2 Stenberg 2: Constructivists and Designers for the Revolutionary Mass Stagings at the Red Square*

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Georgy and Vladimir Stenberg, central participants of the Russian avant-garde and the first to use the term “constructivist”, were Swedish. Thanks to the first international ‘two-person’ museum exhibition on the Stenberg brothers, in the summer of 1997 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, interest in their work has been renewed. The focus of the MoMA exhibition was on the film posters. In addition to the Stenbergs’ work as constructivists and theatre scenographers, this is the part of their work that has brought them most international fame. ¹ There is, however, one aspect which, if mentioned at all, is mentioned only in passing: the Stenbergs were chief designers for the Red Square in Moscow.

In addition to a brief presentation of the Swedish heritage of Vladimir Augustovich (1899 - 1982) and Georgy Augustovich Stenberg (1900 - 1933), the aim of this article is to introduce the Stenbergs as designers for the celebrations in the Red Square. Other key places along the parade route in central Moscow were the Palace of the Soviets and Gorky Park. The Stenberg brothers participated in all three projects. In order to get an idea of what proportions these mass stagings had, I will discuss them in the context of the reconstruction of Moscow into a parade centre, the first five-year plan, and the cultural revolution ², all of which took place at the same time as the Stenbergs established themselves as designers for street festivities. First of all, however, I shall give a short background of Georgy and Vladimir Stenberg and their aesthetical standpoints in art.

"Art unto the People"

The Stenbergs’ collaboration 1917-1933 coincided with a significant period in Russian history, permeated with extraordinary changes in every field – political, cultural, and economical – from the early years of the revolution when everything was possible to the successive centralization of the worlds of art and politics and the final proclamation of Socialist Realism in 1934. 1917-1933 was the creative peak of the Stenberg brothers.

In January 1922 the term “constructivism” was printed for the first time. In the show “The Constructivists” (Konstruktivisty), Konstantin Medunetsky (1900-1934) and Vladimir and Georgy Stenberg exhibited constructions for spatial structures at the Poets’ Cafe (Cafe Poetov) in Moscow. The exhibition catalogue was the first written declaration of the principles of constructivism: “Constructivists to the world: Constructivism will lead mankind to possession of maximum cultural achievement with a minimum expenditure of energy.” ³ In 1922 the Stenbergs also participated with projects for colour and spatial constructions in the famous Erste Russische Kunstaustellung in Berlin arranged by El Lissitsky.⁴

The Stenbergs were “production artists”, thus despising the “aesthetes” whom they regarded as

“abstractionists who made work for no reason”. As “engineers of the human soul”, blending art and technique, the Stenbergs incarnated the spirit of the revolution. In 1917 they took courses in engineering, specializing in railway structures and bridges. “Art unto the people” was the motto of the time, and the Stenbergs as “red artists” designed a car factory in Novgorod, the Moscow-Minsk highway, workers’ clubs, and shoes for women. Like El Lissitsky they worked in the borderland between graphical design and architecture. They worked with the famous theatre directors Meyerhold and Tairov, making set-designs for Saint Joan by George Bernard Shaw and The Threepenny Opera by Berthold Brecht. In 1925 they won an honorary award for the theatre designs at the International Exhibition of Decorative and Modern Industrial Arts in Paris.

Between 1923 and 1933 the Stenbergs produced more than two hundred film posters, sometimes with a print of 10,000 copies, for the government film agency Goskino (later Sovkino). Signed 2 Stenberg 2 the posters were placed on building facades to advertise the films October and Battleship Potemkin by Sergei Eisenstein, The Man with the Movie Camera by Dziga Vertov, Arsenal and The Earth by Dovzhenko and the Danish comedians Pat i Patachon (Fyrtornet och Släpvagnen) who where very popular in Russia in the 1920s. In 1925 they arranged the First Film Poster Exhibition in Moscow.

The Stenbergs studied at the Stroganov School of Applied Art which, after the revolution, was reorganized into Svomas - State Free Art Workshops (Gosudarstvennye Svobodnoe masterskie) in the studio of the theatre designer Georgy Yakulov. Here, the best artists, architects and designers of the time worked in “laboratories”. Being already very self-assured as students the Stenberg brothers freely expressed their opinions at meetings and debates, organized exhibitions and accepted only paid assignments. Innovative
and bold as they were, the "Russian Swedes" soon became respected by the artist-community and they were good friends with Stepanova, Rodchenko, and Mayakovsky. Georgy was the artist, Vladimir the engineer.

The Swedish Roots

The father of Vladimir Augustovich and Georgy Augustovich Stenberg – Carl (or Karl) Johan August Stenberg – emigrated to Russia in 1896. He married a Latvian woman named Anna and they had three children: Vladimir Augustovich (4 April 1899 - May 2, 1982), Georgy Augustovich (20 March 1900 - October 15, 1933) and Lydia Augustovna (1902-1982) Stenberg. All three children were born in, and for the greater part of their lives worked in, Moscow. Due to political circumstances none of them ever visited Sweden. Nevertheless, Carl Johan August Stenberg, returned to Sweden in 1920/21.

According to Vladimir Augustovich, Carl Johan August Stenberg was born between 1870/75 in Norrköping, an industrial and harbour town in southern Sweden and “finished the Academy in Stockholm with a gold medal”. In 1896 he was invited to Russia to work as a painter. Carl Johan August Stenberg had success as a decoration painter and assisted the famous Russian painter Mikhail Vrubel (1856-1910) in the production of panels at the All-Russian Exhibition in Nizhny-Novgorod 1896, exhibited in Mamontov’s pavilion, and worked on the ceiling of the Metropol Hotel in Moscow. 9

However, the biography of Carl Johan August Stenberg is inconsistent. In the archives of the Academy, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm, there is no information that confirms that anybody by the name of Carl Johan August Stenberg studied there, nor achieved a gold medal. 10

Whatever might have been the education of Carl Johan August Stenberg, Vladimir was proud of his father, and saw him as an important example in forming the artistic visions and personal qualities of himself and his brother, seemingly having implanted a Lutheran view on the importance of hard work, self-sufficiency, and professionalism. Only one year apart, the Stenberg brothers were brought up almost as twins who did everything together. Influenced by their father, they began to draw from an early age. Sometimes the two brothers even assisted their father in his work as a decorator. 11

In 1933 Georgy died in a motorcycle accident and the exact circumstances surrounding the accident have still not been clarified. After his brother's death Vladimir contemplated leaving the art scene completely for engineering, but reconsidered. Stalin had a paranoic fear of foreigners as potential traitors and many people
Fig. 3. The Stenbergs' film poster for *The Man with the Movie Camera*, 1929.
russified their names. In order to continue as an artist in Stalin’s Soviet Russia Vladimir now became a Soviet citizen, but despite everything, the Stenberg family kept their foreign sounding Swedish name. At that time, it was already too late to leave the country.

The Red Square

Thanks to previous experience from street decorations, Georgy and Vladimir Stenberg won the first prize in a competition for festival decorations at the Red Square in 1928. The award entitled them to the commission as chief designers for the Red Square from 1928-33 including four annual celebrations: the anniversary of the October Revolution Celebration (7 November New Calendar), May Day (the traditional festival of the labour movement), International Youth Day, and Anti-War Day (1 August). After the death of Georgy in 1933 Vladimir continued the Red Square assignment with but a few interruptions until 1962, assisted by his sister Lydia Stenberg, and from 1945 also by his son Sten Vladimirovich Stenberg.13

All major national events were celebrated in the Red Square, the heart of Moscow, and were documented and sent out to the rest of the world. Spartakiad sport-parades were performed in the Red Square from the 1930s, Victory Day (9 May 1945) of The Great Patriotic War (World War II) was celebrated there, and in 1953 Stalin was buried there. For the Red Square the Stenbergs designed the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution 1937, the Victory Day 1945, the 800th anniversary of Moscow 1947, and the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution 1957. In addition to the Red Square and the Gorky Park, Vladimir Stenberg was ceremonial creator for almost all festivals and celebrations in Moscow of the 1930s. 14

The Red Square had always been the centre of Moscow and has always had the same name. The double meaning of the Russian homonym “krasnyi” - meaning both “beautiful” and “red” - became handy for the communists who could apply the already appropriated international symbol of the colour red to the Red Square as the centre of the communist world. Red represents the power of the working classes as well as the cheerful and optimistic tone of the future. The Stenbergs’ abundance of red flags and banners thus had a twofold function. In addition to the symbolic use, the colour also enabled them to design spatial unification for the Red Square, flanked as it was by different architectural styles: the late nineteenth-century Neo-Russian style of GUM (the State Department Store) and the Historical Museum; the Cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed with its multicoloured onion-shaped cupolas from 1560 and, beneath the Kremlin, with its guilded cupolas and red brick walls, the Lenin Mausoleum like a Central Asian Tatar tomb.
addition to the red banners, illumination was another important unifying element in the Stenbergs’ staging of the Red Square. They used a great deal of hidden light sources, some giving light to the crenelations of the Kremlin wall, while an invention of the Stenberg brothers that became permanent was the Kremlin five-pointed “ruby stars” with internal illumination, which was the symbol of the communist morning star that replaced the czar’s two-headed eagle.

As an open space with room for an enormous amount of people the Red Square represented the natural culmination for the communists’ power shows. The remaining centre of Moscow was, however, not satisfactory from the standpoint of showing the world the technical effectivity of the “first socialist country in the world”. This brings the reconstruction of the city into focus.

Moscow - the City as a Theatre

Moscow was the self-proclaimed “third Rome” and “centre of world proletarian revolution” and had to be rebuilt in order to become a worthy representative of the communist utopia. Coinciding with Stalin’s first five year plan, the planning and discussion for a complete reconstruction of Moscow took place 1929-1932. During four years a new General Plan was worked out. One of the structuring ideas in the discussion of Moscow’s reconstruction was the city as a theatre, where propaganda for the masses could be displayed. \[16\]

After the revolution, the bolsheviks moved the capital away from the fashionable St. Petersburg to Moscow, the former capital of the backward Russia. St. Petersburg, capital 1712-1918 founded by Peter the Great was, in the eyes of the new rulers, too closely linked with the former czar and his westernized aristocracy. Moscow, as the capital of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, as well as the whole Soviet Union, had to be rebuilt into a city that would serve as an example of the new visions realized by the latest technology, instead of the old fashioned town that it actually was. Moscow of the early 1920s was a town with two-storey architecture from the 15th to the 18th century, described through the eyes of Napoleon in Lev Tolstoy’s War and Peace. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries a great amount of five to six storey art nouveau apartment buildings were built in the centre. The immediate surroundings of the Red Square were a mixture of markets and trading places like “Sly Square” (Khitrov rynok), “Hunting Rows” (Okhotnyiy riad), “China-town” (Kitai-gorod), brothels, and
Fig. 6. The International Youth Day in the Red Square in 1933, by G. and V. Stenberg. SVT: Historiska bildarkiv, Stockholm.
doss-houses lacking electricity and sanitary conveniences. Fugitives could be found in inns like "Siberia" or "Prison Transit". The surroundings of the Red Square had to be torn down or restored not only for the parades but also to give room to the expanding administration of the new rulers, working on tasks of "importance for the whole world", such as Komintern, Gosplan and Narkomaty – the Communist International, as well as ministries including the crucial State Planning Ministry.

Festivals and political carnivals (politkarnaval) became important means of propagating the communist world-view where "information for the masses" (massovaia informatsiya) differed fundamentally from the media situation of today. Stalin, as well as Hitler, realized the importance of propaganda: Wagner and Nietzsche were important sources of inspiration for both. In the hands of the bolsheviks the old Russian tradition of fair booths (balagan), buffoonery and carnival was changed to serve their purposes. The number of festivals literally exploded after the revolution with new ingredients such as the liberation of labour, the union of working-classes and the peasants, collectivisation, etc. The invention of "new traditions" was important when the religious festivals were abolished. These new festivals were made up of demonstrations that manifested the achievements and dreams of the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. USSR was industrialized on a scale and at a pace which, historically, had never been seen anywhere before. The first five year plan turned the whole country into an vast laboratory and the amount of unknown variables was enormous but had to be hidden from the people at any cost. The whole construction rested on the belief and enthusiasm of the working classes who had to produce the expected results. Propaganda had high priority. “The five-year plan in four years!” was one of the main slogans. As a result of massive "socialist competition" the first five-year plan was completed ahead of schedule.

Under the influence of Le Corbusier, who visited this “ideal city of the future” three times in 1928-30, great parts of the old Moscow were to be torn down in order make the city as much a
theatre as possible. But the ideas for triumphal streets in Moscow had been under discussion since the death of Lenin, in January 1924, when the chairman for the "Commission for the Immortalizing Memorial of V.I. Lenin", proposed triumphal celebrations to take place on Moscow's main streets. 18

The Parade Route

Streets and squares were seen as theatre stages where propaganda parades were to be performed. The architect Nikolai Ladovsky saw the Red Square as a “gigantic diorama” and “theatre” of the contemporary city. 19 To accommodate the parading masses, new “panoramic spaces” had to be opened up. For the squares projects presented included amphitheatres, open air auditoria, arenas and ramps for the passing demonstrations. During the parades each square presented a different theme. Architectural projects of the years 1930-31 proposed the reconstruction of a number of squares: Arbat, Trubnaia, Serpukhovskaia, Krestianskie Zastavy, and Zastavy Ilitsa, as places for “revolutionary events and cultural leisure for the workers”. 20 Of crucial importance was the route from the “panoramic” field of Marx Prospect, where the old “Hunting Rows” and a small church were torn down in order to enable the parading tanks to make an effect-filled entrance to the Red Square. Within the Kremlin walls ten churches and two monasteries were torn down in the Soviet time.

The parades included meetings that were to take place in open places, stadiums and buildings that could hold enormous masses of people. In addition to the Red Square, the Palace of the Soviets and the Gorky Park were to be the key stopping points of the parades.

Palace of the Soviets

The discussions on the reconstruction of Moscow meant a number of architectural competitions, the most important being for the Palace of the Soviets in 1932. The Stenbergs participated with a project that, though it was awarded, was not carried out. 21 Along the parade streets between the Red Square and the Gorky Park, buildings were to be erected like a chain of jewels as a “synthesis of arts”. If the Palace of the Soviets had been erected, it would have been the most sparkling gem. The Palace of the Soviets was to symbolize the Soviet future city in the form of an “antique forum”. 22 To make room for the Palace of the Soviets, the biggest cathedral in Moscow, the Cathedral of the Saviour “a non-valuable ordinary building” from the end of the nineteenth, beginning of the twentieth century, was torn down. But the level of structural engineering required did not permit the Palace, including its huge Lenin statue on top, to be erected. Instead
the Moscow Swimming Pool was opened in 1960. For the 850th anniversary of Moscow an exact copy of the Cathedral of the Saviour was inaugurated in 1997.

Gorky Park

The 1928 first award for design in the Red Square also presented the Stenberg brothers with the commission to design the Gorky Park (Central Park of Culture and Leisure named after Gorky - TsPKiO imeni Gorkogo) between 1929-34. The Stenberg brothers worked with professional theatre producers in staging mass carnivals outdoors and in contrast to the 1920s the “politkarnaval” of the 1930s did not even have to coincide with any special holiday. Under the architects Konstantin Melnikov, Nikolai Ladosky, and A. Vlasov the Stenbergs designed benches, fountains, and flower-beds for the park and for the “Lily of the Valley Avenue” they gave shape to the lily of the valley lamps that were also used in other parts of the city. 23

With the Gorky Park the intention was a “unified spatial composition” with the Palace of the Soviets on the other side of the Moscow River. On the river banks of the Gorky Park a huge stage was to be placed and on the other side of the river, tribunes were to be erected for the masses of spectators. The Gorky Park was to be a “great monument of its epoch” that would hold 2 500 000 (two and a half million) visitors at one and the same time. The contents of the park were meant to “raise the general cultural level of the masses” and its design was to “educate the taste of the masses”. It symbolized a fusion of “nature, organized by science and technology”. The entrance of the park, a huge triumphal arch continuing in a wide ramp, opens up the whole area. This arch-ramp was not seen as architecturally completed without the masses of people. After entering through the arch demonstrations stopped

Fig. 9. The winning project of the Palace of the Soviets in 1932, by B. Iofan.

The Staged Parades and Mass Celebrations

In the hands of the Stenberg brothers, the theatricalization of the city echoed ideas that were current during the revolution and the laboratory experiments from the early 1920s. The large scale street art was a synthesis of “spatial arts” such as construction, sculpture, architecture, and coloured painting, “performing arts” (film and theatre), and “temporal arts” (music and speech). The Stenbergs’ festival designs became important for mass stagings in general. They created a culture of staged celebrations and enhanced the professional level of them.

In a review from the magazine “Soviet Art” from 1933 the Stenbergs’ May Day celebrations are described:

As in previous years, the Stenberg brothers submitted a well thought out model for the strict and expressive decoration of the Red Square. Kuznetsov’s sculpture on the Place of Execution, the huge illuminated slogans in five languages, portraits of Lenin and Stalin, completed the square. It must be pointed out that the Stenbergs were exceptionally successful in their application of spotlights for illuminating the red panels of the material. The same kind of lighting was used at many other places in the city too but in most cases the slovenliness of the technical execution spoiled the potential effect.

As constructivists with architectural and technical training the Stenbergs’ way of thinking was spatial. They saw the Red Square as a space where a three-dimensional construction, the parade, could be placed. Their three-dimensional mov-
ing image consisted of red banners, text slogans, images of locomotives and tractors, and people staging revolutionary events in union with the surrounding architecture. Except for the stipulated content, the Stenbergs designed the whole celebration including the columns of people accompanied by music and announcements in dictaphones. When the demonstrations culminated they were formed into “moving pictures”. The Stenbergs worked with the illuminations, the costumes and the masks of the participants. They made garlands of multicoloured lamps, enormous boards with photomontages and screens with projected “living pictures” – moving shadow projections of factory chimneys, cranes, tractors, locomotives, etc. As engineers the Stenberg brothers could find technical solutions which would be useful for the stagings. They were the first to make consolidated banners with poles and metal constructions so that the slogans were readable even in windy weather. Illuminated from below, the banners achieved a rippling effect. In order to activate the visual impression of the appeals and greetings facing towards the people on the streets, the houses along the streets were covered with red veneer and slogans in white lettering.²⁶

Visual effects that the Stenbergs had borrowed from films and applied in their posters, became useful in their city scenographies. The posters as well as the scenographies sought visual effects that worked on a great number of people at great distances. Contrapuntal compositions of light and dark, dynamic effects by manipulating perspectives, repeated forms, illumination effects and concentrated images from films are found on the posters. By using colours economically, usually complementary colours, they were effective against stylized black and white film frames on the posters, or as contrasts against the gray buildings flanking the colourful parades.

Whatever the result, the wish of the Soviet regime must have been to construct a welfare society, to believe otherwise would be too cynical. But the results were not achieved fast enough and the expectations were extremely high. The gap between Stalin’s kitschy dreamworld and the cruel, gray reality of the common people was tremendous, but at the same time it was in this very gap that the striking verve of the Stenbergs’ propaganda celebrations came into being.

The propaganda dissolved the border between reality and fiction. As theatre set designers, the Stenbergs were experts in making illusions. This ability to construct a make believe world was to be very useful for the propaganda festivities. Their scenographies were an escape from a colourless and ugly everyday life into a theatricalized “reality” on the border between fiction and reality, theatre and film. As Constructivists they were well acquainted with mechanics and kinetics, and the “laboratory” experimental constructivism in iron and glass from the early 20s first came into use as set designs at the theatre and, ultimately, as festival decorations. With their three dimensional constructions of glass, wood and iron, they introduced the innovations of constructivism into theatre scenography, which then developed into mass celebrations. For the street art, the Stenbergs literally hid the old bourgeois architecture behind painted boards – the stagings corresponding to the aspect of constructivism which wished to tear down the old and construct a new society. They visualized the city as a theatre.

The art of the Stenbergs was made for the exhilarated moment of the masses, not made to be preserved as historical documents in any “dead museum”. The Stenbergs’ art belonged to the man on the street. To them, the revolution meant increasing opportunities for everybody, not only for a chosen few. They loved new technology, as witnessed by the technical details on the film posters, caressed with shining white highlights. They wanted to construct a new society, and they also took active part in the construction of this society.

From the first five year plans of 1928, through the purges, the Iron Curtain, and the Thaw, until 1962, when the superpowers’ confrontation on Cuba nearly resulted in a third world war and the Cold War had already resulted in the Berlin Wall, the commission to design the Red Square for festivals, was in the hands of the Stenberg family. To try to explain this, is not within the scope of this article, here I simply want to establish the
Stenbergs' work as a fact, and place it in a historical context.

The Stenberg brothers designed the revolution. Their technical constructivist "machine-world" was a Soviet dream, contrasting with the backward, rural Russia of the time. The Stenberg's staged visions were realized even if the communist utopia was not. The "Russian Swedes" were a product of the Soviet society, and had great success there. A curious fact is that when 2 Stenberg 2 established themselves as chief propaganda designers for the Red Square they were still Swedish citizens.

Notes
7. 1922-31 they made set designs at Alexander Tairov's Chamber Theatre (Kamernyi teatr) in Moscow. As the main artists of the theatre they toured ten month in Europe 1923 to Paris, Berlin, München, Dresden, Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main and Amsterdam. Law 1981, p. 233n27. Among other artists working at the theatre were Liubov Popova, Konstantin Medunetsky, Alexander Vesnin (architect), Alexandra Exter, Natalia Goncharova, Pavel Kuznetsov, Aristarkh Lentulov. Before starting to work for Tairov Sterwegens made a scenography project for Cremelinck's play The Magnanimous Cuckold directed by Meyerhold. Due to some complications the final set-decorations 1922 were made by Liubov Popova and are considered the first constructivist theatre sets in the world, see Law, 1981, p. 226 and Margareta Tillberg, "Alexandra Exter. Konstnär för scenen.\" Alexandra Exter: Artist for the Stage", Teater i revolution. Det ryska avtagardet på scen 1913-1930, Dansmusei skrifter nr. 30, Stockholm 1993, p. 115n39 and p. 124n39.
8. Thanks to Nina Baburina, former curator of the Department for Prints of the former Lenin Library now Russian State Library in Moscow, for showing me the largest collection of the Sterngens' film posters and bookcovers. For film poster illustrations, see Susan Pack, Film Posters of the Russian Avant-garde, Taschen, Köln 1995.
10. Kungliga Akademien för de fria konsterna. Studentmatrikel. Carl Johan August Sterenberg is not to be confused with the decoration painter Carl Johan Stenberg (Kristianstad 1864 - Stockholm 1934). Carl Johan Sterenberg did not study at the Royal Academy either, but at the Technical School or School of Crafts (Slöjdskolan). He never went to Russia, but worked in Italy, Germany (München, Breslau, Düsseldorf) and Paris. Carl Johan Sterenberg was a student of Anders Zorn 1891-93, worked at the restoration of Gripholms castle, and moved to Norrköping in the 1890s, see Otto G. Carlsund, Carl Stenberg Minnesutställning, exhibition catalogue, Stockholm 1938.
11. 1916 making set designs for the Zen Brothers Operetta Theatre Luna Park in Moscow, Baburina, 1984, p. 3.
15. ibid, p. 36.
17. On the old Moscow, see VI. Gilyarovsky, Maskva i moskvichi, Moscow 1926/1985, especially pp. 17-43, 48-91 and 166-195.
19. ibid, p. 295.
20. ibid, p. 280 and I. Vobly, "Za planovoe oformlenie
moskovskikh ploshchadei”, *Stroitel’stvo Moskvy*, Moscow 1931, No 5, p. 35.

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