honoured in 1976 by Gerhard Strauss and then mentioned in 1979 in the journal *Deutsche Architektur* on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

After the end of the Cold War, hopes were therefore all the higher that Stam's estate, which was obtained by the Deutsches Architekturmuseum (DAM) thanks to Werner Möller, could be studied and given the presentation it merited, and it was all the more pressing to do so. Parallel to reception of Karel Teige, Hans Schmidt and Hannes Meyer, in 1991 the *Rassegna* 47/3 edition, *Mart Stam 1899–1986*, edited by Werner Möller and Gerrit Oorthuys, was published, with an article on Stam's engagement in the GDR,<sup>12</sup> as were the publication *Mart Stam*, edited by Werner Oechslin, *Reise in die Schweiz 1923–25*, and the first monograph by Simone Rümmele, *Mart Stam*. In 1994 Sima Ingberman's monograph on ABC<sup>13</sup> was a real triumph and demonstrated Stam's leading role, appropriately embedded in the collective. All these Stam scholars seemed to be well on the way to opening a path that would enable Constructivism outside the Soviet Union, especially the ABC Group and Mart Stam, to join the hero-driven history of Modernism.

In 1997—two years before Stam's 100th birthday—DAM showed a markedly pared-down exhibition, which was only possible thanks to a sponsor. It was entitled *Mart Stam 1899–1986, Architect—Visionary—Designer. His Road to Success 1919–1930* and, just as Giedion had done, acknowledged only ten years of iconic production in Stam's biography. It abandoned him at the

- [M] What are the criteria for being included in history or excluded from it, and for historical relevance? What kinds of stand do they reveal, and which blind spots and cognitive shortcomings do they generate?
- [N] How do our own cultural, social, and political beliefs and stances affect our understanding of the Bauhaus, Modernism, and modernity?

depoliticization  
of the avant-garde

bauhaus as a testing ground  
for socialism

critique of capitalism

- [N] very moment he embraced Communism. This depoliticization of the avant-garde seems to me to be symptomatic of German architectural history. It is full of taboos. Nobody talks any more about *Neues Bauen*, Constructivism and Functionalism as aesthetic projects accompanying the 1918 revolution. Yet the avant-garde aesthetic revolution, the founding of the Bauhaus, was itself, even simply in terms of the self-image of all those involved, a long-due reaction to capitalism's profound crisis, a sublimation of revolutionary energies, and indifferent only to party politics—or with the words of Oskar Schlemmer (1927): «Didn't the majority of the German people want to build the Cathedral of Socialism in 1918?»<sup>14</sup>

- [M] It is also interesting to note DAM's justification for that exhibition that reduced the narrative only to the «success story» and excluded «Stam the loser»: «Normally, it is the quality of the work that determines whether an exhibition merits being shown, but in Stam's case, his radical architectural stance would also be a criterion»: In addition to «key positions in architecture, certain architectural attitudes, which have coherently translated a very original, radical, clear, comprehensible standpoint into an architectural position, also play a role. The aim is not to dictate taste, but to convey a feeling for good architecture.»<sup>15</sup> At the latest at this point, Stam thus appears as an architect who merits an exhibition not because of the quality of his architectural works, but because of his extreme «attitude».

Finally, in 2017/18 the Marta Herford museum dedicated a biographical exhibition to Mart Stam, which also addressed his complex personality. Entitled *Radikaler Modernist. Das Mysterium Mart Stam [Radical Modernist—The Enigma of Mart Stam]*, the museum website announces that the exhibition staged «the highly creative, restless and enigmatic life of Mart Stam, the «Mystery Man» of Modernism in the form of seven themes like an adventurous tour de force through the architecture, design and ideas of the 20th century».<sup>16</sup> With this narrative, historical research finally abandons hermeneutics and analysis. And «attitude» is now cast as enigmatic.

## Notes

- 1 Mart Stam to Sigfried Giedion, *Makeevka, Ukraine, Donbass, GORKOMGXOSS 20. August 1952* (facsimile), quoted from Sokratis Georgiadis, «Wie machen Sie das jetzt? Geht Corbusier mit nach Chicago?», *Dokumente zu Mart Stam aus dem Archiv S. Giedion*, in: Werner Oechslin (ed.), *Mart Stam 1923–1925. Eine Reise in die Schweiz*, gta Zürich 1991, p. 142.
- 2 Teige is thus quoted in a picture poem by Jindřich Styrský dated May 1924 with the title «obraz» [picture]. Reproduced in: Zdenek Prus (Hg.), *Tschechische Avantgarde 1922–1940. Reflexe europäischer Kunst und Fotografie in der Buchgestaltung*, Hamburg, Boston 1990. On Teige's work as a PR assistant at the Bauhaus, see also: Simone Hain, «Karel Teige: Typographie, Propaganda, Poesie, Architektur», in: Philipp Oswalt (ed.), *Hannes Meyers neue Bauhauslehre. Von Dessau bis Mexiko*, Bauwelt Fundamente 164, Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag 2019, pp. 349–362.
- 3 Georgiadis 1991 (as Note 1), p. 142.
- 4 Cf. on this point: Werner Möller, *Mart Stam (1899–1986): Architekt—Visionär—Gestalter* [Schriftenreihe zur Plan- und Modellsammlung des Deutschen Architektur-Museums in Frankfurt am Main], Tübingen, Berlin 1997.
- 5 Hubert Hoffmann, «Erinnerungen eines Architekturstudenten», in: Oswalt (as Note 2), pp. (116–129), 124 f.
- 6 Möller 1997, p. 55.
- 7 Stam was a friend of Mondrian, promoted his art and was Chair of the Mondrian Society.
- 8 Selman Selmanagić, Privataarchiv. Cf. Simone Hain, ««Alle Künstler verzahnt Euch!» Bauhäusler gestalten das «Neue Deutschland» und werben für die volkseigene Wirtschaft», in: *bauhaus imaginista* Journal, Edition 3: Moving Away, <http://www.bauhaus-imaginista.org/articles/6221/alle-kunstler-verzahnt-euch/de?0bbf55ceffc-3073699d40c945ada9faf=267a6208d-9f1b500ac8809715c40c948> (Consulted on May 28, 2020).
- 9 The exhibition *The Early Years. Mart Stam*, the Institute and the Collection for Industrial Design of the Werkbundarchiv—Museum der Dinge in cooperation with the Stiftung Industrie- und Alltagskultur from November 26, 2020 to March 22, 2021 is expected to bring about a change.
- 10 The legacy of the Communist Bauhaus teachers and students is only dealt with in passing during the current Bauhaus anniversary; new insights have not been developed. In particular with reference to the Basel Constructivists in the ABC circle and the GDR, the following publications by the author of this essay have been available since the early 1990s although scant attention had been paid to them and they have not been taken into account in research: Simone Hain, ««...Spezifisch, reformistisch, bauhausartig...». Mart Stam in der DDR», Part 1 in: *form+zweck*, Issues 2–3/1991; id., «Kultur und Kohle. Das Böhlen-Projekt. Mart Stam in der DDR», Part 2, in: Issues 4–5/1992, p. 67–73; id., «Verhinderte Wiedergeburt. Stalinismus und Bauhaus», in: Philipp Oswalt, *Bauhaus-Streit. Kontroversen und Kontrahenten*, Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2009, pp. 110–133; id., ««Alle Künstler verzahnt Euch!»...», in: *bauhaus imaginista* Journal (as Note 8).
- 11 See Marco De Michelis, «Ville fonctionnelle, ville soviétique: une impossible rencontre», in: Jean-Louis Cohen, Marco De Michelis and Manfredo Tafuri (eds.), *USSR 1917–1978. La ville, l'architecture*, Rome 1979, pp. 92–139; Jean-Louis Cohen, «La forme urbaine du «réalisme socialiste»», *ibid.*, pp. 140–199.
- 12 Albeit with a title changed by the editors: Simone Hain, «The Dictatorship of the Modern», in: *Rassegna* 47:3 (Mart Stam).
- 13 Sima Ingbermann, *ABC: International Constructivist Architecture, 1922–1939*, Cambridge, Mass./ London: MIT Press, c1994, was the first to present European Constructivism outside the Soviet Union and to establish the connection between Soviet and European Constructivism.
- 14 Oskar Schlemmer, diary, April 9, 1927, quoted from Andreas Hüneke (ed.), *Oskar Schlemmer. Idealist der Form. Briefe, Tagebücher, Schriften*, Leipzig 1989, p. 170. [English translation: *The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer*, (ed.) Tut Schlemmer, trans. Krishna Winston, Evanston/IL 1990, p. 200].
- 15 Preface by Evelyn Hils-Brockhoff, in: Möller (as Note 5), p. 6.
- 16 <http://marta-herford.de/ausstellungen/radikaler-modernist/> (Consulted on April 19, 2020) [English: <https://marta-herford.de/en/ausstellungen/radikaler-modernist/> (Consulted on June 1, 2020)]