



Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. The Formative Years

PONTUS HULTÉN AND MODERNA MUSEET THE FORMATIVE YEARS

MODERNA MUSEET
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Cover: Invitation to the exhibition *Movement in Art*, Moderna Museet, 1961.



Claes Oldenburg and Pontus Hultén at
Moderna Museet, 1966

Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet.
The Formative Years

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MOVEMENT IN ART



Ballet of the Poor (1961) by Jean Tinguely
in *Movement in Art*, Moderna Museet, 1961

Movement in Art. The layers of an exhibition

Anna Lundström

Rörelse i konsten (*Movement in Art*, 1961) was Moderna Museet's first truly ambitious undertaking. This was a comprehensive exhibition, comprising 233 works by a total of 85 artists from Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK, the USA, the USSR, Venezuela and West Germany. The theme was movement. Kinetic art was presented in texts in the exhibition, not as one of many tendencies in the increasingly inclusive concept of art in the late-1950s and early-1960s (where environments, happenings, installations, op art and performance art might have represented other tendencies) but as the structuring factor through which all 20th-century art could be understood. *Movement in Art* has also become one of the most referenced exhibitions in the Museum's history, and is interpreted as a starting point for what has been described as the Museum's dynamic, progressive and international 1960s.¹ Moreover, this was Pontus Hultén's first major exhibition – and perhaps his last, he may have thought.² A deeper scrutiny of *Movement in Art* may add nuance to common assumptions about this period in the Museum's history, and show how Hultén at an early stage came to define his role as museum director.

The exhibition in the halls

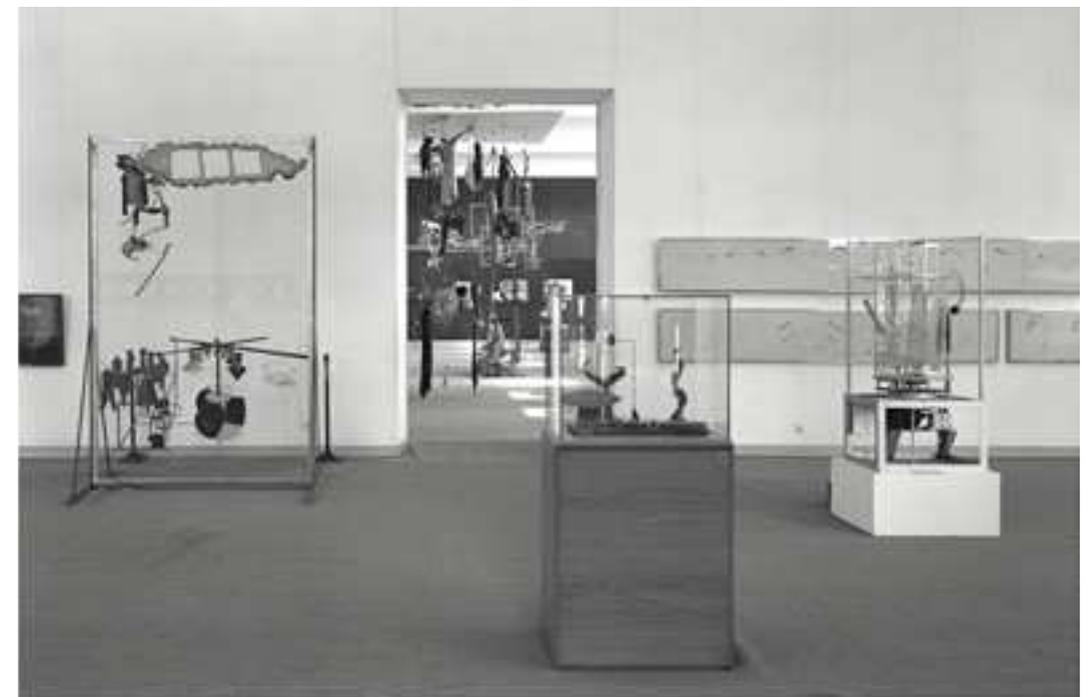
As soon as visitors entered Moderna Museet in the summer of 1961, they could perceive where the exhibition was going. In the middle of the room, a few metres from the simple entrance, stood Nicolas Schöffer's *Cysp I* (1956), a 260 cm tall sculpture; at the press of a button it began to move in jerky circles across the floor, reflecting the light in its rotating, rectangular and circular aluminium parts. The entrance itself was framed by Marcel Duchamp's works: to the left a line of twelve *Rotoreliefs* (1935/1959), and up to the right behind the entrance desk, six gramophone records that had been pressed for the exhibition and decorated with Duchamp's *Rotorelief Corolles*. The records contained a compilation of statements and documentations relating to the "history of kinetic art".³ The presentation in

this first room could be seen as a historic background to the real subject of the exhibition: mobile art from the 1950s and early 1960s. This part of the exhibition has been interpreted as a comprehensive historical account of post-war avant-garde art. The older generation of works would then represent a strategic framework for the younger generation's materials and methods.⁴ This interpretation is congenial with the compilation of texts in the exhibition catalogue and Hultén's previous declaration of the theme of movement and art.⁵ The spatial presentation of works in the rooms at Moderna Museet, however, reveal that this could not be said to present a structured summary of early avant-garde movements. The first room merely featured a rather fastidious selection of works mainly by Marcel Duchamp, Alexander Calder, Viking Eggeling and Man Ray. Other parts of what is referred to in the project notes for the exhibition as the "predecessor section" appear to be a more dutiful presentation of former art movements.⁶

The Museum's second large hall was devoted entirely to contemporary art. Jean Tinguely's *Ballet des pauvres* (1961) could be seen from the doorway, and the photographic documentation suggests that this was one of the centrepieces of the exhibition. It consisted of a slab suspended from the ceiling, with various objects attached to it (a doll, a cuddly toy, a leg from a mannequin, a bucket, etcetera), which was set in motion at regular intervals, whereupon a noisy "dance" took place. Another work was Tinguely's *Relief méta-mécanique* (1957), *Méta-Matic no. 17* (1959), and *Cyclograveur* (1960). Further into the room were a few large wood structures by Per Olof Ultvedt, and a constructed loft with further works by Tinguely and Allan Kaprow's room-like installation *Stockroom* (1961).⁷ Under the loft were works by Jesús Rafael Soto, Yasuhide Kobashi and Yaacov Agam. Altogether, the exhibition was dominated both numerically and spatially by Calder's mobiles (32 in the right-hand section of the first room), and Tinguely's mechanical sculptures (27 in the second room).

The exhibition in Europe

Movement in Art was a bold venture for such a small and relatively unestablished institution of modern art, but the exhibition concept itself was far from unique. On the contrary, the exhibition summed up tendencies that had circulated in Europe for some time and were



becoming increasingly widespread in the late 1950s and early 1960s.⁸ In 1959, Pol Bury and Paul Van Hoeydonck, assisted by Tinguely, organised an untitled group exhibition in Antwerp, which has later come to be referred to as *Vision in Motion – Motion in Vision*. One of its working titles was *Le Mouvement*, and, like *Movement in Art*, it has indeed been referred to as a sequel to the exhibition *Le Mouvement*, which was shown at Galerie Denise René in Paris in 1955.⁹ Another example is the exhibition *Dynamo 1*, organised by Heinz Mack and Otto Piene at Galerie Renate Boukes in Wiesbaden, West Germany, on 10 June–7 August, 1959.¹⁰ After *Movement in Art* had opened, Hultén was contacted by the Paris-based *Groupe de Recherche d'Art Visuel* (headed by Jean-Pierre Vasarely and Julio Le Parc), who pointed out that they had been working for some time on the issues that the exhibition focused on.¹¹

In view of several subsequent exhibitions, the 1960s at Moderna Museet have come to be associated primarily with American east-coast art.¹² At the time of *Movement in Art*, however, the Museum was more closely linked to the radical art tendencies in Antwerp, Düsseldorf, Milan and Paris. While working on *Movement in Art*, Hultén developed his contacts with groups around Zero and *Nouveau réalisme*. Most of the artists in these circles were later featured in *Movement in Art*, and several of the catalogue's essays were also published in magazines associated with them.¹³ Zero was founded by Mack and Piene in Düsseldorf in late 1957 and consisted of a nebulous group who were active around Europe, and that began to peter out somewhat after 1966.¹⁴ *Nouveau réalisme* was initiated by Pierre Restany in Paris in autumn 1960 and was a more distinctly organised group. Alongside organising *Movement in Art*, a number of “festivals” with *les nouveaux réalistes* took place in Milan, Paris, Stockholm and Nice between April 1960 and July 1961.¹⁵ Tinguely and Spoerri, who were vital to the exhibition in Stockholm in their respective ways – Tinguely by virtue of his oeuvre, and Spoerri as a mediator of contacts and, from autumn 1960, as an increasingly involved co-producer – were active members of both groups.¹⁶

Contradictory information has been in circulation as to who organised *Movement in Art*. The fact that the exhibition opened at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam (titled *Bewogen Beweging*) prompted the assumption that it was organised by the Stedelijk Museum. In his impressive reference book on exhibition history, *Exhibitions that Made Art History*, Bruce Altshuler writes that it was the result

of a collaboration between the Stedelijk Museum's then director Willem Sandberg, Jean Tinguely, and Pontus Hultén, while Antoon Melissen, in his extensive catalogue about Zero, claims that Daniel Spoerri was consulted by the Stedelijk Museum to create the exhibition together with Sandberg and with assistance from Tinguely and Hultén.¹⁷ Based on the correspondence in Moderna Museet's archives, however, there can be no doubt that the exhibition was produced mainly by Hultén, but that Spoerri, after being involved in the process gained an increasing influence.¹⁸

The question of where the exhibition should open first was fraught with countless, and occasionally infected, discussions. In a letter to Hultén, Spoerri writes that he has visited Sandberg in Amsterdam: “Sandberg, whom I visited in Amsterdam, wants me to create a major exhibition on the theme of movement for him. In 13 rooms. Catalogue, poster, everything.”¹⁹ The letter is undated, but the replies would suggest that it was written in early October 1960. It was in this letter, moreover, that the proposal to open the exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum was first presented to Hultén. Spoerri's argument was that the Stedelijk could then pay the insurance and forwarding. Hultén responded in a letter to Sandberg dated 14 October, 1960, referring to the previous letter from Spoerri, and explaining that there must be “some confusion” about dates. He continues:

I think we agreed that we should make the exhibition here in May, that we should have it during the summer and that it should go to the Stedelijk Museum in October ... I was very glad when you accepted that the exhibition should begin here. I have been working with this exhibition since 1954 ... We have been working with this exhibition intensively in this museum four of us for ten months now, writing 300–400 letters.²⁰

When Hultén mentions having worked so long on the exhibition, he is probably referring to a number of smaller exhibitions that he organised, in various collaborations, in Paris and Stockholm, starting in the mid-1950s. In 1954, Hultén and Oscar Reutersvärd jointly organised the exhibition *Objekt eller artefakter. Verkligheten förverkligad* (Objects or Artefacts. Reality Realised) at Galerie Samlaren in Stockholm, and the following year he and Hans Nordenström made *Den ställföreträdande friheten eller Om rörelse i konsten och Tinguelys Metamekanik* (Deputy of Freedom, or Movement in Art

Lyriska tecklaren

DYNAMIS

Tekniska
museet

Om rörelser i konsten

Utgångsläget. Konstruktivet = 18 ställa tecken
Rörelser (skulpt, lit, ark, fä) är rörelser som grundar
konsten i uttrycket - uttrycket - som är rörelser
Konsten delar uttrycket rörelser i sin värld.
På två nivåer: genom att det uttrycker rörelser, exp. uttrycker rörelser
i sig själva.

I. Skerhet rörelser

1. A. Bild av ett vatten som strömar
B. Bilden själv börjar bli ett vatten som strömar

1. genom uttrycket rörelser
2. hos den dynamiska i sig
3. hos skulpturen
4. hos symmetrin

Dynamiska
symmetri
rörelser

I den utveckling som sig om en dynamisk av
sjäva vid rörelserna
för rörelserna
Dynamiska uttrycken
skiljer ut sig hos symmetrin. Det finns stora delar
av bilden i rörelser i sig. Många tecken (genom
färg och uttryck) i sig själva; T.d. hos sig

2. Färgen i rörelser

A. Egenskaper i bilderna (de första tecken)

B. Bilden uttrycker i rörelser (de första tecken)

Formen som den rörelser uttrycker i sig själva
Rörelserna i sig själva: Skulptur - Dina
Formen
Dynamiska uttrycken
Känslan av rörelserna i sig
konst: de första tecken i sig själva

□□□□□

⑤

②

3. Skulptur Successionstiden
Bildserien → Skulpturserien, Dina uttrycken
Skulptur Succession (uttrycket i sig själva) / Egenskap.
Bildserien (H. K. K. K.) i sig själva.

Filmen



II. Verklighet rörelser

1. Rörelser för sig själva i sig själva: bilderna. bild
uttrycken

2. Den dynamiska rörelserna i sig själva

A. Först uttrycket i sig själva uttrycker i sig själva
uttrycket i sig själva: tecken i sig själva, uttrycken
uttrycket i sig själva i sig själva.

B. Bilderna: Tekniska i sig själva

C. Nytt uttryck i sig själva uttrycker i sig själva som form
uttrycken (H. K. K. K.)

a. Uttrycket i sig själva uttrycker i sig själva uttrycken
bilderna i sig själva uttrycker i sig själva uttrycken
uttrycket i sig själva uttrycker i sig själva uttrycken

b. uttrycken i sig själva uttrycker i sig själva uttrycken

D. Konsten i sig själva uttrycker i sig själva uttrycken
genom att uttrycka i sig själva uttrycken uttrycken

Rörelser och ljud

and Tinguely's *Meta-Mechanics*). In 1955, Hultén was also involved in *Le Mouvement* at Galerie Denise René in Paris. The research on *Movement in Art* has highlighted these exhibitions as a form of pilot projects.²¹ *Movement in Art*, did, however, open in Amsterdam on 10 March, 1961, despite Hultén's protests.²² In April 1961, Sandberg thanked Hultén for agreeing to let the exhibition open in Amsterdam first, and in a hand-written addendum to a letter about practicalities such as forwarding and insurance, he writes:

I am happy to know that you will be able at last to show this wonderful collection yourself – as it were you and Spoerri who did all the work for this exhibition and I wish to express once again my deep appreciation for the fact that you let me have it first.²³

The exhibition in notes

In view of the impact of the exhibition on the early 1960s art scene, it may seem like a meticulously directed launch of one particular tendency in contemporary art at the time. Correspondence and notes, however, reveal that what evolved into *Movement in Art* was the result of a fairly tentative process. There are countless letters in the Moderna Museet archive in which Hultén writes, almost randomly, to museum directors, collectors and artists to ask if they have any works with moving parts that might be suitable for the proposed exhibition.²⁴ Moreover, many of the works that were shown seem to have been included at a relatively late stage.

Although the result was a broad exhibition, where a large number of artists were represented, the exhibition concept grew around a handful of artists. A note made prior to the exhibition gives the impression that Hultén was trying to sort out the various kinds of movement that would be featured, and that he needed only three artists for this purpose: Tinguely, Calder and Duchamp, along with a somewhat disparate feature, a "car".²⁵ The works by these artists were organised according to the concepts of "randomness, repetition, intention, growth, balance, rotation". Further on in the same note, the words "repetition" and "randomness" are repeated, and "destruction" and "destroying" are added.²⁶ In this exhibition, the works of Calder and Tinguely seem to have represented various aspects of this spectrum. In the first room, with large windows that provided good natural lighting, Calder's mobiles hovered like "willow branches with fine

leaves in spring".²⁷ In the second, darker room, where the light source was limited to a few small windows along the ceiling, Tinguely's sculptures, most of which were black and made of scrap metal, appeared caught in perpetual, futile motion.²⁸

Another collection of notes, held together by a cover sheet specifying the theme – *Dynamics* – contains several lists of possible participants for the exhibition.²⁹ The lists vary somewhat, but several names are mentioned repeatedly, and it is clear that only a handful of artists were being considered at this stage: "Munari, Bury, Duchamp, Agam, Tinguely, Moholy-Nagy, Calder, Man Ray, Gabo, Pevsner, Ultvedt, Schöffner".³⁰ The final exhibition was structured around generous presentations of a few key oeuvres, accompanied by individual works by a large number of artists, and this was probably the result of a compromise between Hultén and Spoerri. In a letter from Spoerri to Hultén dated 11 October, 1960, Spoerri stresses the importance of presenting the broadest possible range of movement in art: "Moreover, I believe that such an exhibition must show at least one piece by everyone working in this field."³¹ In subsequent correspondence, in which Hultén presents the exhibition concept to potential partners, he repeats Spoerri's argument as though it were his own. The exhibition was to give a comprehensive picture of kinetic art.

The exhibition in theory

For a long time, the ambition was to show mobile art along with what was described as its "periphery".³² Older automats, mechanical toys, fireworks and racing cars would make the show more attractive to a wider public, and link kinetic art to technological progress in general.³³ Although such things were not included in the end, with the exception of the car, the discussions show that *Movement in Art* presented a number of objects whose identity as art was not entirely unequivocal. The archive sources also point to an awareness of the exhibition as a contribution to art theory. In a letter to Gray Walter at the Neurological Institute in Bristol, Hultén asks if they could borrow a few of the Institute's "robot turtles", adding that it would be interesting "to be able to present them as works of art" in the exhibition.³⁴ Rather than displaying objects that artists had defined as art, in line with the logic of *objets trouvés* or ready-mades, the museum director himself wanted to present ordinary objects as works of art, without the artist as a go-between. Hultén has explored this



problem for some time, as his detailed definition of the term ready-made in the first issue of the magazine *Kasark* in 1954 would suggest. Here, Hultén explained that this was an English term that had been adopted in the French language: “The art term ready-made has been defined as ‘a factory-made object that is designated as art by the artist’s choice.’”³⁵ In the subsequent issue of *Kasark*, he clarified that the term came from Duchamp, and the definition from André Breton.³⁶ The approach recurred later in several of the Museum’s exhibitions while Hultén was the director, including *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Change the World!* in 1969, and *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981* in 1971, and seems to suggest a fairly radical attitude to the then debated boundary between art and non-art.

Movement in Art was shown in spring, summer and autumn 1961, which is three years before Arthur C. Danto presented his theory on an art concept based on recognition from the art scene, and eight years before Joseph Kosuth corroborated this approach (in relation to the emerging conceptual art) in a series of articles titled “Art After Philosophy”.³⁷ The art concept based on institutional recognition, rather than on skill or formal qualities, was still in its cradle when *Movement in Art* opened. Discussions on whether the exhibition should begin at Moderna Museet or the Stedelijk Museum further indicate the precarious situation. Spoerri argues in a letter to Hultén dated 11 October, 1960, that it would be not only more practical, but also more strategic to allow the exhibition to open in Amsterdam first. Since the Stedelijk was a more established institution of art, the question of whether the objects were art or not may not turn into a problem: “because the problem is not, as you say, showing things that are not art, but proving that it is art. And if we start in Amsterdam, then that matter will already be clarified; it would be different at your museum.”³⁸

The discussions preceding the exhibition show that they perceived themselves to be operating in a transitional period. In the short text “How does one wish a museum of modern art to function?” which accompanied a letter to the Dutch art collector Pieter Sanders on 4 December, 1962, Hultén refers both to the new art and the changing role of art museums.³⁹ With arguments that could just as well have been incorporated in the much later criticism aimed at Peter Bürger’s yet to be written theory of the avant-garde, Hultén describes how contemporary artists related to early 20th century art.⁴⁰ Hultén writes:

Many of the discoveries which were made around the turn of the century were so pioneering that it is only now their real meanings are beginning to be understood. The new art is often accused of copying. Father and son, of course, can appear identical for the person who does (not) take the trouble of looking closer.⁴¹

Even if both the material and methods launched in the 1910s and 1920s recur in the 1950s and 1960s, they meant something else now: “One takes over a form, but gives it new tasks and importance.”⁴² According to Hultén, the art museum’s task was to uncover this relationship, that is, to show and reflect on how contemporary art could be understood in relation to history. This was also why Hultén insisted that a collection was important even to museums of modern art. Hultén never saw any conflict at this time between the museum as a stage for active artists and the museum’s role as a collecting institution.⁴³

Like other contemporary narratives about 20th century art up to then, Hultén’s essay in the catalogue for *Movement in Art* is an account of intra-artistic developments. As opposed to more influential descriptions of what belonged to the concept of *modernism* at the time, such as Clement Greenberg’s *Modernist Painting*, published the same year, Hultén did not consider it to rely on purification and separation between different media.⁴⁴ Futurism’s attempts to depict movement were described in Hultén’s text as being linked to cubism’s way of visualising the viewer’s movement around an object, which, in turn, opened up for Duchamp’s moving sculptures, such as his *Bicycle Wheel* (1913/1960).⁴⁵ Thus, futurist depictions of movement in painting could be connected with a straight line to Tinguely’s motorised sculptures. In this version of mobile/modern art history (these terms seem interchangeable to Hultén at the time) the transition from illustrated movement to actual movement was decisive. While the futurists could give the impression of movement in their paintings, their works themselves were inert. In Duchamp’s *Bicycle Wheel*, however, movement was real. This is also the context that gives Eggeling’s experiments with film as an artistic medium in the early 1920s such a key role in the exhibition.

Film pointed towards what contemporary debate referred to as the “fourth dimension” of art. In notes and published texts, Hultén describes “the time factor” as the real novelty in modern art, and that this is what sets mobile art apart from classical art.⁴⁶ In this narrative, Duchamp’s oeuvre represents a decisive step – the transition from



Contact sheet with Jean Tinguely and his work *Cyclograveur* (1960) at Moderna Museet, 1961

manually operated to motorised movement. In a previous presentation of Duchamp, Hultén had explained how his artistic practice visualised different phases in the history of kinetic art: *Bicycle Wheel* was described as “probably the first modern work of art that directly uses physical movement to express its meaning”, while *Rotary Glass Plaques* (1920/1960) were mentioned as “the first mechanical art object in modern times”.⁴⁷ From here, it was just a small step to an entirely conceptually-based notion of art. With the motorisation of movement, it became independent of the artist. According to the same logic, the so-called *Édition MAT* could be highlighted as a contributor to the history of mobile art.⁴⁸ *Édition MAT* had been developed by Daniel Spoerri and consisted of multiples by artists such as Duchamp, Mack, Tinguely and Victor Vasarely, which were shown and sold at a uniform price. From 1959 until the early 1960s, *Édition MAT* was shown at a few exhibitions around Europe.⁴⁹ This version of the history of modern art is more interdisciplinary than Greenberg’s. It does not climax with monochrome painting but continues towards the expanded, open art concept that was being formulated alongside this historicising of modernism in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However, Hultén still outlines a schematic evolution in his essay for the exhibition catalogue, where one tendency seems to presage the next, according to a predictable logic.

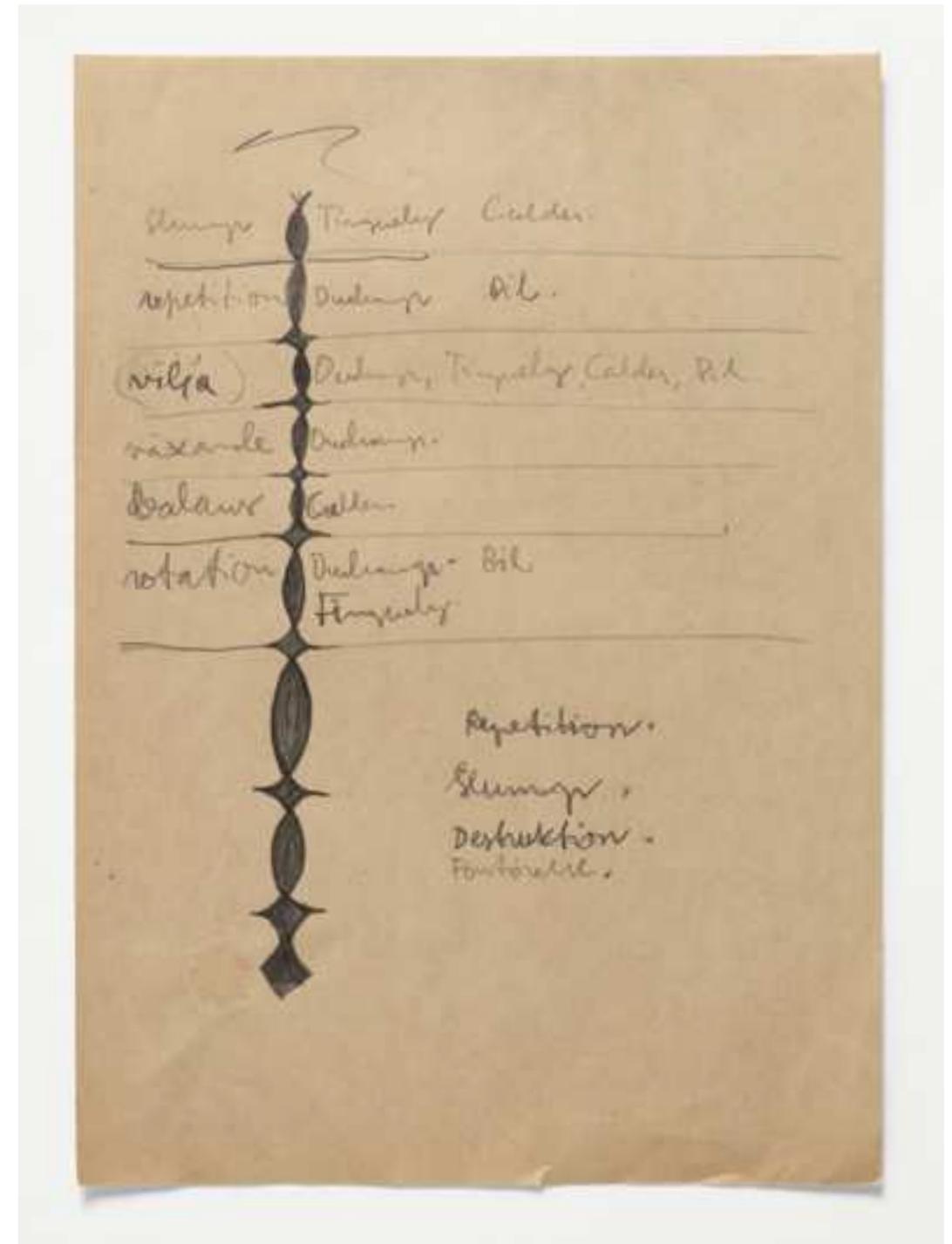
In hindsight, and regardless of these grand aspirations, *Movement in Art* cannot reasonably be seen as a panorama of either early 20th century avant-garde or contemporary art. Instead, the exhibition featured a very specific sample of prevailing art tendencies, linking them particularly to Eggeling’s early experimental films, Duchamp’s moving sculptures, and Man Ray’s multiples. Against the background of the contemporary scene, the exhibition can be seen as an active stand for abstract art, based on a depersonalised machine aesthetic, and opposed to parallel tendencies such as Abstract Expressionism and *art informel*, where lines and colour fields were assumed to be more emotionally charged. In somewhat simplified terms, the various styles of abstraction were crystallised in the late 1950s and early 1960s at the two *Documenta* exhibitions on either side of *Movement in Art*. *Documenta II* (1959) showed various artistic movements from 1945 and onwards but has gone down in history as the exhibition where American expressionists, spearheaded by Jackson Pollock, was introduced in Europe.⁵⁰ The subsequent *Documenta III* (1964) focused instead on movements such as pop art, *Nouveau*

réalisme, and Fluxus, and an entire section was devoted to art categorised as *Licht und Bewegung* (light and movement).⁵¹

In a local context, the sample of contemporary art presented at *Movement in Art* can be seen in relation to Swedish concrete art. In exhibitions in the 1950s, Hultén, together with colleagues such as Ulf Linde, Oscar Reutersvärd, and Hans Nordenström, had launched this “objective” branch of Swedish 1940s and 1950s art.⁵² In an essay Hultén submitted to the short-lived magazine *Prisma* on 20 September, 1949, he discussed the difference between concrete and abstract art. Drawing comparisons between Paul Klee’s *Insect* (1919) and Kandinsky’s *Incandescence voilée* (1928), he claims that abstract art is still based on nature but an abstraction of it, whereas concrete art is a universe in itself – as its own reality.⁵³ In a later issue of the magazine *Konstrevy*, Ulf Linde makes some observations in the studio of the Swedish concrete artist Eric H. Olson, demonstrating how this depersonalised abstraction could ultimately pave the way for a form of movement art. He calls Eric H. Olson’s works, which consist of tinted rectangular glass or acrylic sheets joined in various constellations, “colour mobiles” and compares them to “clockworks”. “In some sense, they are also a kind of machine”, Linde writes, and continues:

... they operate according to a specific optical mechanism. When you move before them, the colours change according to the laws of “interference of thin membranes”. What happens is that right-angled patterns appear from nowhere only to constantly change, in both colour and shape.⁵⁴

The “time factor” that Hultén described in 1955 as characteristic of mobile art was already present in concrete art, according to this reasoning. Movement was not, then, localised exclusively in the work and its parts, but was understood in a wider sense to include the viewer’s movements around the works in the exhibition space.⁵⁵ According to this approach, movement is expanded into an interpretative theoretical perspective (rather than a physical factor in the work as such), which, strictly speaking, can be applied to all forms of art. Hultén’s own theorising on the theme of the exhibition, in which he tries to find a tenable definition of the concept of movement and its various manifestations in art, also shows how elastic this concept became. Eventually, Hultén concludes that all 20th-century art is generated by a desire for movement.



The argument grows so inclusive that it almost loses its meaning, and yet it is in this broader understanding of the theme of movement that the exhibition contributes to art history in a way that remains relevant to this day. If we interpret the exhibition on the basis of its spatial design, rather according to Hultén's attempts to write the history of 20th-century art in the catalogue essay, we can examine how the radical abstraction of concrete art relates to various forms of activation of the exhibition space. The physical movement of the works in the exhibition in 1961 encouraged visitors to respond physically. They could set Calder's mobiles turning, and were expected to start Tinguely's constructions. This exceedingly concrete interaction between visitors and works also ultimately activated the space between the works. Rather than a narrative about the history of art that unfolds when one work, as in a predictable chain, is linked to the next, the exhibition appears like a more comprehensive *situation*. This aspect of the exhibition connects it to certain other exhibitions in the late 1950s and early 1960s that took the form of total installations, with the individual works as components in a totality.⁵⁶ *Movement in Art* presented one version of the history of modern art that does not entirely agree with the version that later became dominant. By placing the concept of *movement* above *abstraction*, the various tendencies in early-20th-century art could fairly easily be related to an understanding of art that included unconventional media and materials. In that story, the expanded concept of art the 1950s and 1960s does not constitute a break with 20th-century art thus far, but a continued exploration of already established interests.



1. In the introduction to the book published in connection with Moderna Museet's 25th anniversary, Olle Granath, the Museum's director 1980–1989, noted that the 1960s had become “practically mychical” in stories about the Museum, see Olle Granath, “Ett museum är ett museum är ett museum”, *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, eds. Olle Granath and Monica Niekels, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1983, p. 7.

2. In a letter to the then director of Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, Willem Sandberg, dated 14 October, 1960, Hultén wrote: “This is supposed to be our biggest manifestation in three or four years in this house. I am only here for six years so maybe this will be the biggest exhibition I ever make”. MMA MA E5:7.

3. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti reads his poem *Zang Tumb Tumb* about the Battle of Adrianople and extracts from the Futurist Manifesto (1909), while Naum Gabo gives us a short passage in Russian from The Realistic Manifesto, written in Moscow in 1920. The album also includes a recording from Jean Tinguely's self-destroying contraption *Homage to New York*, which was performed in the sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art in New York on 17 March, 1960.

4. See, for instance, Hans Hayden, *Modernismen som institution. Om etableringen av ett estetiskt och historiografiskt paradigm*, Stockholm, Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2006, p. 190 and footnote 25; Hans Hayden, “Double Bind. Moderna Museet as an Arena for Interpreting the Past and the Present”, *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, eds. Anna Tellgren and Martin Sundberg, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Göttingen: Steidl, 2008, pp. 188–189.

5. See Hultén's essay in the exhibition catalogue, Karl G. Hultén, “Kort framställning av rörelse i konsten under 1900-talet”, *Rörelse i konsten*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 18, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1961, n.p.; and even more clearly in “Den ställföreträdande friheten eller Om rörelse i konsten och Tinguelys metamekanik”, *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, pp. 1–33.

6. Hultén refers to a “predecessor section” in a collection of his notes which is titled “Dynamik” and which I will be revisiting below, and in a letter from him to E. Rathke, Kunsthalle Allestrasse, Düsseldorf, 27 December, 1960. MMA PHA 4.2.59. This part of the exhibition, left of the entrance, is not properly documented, which could indicate that it was regarded as being more peripheral. Going by the list of exhibited works in the exhibition catalogue and notes in the archive, including the above-mentioned “Dynamik”, however, I conclude that the following works were shown here: Giacomo Balla's *Verlicità astratta* (1913), Raymond Duchamp-Villon's *Horse* (1914), and Francis Picabia's *Voilà la femme* (1915), *Chambre forte* (1917) and *Volant qui régularise*, (1917–18).

7. The instructions for the installation of *Stockroom* (which is called *Rumskonstruktion* in the exhibition catalogue) are in the Moderna Museet archives, see Allan Kaprow, “Stockroom”, undated. MMA MA E5:6. In the exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum, the extensive installation *an Exhibit* by Richard Hamilton, Victor Pasmore, and Lawrence Alloway was also

included, having first been shown as an autonomous exhibition at the Hatton Gallery, Newcastle, in June 1957. See also letter from Richard Hamilton to Daniel Spoerri, 24 November, 1960, and 26 January, 1961. MMA MA E5:6. For more information on this exhibition/installation, see *Exhibition, Design, Participation. 'an Exhibit' 1957 and Related Shows*, eds. Elena Crippa and Lucy Steeds, Exhibition Histories Series, London: Afterall Book and Koenig Books, 2016.

8. Pamela M. Lee has described *Movement in Art* as an expression of the wide reach and popularity of kinetic art in the early 1960s, Pamela M. Lee, *Chronophobia. On Time in the Art of the 1960s*, Cambridge Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 2004, p. 98.

9. *Vision in Motion – Motion in Vision* took place from 21 March, 1959 to 3 May, 1959 at the Hessenhuis in Antwerp, an exhibition space operated by the Belgian artist group G58, see Thekla Zell, “The ZERO Travelling Circus. Documentation of Exhibitions, Actions, Publications 1958–1966”, *Zero* (exh. cat.), eds. Dirk Pörschmann and Margriet Schavemaker, Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 2015, pp. 31–32. See also Andreas Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, Hon & Moderna*, Stockholm: Bokförlaget Langenskiöld, 2016, pp. 101–102. *Vision in Motion – Motion in Vision* featured works by artists including Robert Breer, Pol Bury, Heinz Mack, Bruno Munari, Otto Piene, Dieter Roth, Jesús Rafael Soto, Daniel Spoerri and Jean Tinguely, which was repeated in *Movement in Art*.

10. Several of the artists who participated in *Dynamo 1* were also presented in *Movement in Art*, including Bury, Mack, Piene, Roth, Soto, and Tinguely. Spoerri was to participate in the exhibition, but cancelled three days before the opening; his name is in the catalogue, however, see Thekla Zell, *Zero*, 2015, pp. 31 and 37.

11. See the correspondence between Pontus Hultén and Yvaral (alias Jean-Pierre Vasarely) and Le Parc, 4 April, 1961, and 17 April, 1961, and the group's manifesto “Proposition sur le mouvement”, which was issued by Galerie Denise René and published in conjunction with *Movement in Art* (“Ce texte a été diffusé à l'occasion du mouvement au Musée d'Art Moderne de Stockholm – 1961”). It was sent by García Miranda, Horacio Garcia Rossi, Julio Le Parc, François Morellet, Francisco Sobrino, Joel Stein och Yvaral. This text was attached to the letter from Yvaral and Le Parc to Hultén, 4 April, 1961. MMA PHA 4.2.59.

12. For a discussion on this, based specifically on *Movement in Art*, see Annika Öhrner, *Barbro Östlihn & New York. Konstens rum och möjligheter* (diss.) Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam Förlag, 2010, pp. 146–147; Annika Öhrner, “Moderna Museet in Stockholm. The Institution and the Avant-Garde”, *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries 1950–1975*, eds. Jesper Olsson and Tania Ørum, Boston, Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2016, p. 116; Lars Gustaf Andersson, John Sundholm, and Astrid Söderbergh Widding, *A History of Swedish Experimental Film Culture. From Early Animation to Video Art*, Stockholm: National Library of Sweden, 2010, pp. 101–102.

13. *Zero 3* was published by Mack and Piene, and includes “Garden Party” by Billy Klüver, and “Dynamic Labyrinth. Auto-theatre Spectacle” by Daniel Spoerri, which were also reprinted in the exhibition catalogue for *Movement in Art*. *Zero* was published between 1958 and 1961. *Zero 3* was the last issue and was presented on 6 June, 1961, at an event organised by Heinz Mack, Otto Piene, and Günter Uecker at the Galerie Schmela in Düsseldorf, *ZERO. Edition, Exposition, Demonstration*, see also Thekla Zell, *Zero*, 2015, pp. 56–57. *Zero 3* is also in Hultén’s library at Moderna Museet.

14. Thekla Zell, *Zero*, 2015, p. 22.

15. The Moderna Museet archive contains an invitation from Restany to Hultén for the “Festival of New Realism” at Galerie Muratore in July–September, 1961. In the invitation, Restany accounts for the founding of the group and its activities to date. Arman, César, Francois Dufrêne, Raymond Hains, Yves Klein, Martial Raysse, Mimmo Rotella, Niki de Saint Phalle, Spoerri, Tinguely and Jacques de la Villeglé participated in this exhibition. MMA PHA 5.1.47.

16. For Tinguely’s influence on what eventually became *Movement in Art*, see, for example, Hultén’s presentation of Tinguely’s practice in *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955. This issue of the magazine *Kasark* was published to coincide with the exhibition Hultén had organised together with Nordenström and Reutersvärd at Galerie Samlaren in Stockholm in 1955, to which I will return below. The text by Hultén in *Kasark* was basically identical with his text in the catalogue for *Movement in Art*. Hultén had met Spoerri, most likely in April 1960, at the so called *Édition MAT* (“Multiplication d’Art Transformable”) which Spoerri organised throughout Europe in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In a letter to Sandberg dated 14 October, 1960, Hultén explains how he came into contact with Spoerri and involved him in the work on *Movement in Art*; letter from Pontus Hultén to Willem Sandberg, 14 October, 1960. MMA MA E5:7. For Spoerri’s influence and the role of *Édition MAT* in *Movement in Art*, see the discussion below.

17. *Biennials and Beyond. Exhibitions that Made Art History, vol. 2, 1962–2002*, ed. Bruce Altshuler, London: Phaidon, 2013, p. 27, and Antoon Melissen, “‘ZERO’s going round the world!’ Birth and growth of a transnational artists’ network”, *Zero*, 2015, p. 187, and footnote 43. Another example is Janna Schoenberger, “Jean Tinguely’s *Cyclograveur*: The Ludic Anti-Machine of *Bewogen Beweging*”, *Sequitur*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2016, www.bu.edu/sequitur (18 August, 2016).

18. I am basing this on the material in the Moderna Museet archives, and it is possible that material in the archives of the Stedelijk Museum and the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art may give another picture of how the exhibition was created. The Moderna Museet archives, however, contains substantial correspondence between Hultén, Spoerri and Sandberg, which gives a good picture of how the exhibition took shape, and their respective roles in this process.

19. My translation from French: “Sandberg que j’ai visité à Amsterdam veut que je lui fait une grand exposition Mouvement. Avec 13 salles.

Katalogue (sic.), Affiche et tout.” Letter from Daniel Spoerri to Pontus Hultén, undated. MMA PHA 5.1.47. Also, Spoerri stated in an interview in 1972 that it was he who presented the idea for the exhibition to Sandberg, who was favourable to the proposal, whereupon the exhibition *Bewogen Beweging* was carried out, “De Overgetelijken deel 2”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_wPay-hsUrY (12 October, 2016). See also Andreas Gedin’s discussion based on this interview, Andreas Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, Hon & Moderna*, 2016, p. 106, footnote 220.

20. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Willem Sandberg, 14 October, 1960. MMA MA E5:7.

21. Patrik Andersson, *Euro-Pop. The Mechanical Bride Stripped Bare in Stockholm, Even* (diss.), Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2006, pp. 34–95; “Rörelse i konsten. The Art of Re-assemblage”, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 78, issue 4, 2009, pp. 178–192; Hans Hayden, *Modernismen som institution*, 2006, s. 190–191 och footnote 25–26; Hans Hayden, “Dubbel bindning”, *Historieboken*, 2008, s. 188–189; Annika Öhrner, *Barbro Östlihn & New York*, 2010, s. 146–147.

22. The exhibition was shown in Amsterdam on 10 March–17 April, titled *Bewogen Beweging* (50 000 visitors), in Stockholm on 17 May–3 September (70 000 visitors), and finally in Humlebæk outside Copenhagen on 22 September–29 October as *Bevægelse i kunsten* (23 000 visitors). The visitor numbers are from a letter from Knud W. Jensen, director of Louisiana, to Pontus Hultén, Willem Sandberg and Daniel Spoerri, 4 November, 1961. MMA PHA 4.2.59.

23. Letter from Willem Sandberg to Pontus Hultén, 20 April, 1961. MMA PHA 4.1.52.

24. The Moderna Museet archives include a document that seems to have been used as a template for letters to museum directors; it also contains instructions on how to adapt it when addressing artists. A short description of the exhibition is followed by a direct request: “We are now contacting you in the hopes that you will kindly assist us with your expertise on this topic and its local connections. We would be grateful for any images, information on previous exhibitions and catalogues for these and suggestions concerning artists and their works ... Are you familiar with any artist who may perhaps have created mobile works of art that have not progressed beyond the conceptual stage, but which it would be possible to realise here at the Museum? Is there, in your cultural sphere, a rich regeneration of young artists whose experiments in this field have still to be presented in exhibition spaces?” In the margin, Hultén has made the following note by hand: “re-establishing contacts, new artists, new museums, organisations”; and circled, at the top of the sheet is: “Institute of Contemporary Art, London”. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

25. Pontus Hultén, “Dynamik”. MMA PHA 4.2.60. This is also confirmed in a letter from Pontus Hultén to E. Rathke, where Duchamp, Calder and Tinguely (mentioned in that order) are described as the “Hauptpersonen” (protagonists) of the exhibition; letter from Pontus Hultén to E. Rathke, Kunsthalle, Allestrasse, Düsseldorf, 27 December, 1960. MMA

PHA 4.2.60. A car of the make Bugatti was indeed shown at the exhibition, one of few objects that were cordoned off.

26. Pontus Hultén, “Dynamik”. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

27. *Rörelse i konsten*, 1961, p. 17. The text in the catalogue has no sender, but according to a draft version in the archives it was written by Sandberg. MMA PHA 4.2.60. The preserved correspondence with and around Calder in the Moderna Museet archives reveals that Hultén was a “guest director” for the exhibition *The Machine* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York as early as 1957, an exhibition that did not open until 1968, see letter from Abram Lerner to Pontus Hultén, 1 November, 1957. MMA 5.1.6; see also *The Machine. As Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age* (exh. cat.), ed. Pontus Hultén, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1968.

28. Notwithstanding this darker note, Hultén always referred to Tinguely’s mechanical sculptures as both free and happy, ever since his earliest presentations of the artist. Primarily, Hultén’s presentation of Tinguely in *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, pp. 30 and 31, comes to mind.

29. These notes are undated and seem to consist of both simple meeting notes (comments like “Ulf (Linde) came up with this” give the impression of a dialogue committed to paper), to-do-lists (“Write to:”), and lists of participating artists and the catalogue approach. Pontus Hultén, “Dynamik”. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

30. Note in MMA PHA 4.2.60. In a more comprehensive list, the names have been sorted into what appears to me to be an older and a younger generation. What is remarkable about this list, however, is that the older generation has considerably more works (a total of 45), while the younger lists only 13 possible works. In the actual exhibition, the ratio was the opposite.

31. My translation of: “apres (sic.) je trouve que dans une exposition pareille il faut montré (sic.) de chaqueun (sic.) qui travaille dans ce domaine au moins une œuvre.” Letter from Daniel Spoerri to Pontus Hultén, 11 October, 1960. MMA PHA 5.1.47.

32. Note under the heading of “Objects in the periphery of mobile art”. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

33. “Material och frågeställningar för cirkulärbrev”. MMA PHA 4.2.60; Letter from Pontus Hultén to SUETRO’s Panorama Play Land at the Beach Management, San Francisco, 29 July, 1959; Letter from Pontus Hultén to H. Orth, Art Director, Whitney at the Beach, San Francisco, 29 April, 1960; Letter from Pontus Hultén to Herbert Kastengren, Swedish AB Philips, 7 September, 1960. MMA PHA 4.2.59.

34. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Gray Walter, Neurological Institute, Bristol, U.K., 3 October, 1960. MMA PHA 4.2.59.

35. K.G. Hultén, “Ready-Made”, *Kasark*, no. 1, 1954, p. 7.

36. Pontus Hultén, *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, p. 7. See also the correspondence between Hultén and Duchamp on these questions; Hultén sent a letter on 1 December, 1954, which Duchamp returned with his answers in the margin. MMA PHA 5.1.10.

37. Arthur C. Danto, “The Artworld”, *The Journal of Philosophy*, vol.

61, no. 19, 1964, pp. 571–584; Joseph Kosuth, “Art after philosophy”, *Studio International*, vol. 178, no. 915, 1969, pp. 134–137; “Art after philosophy. Part 2”, *Studio International*, vol. 178, no. 916, 1969, pp. 160–161; “Art after philosophy. Part 3”, *Studio International*, vol. 178, no. 917, 1969, pp. 212–213. These thoughts were later developed into an institutional theory of art by George Dickie; for an earlier version, see Dickie, “Defining Art”, *American Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1969, pp. 253–256. See also my account of this discussion in relation to the history of Moderna Museet, Anna Lundström, *Former av politik. Tre utställningssituationer på Moderna Museet 1998–2008* (diss.), Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam Förlag, 2015, pp. 26–28 and 100–102.

38. My translation from French: “parceque le probleme aujourd’hui n’est pas, comme tu me l’a écrit, de montrée que c’est pas de l’art, mais au contraire, de provée qu’il s’agit de l’art ... et en commancant a amsterdam on aurait officialisée la chose, qui aurait changée chez toi.” Letter from Spoerri to Hultén, 11 October, 1960. MMA PHA 5.1.47. See also Patrik Andersson, *Euro-Pop*, 2001, pp. 80–81. This concept also occurs in a comment by Sandberg on his choice of title: “I choose this title because I want to avoid the word art. As soon as people see that the exhibition takes place in my museum they will understand.” Letter from Willem Sandberg to Pontus Hultén, 20 January, 1961. MMA PHA 4.1.52.

39. The reason for this letter was that Hultén was planned to succeed Sandberg at the Stedelijk Museum, and Sanders was promoting this. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Pieter Sanders, 4 December, 1962. MMA PHA 4.1.52.

40. See, for example, Benjamin Buchloh, “Theorizing the Avant-Garde”, *Art in America*, November, 1984, p. 19, which was a response to the English translation of Peter Bürger’s *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984, published in German in 1974.

41. Pontus Hultén, “How does one wish a museum of modern art to function?”, attached to a letter from Pontus Hultén to Pieter Sanders, 4 December, 1962. MMA PHA 4.1.52.

42. Ibid.

43. For texts where Pontus Hultén discusses the relationship between the collection and contemporary art, see for example “Sandberg och Stedelijk Museum”, *Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam besöker Moderna Museet Stockholm*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no 19, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1962, p. 5; Yann Pavie, “Entretien avec Pontus Hultén”, *OPUS International*, vol. 61, no. 24–25, 1971, pp. 56–64. In a debate in the second half of the 1990s, the museum was severely criticised for having lost touch with the contemporary art scene. Hultén’s directorship was repeatedly held up as an ideal, and the early activities of the museum were reduced to its involvement in contemporary art. Hultén’s interest in the museum as a collecting institution and his active processing of the relationship between the art of his time and its history were ignored. See my discussion of this in Anna Lundström, *Former av politik*, 2015, pp. 92–96. See also Hayden’s account of how the then relatively newly established category of modern art museums plays

an active role in legitimising and historicising the art of the earlier avant-garde movements, Hans Hayden, *Modernismen som institution*, 2006.

44. Clement Greenberg, “Modernist Painting”, *The New Art. A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1966, pp. 100–110. This text was originally presented in a radio broadcast in *The Voice of America, Forum Lectures*, 1961.

45. Pontus Hultén, *Rörelse i konsten*, 1961, n.p.

46. Pontus Hultén, “Dynamik”, undated. MMA PHA 4.2.60. Hultén had used this expression already in 1955: “That works of art continuously change, that it has taken the time factor (the fourth dimension) directly in its service, must mean the annulment of the artistic laws of old. It implies the total renunciation of the sacred values of older art”, Hultén, “Den ställföreträdande friheten”, *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, p. 1. See also Hultén, “MOUVEMENT – TEMPS ou les quatre dimensions de la PLASTIQUE CINÉTIQUE”, *Le Mouvement*, Paris: Galerie Denise René, 1955, n.p.

47. Pontus Hultén, *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, pp. 7 and 9. This interpretation is repeated in a TV feature on the exhibition, broadcast on 11 June, 1961. The presentation of the museum is accounted for in the feature, and this is discussed by David Rynell Åhlén, *Samtida konst på bästa sändningstid. Konst i svensk television 1956–1969* (diss.), Mediehistoriskt arkiv nr 31, Lund: Lunds universitet, 2016, p. 137.

48. *Edition MAT* was presented in the exhibition catalogue for *Movement in Art*, and the exhibition concept was justified thus: “a work of art with a highly conceptual content will sometimes let itself be reproduced without losing its meaning”, Pontus Hultén, *Rörelse i konsten*, 1961, n.p.

49. In Stockholm, an *Edition MAT* took place at Galleri Vallingatan 42 in April 1960. The participating artists were Yaakov Agam, Josef Albers, Pol Bury, Marcel Duchamp, Heinz Mack, Frank Malina, Bruno Munari, Man Ray, Dieter Roth, Jesús Rafael Soto, Jean Tinguely och Victor Vasarely. “Till Pontus Hultén, Moderna Museet från Galleri Vallingatan 42”, 31 March, 1960. MMA PHA 5.1.47.

50. Charlotte Klonk, *Spaces of Experiences. Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 179–180.

51. The section *Licht und Bewegung* featured works by Yaacov Agam, Hermann Goepfert, Günter Haese, Harry Kramer, Otto Piene, Heinz Mack, Günter Uecker, Nicolas Schöffer, Jesús Rafael Soto, Jean Tinguely och Groupe de recherche d’art visuel de Paris (Horacio Garcia Rossi, Julio Le Parc, François Morellet, Francisco Sobrino, Joel Stein and Yvaral); *Documenta III. Malerei und Skulptur* (exh. cat.), eds. Arnold Bode, Siegfried Hagen and Alfred Nemeček, Kassel: Alte Galerie, Museum Fridericianum, Orangerie, 1964, pp. 403–412.

52. See primarily the exhibition *L’Art suédois 1913–1953*, which was shown at Galerie Denise René in spring, 1953, organised by Pontus Hultén and Oscar Reutersvärd with support from the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm and the Swedish Institute in Paris. The exhibition included works by Gösta Adrian-Nilsson, Olle Bærtling, Christian Berg, Olle Bonnier, Otto G. Carlsund,

Siri Derkert, Ted Dyrssen, Viking Eggeling, Arne Jones, Erik Olson, Karl-Axel Pehrson, Lennart Rodhe, Lars Rolf, and Otte Sköld, see *L’Art Suédois 1913–1953. Exposition d’art suédois, cubiste, futuriste, constructiviste. Mars–avril 1953* (exh. cat.), eds. Karl. G. Hultén and Oscar Reutersvärd, Paris: Galerie Denise René, 1953. In a letter to Sandberg, dated 18 December, 1952, Hultén suggests that the exhibition could go on to the Stedelijk Museum. This is the first contact between Sandberg and Hultén found in the Moderna Museet archives. See also letter from Pontus Hultén to Willem Sandberg, 18 February, 1953. MMA PHA 4.1.52. The issue *Kasark*, no. 1, 1954, is also relevant.

53. Pontus Hultén, “Klee kontra Kandinsky”, unpublished article, returned from the magazine *Prisma* on 20 September, 1949. MMA PHA 3.26.

54. Ulf Linde, “Föänderlig färg”, *Konstrevy*, no. 3, 1961, pp. 85–86. See also Ulf Linde, *Spejare. En essä om konst*, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1960.

55. See Lawrence Alloway’s concept of how abstraction is connected to the movement of the works, which in turn leads to the participation of the spectator; Lawrence Alloway, “The Spectator’s Intervention”, originally published in the French magazine *Art d’aujourd’hui* in November, 1955, and now in English translation by Catherine Petit and Paul Buck, *Exhibition, Design, Participation*, 2016, pp. 170–172.

56. See for example the text by Daniel Spoerri mentioned above, “Dynamic Labyrinth. Auto-theatre Spectacle”, which was an exhibition draft and, as such, very similar to *Dylaby* (*Dynamisch Labyrinth*), which was shown at the Stedelijk Museum in 1962. From the materials in the Moderna Museet archives, it is clear that what later became *She – A Cathedral* was referred to in the planning stage as both *Dylaby II* (letter from Pontus Hultén to Martial Raysse, 15 April, 1966. MMA MA F1a: 32) and *Labyrinth* (*The Labyrinth*, letter from Pontus Hultén to Harry Mattsson, 1 April, 1966. MMA MA F1a: 32).

the ideas behind either the exhibition or the artworks. One caption says: “Not one iota do I understand, but never would I have believed that it could be this incredibly fun going to an art museum!” And another: “You see, the new realism abstains from individual creation, it seeks to reveal reality and... – Oh give over! This is just hilarious!”⁵² It is important to stress that this contradiction between so-called high culture and the people’s reactions was what newspapers and TV focused on in their coverage of *Rörelse i konsten*. It can reasonably be assumed that however sensational this angle was in the media, it did not necessarily reflect how the general public perceived the exhibition.

Vincent van Gogh

The exhibition *Vincent van Gogh. Målningar, akvareller, teckningar* (Paintings, Water Colours, Drawings, 22 October–19 December, 1965) comprised a terse and spacious presentation of more than one hundred oil paintings, watercolours and drawings. Vincent van Gogh’s oeuvre belongs to the period covered by the Nationalmuseum, and the exhibition would have taken place there, had it not been for the fact that the Nationalmuseum was busy planning its major exhibition on *Christina, Queen of Sweden. A European Patron of the Arts*, due to open the following year.⁵³ The curator for *Vincent van Gogh* was Carlo Derkert, who also edited the catalogue together with Karin Bergqvist Lindegren. The catalogue for the exhibition includes a page with information on opening hours, admission, public guided tours and school visits.⁵⁴ In addition to a preface by Carl Nordenfalk and Derkert, it contained an essay by the artist’s nephew, Willem van Gogh, a biography, a few excerpts from van Gogh’s letters, and a list of literature about van Gogh in Swedish. This is followed by reproductions of the works in the exhibition and a list of the same, some with explanatory text taken from Vincent van Gogh’s letters to his brother Theo van Gogh. These texts are written in what could be galled a general tone that does not require the reader to have much previous knowledge. The exhibition was a great public success and was seen by more than 100,000 visitors.⁵⁵

The Moderna Museet archive does not contain any material relating to mediation activities linked to the exhibition, except for a contract for a lecture by the nephew Willem van Gogh (or Vincent, as he calls himself in his correspondence with the Museum).⁵⁶ To attract visitors to the museum, a campaign was launched with posters

and advertisements in taxi cabs: “Take me to van Gogh”.⁵⁷ Guided tours were advertised in the daily press repeatedly, presenting the guides by name.⁵⁸

The Vincent van Gogh exhibition got a great deal of press coverage, focusing especially on the artist’s biography and the high price tags on his works.⁵⁹ The press seems to have contributed to attracting visitors. Readers were reminded repeatedly that the exhibition at Moderna Museet was the last chance to see the works in Sweden, since a van Gogh museum was being built in Amsterdam (it opened in 1973). It was also reported that the exhibition was a success, and success breeds success, as we all know. One critic bemoaned that biographical facts and reproductions in the form of postcards and posters stood in the way of his experience of van Gogh’s art: “All this mediation in texts and reproductions that obscure his oeuvre make it harder to access. But if we give ourselves time to look at one of his paintings, we notice how the scales suddenly fall from our eyes ...”⁶⁰ The initiated visitor’s slightly contemptuous reaction to the explanatory texts can be seen as a symptom of the psychological mechanisms that incline us to want to protect the exclusiveness of a group (in this case, *art connoisseurs*) to which we have gained access through certain ordeals, social or otherwise.⁶¹

Parallel stories: inclusion and exclusion

These three case studies highlight exhibitions with different purposes and content: one that takes a pedagogical model as its subject, one which is expressly experimental and interactive, and one with a more traditional art historic content. Although all three exhibitions have didactic features in their rhetoric, the most prominent mediation model is dialogical, that is, it assumes that the viewer’s own experiences will influence how the art is perceived. At times, there is an obvious tension between these two approaches. The ever-relevant question of how knowledge can be shared without the pedagogue appearing authoritative, was obviously in evidence also at Moderna Museet in the 1960s. Carlo Derkert’s ambition that the Museum should be a place where visitors could discover themselves through art is in line with the co-creative mediation model that Nina Simon and many others are promoting today, more than fifty years later.⁶²

Pontus Hultén was fully aware of the importance of using the press to stir interest. His goal was that the Museum should be mentioned in



Above: Carlo Derkert with Willem van Gogh, Moderna Museet, 1965. Below: *Vincent van Gogh*, Moderna Museet, 1965

some newspaper every day.⁶³ Whether he succeeded has not been examined here, but random searches in the Nationalmuseum press archive show that the Museum and its exhibitions were certainly widely reviewed during this period. After around one year of operating, the media were already reporting about a place where children were welcome and where the atmosphere was open. At Moderna Museet you could have fun, even play hide and seek, according to one reviewer. The works of art invited play.⁶⁴

The division between mediation, communication (eg. press and marketing), and exhibition production was not as definite in the Museum's early years as it is today. Carlo Derkert might curate an exhibition, just as Pontus Hultén might handle the introduction at an event.⁶⁵ When Hultén was travelling or on holiday, Derkert stepped in as director.⁶⁶ Mette Prawitz felt that Hultén and Derkert should both be credited for creating the famously open and accessible atmosphere at the Museum.⁶⁷ They had a great team spirit. However, for the opening of Rafael Moneo's new museum building in 1998, when the press wrote profusely about the Museum's history and possible future, Hultén was given all the credit for this atmosphere, whereas Derkert was mentioned primarily as a charismatic tour guide. A 1998 caption in *Dagens Nyheter*, for instance, reads: "Pontus Hultén opened the Museum to children. They had their own film club and painting workshop, and were playfully guided into the world of art by Carlo Derkert."⁶⁸ A few years earlier, the same newspaper had written: "He is fully aware of his reputation for being 'audience oriented'. Hultén's policy so far has been to give museums the accessibility of streets and the possibility of workshops, and it was he who created a 'living room for art' at Moderna Museet."⁶⁹ In the 1960s, collective efforts were promoted, but in the 1990s, Hultén was presented as more or less solely responsible for creating the pedagogical museum.⁷⁰

On many levels, Moderna Museet under Hultén's direction was an inclusive, playful and accessible place for a broad audience. Art exhibitions were complemented by an extensive programme of events, and Derkert's guided tours probably helped to open many visitors' eyes to art. Both printed material in the form of books and catalogues, and radio and TV broadcasts about art and exhibitions have been preserved for posterity. In connection with the Museum's opening in 1958, for instance, a book was published about modern art, edited by Bo Wennberg, who was a senior curator at the Nationalmuseum at the

time. A newspaper cutting describes it as exceptionally lucid and informative.⁷¹ Critic Leif Nylén noted that the catalogues, although they omitted certain basic data about the works, provided beautiful and lavish, accessible, detailed and stimulating introductions to the art.⁷²

Nevertheless, there was a great deal that was neither mediated nor communicated. Especially in *Rörelse i konsten* where people were allowed to touch, interact and laugh.⁷³ This most fun exhibition of all had another level that the Museum did not strive to make as easily accessible to the public. To the uninitiated, the essays in the exhibition catalogue would hardly have been easy to comprehend. The art debate around the exhibition was polemic and highly intellectual. Readers were treated to a public debate that would be regarded as esoteric today, with initiated gentlemen doing their best to outshine one another with their opinions and insights. The Museum's elitist side is excellently illustrated by an observation from an evening event, published as Christmas reading in *Svenska Dagbladet* in 1962:

One of the most memorable evenings at the Museum was when John Cage, a pioneering American composer, held a lecture titled "Where are we going and what are we doing?" More accurately, this was four different lectures held *simultaneously* on four different tapes ... Chaos arose at the Museum, a chaos that K.G. Hultén and Carlo Derkert regarded with the greatest satisfaction from their protected observation post.⁷⁴

According to the journalist, the Museum's representatives were watching the perplexed visitors with amusement, apparently without getting involved or explaining the concept. The lion's share of the audience at that event were thus part of a kind of art happening staged by the artist and the Museum. This was something that they were probably not aware of when deciding to attend the lecture.

For those who did not take a guided tour, the art was left to speak for itself. Visitors had to make sense of what they saw as best they could. *Svenska Dagbladet* columnist Viola touched on this in a text from 1963:

The task now was to try to understand Jackson Pollock. It wasn't easy. And just when you really needed an explanation, an instruction, and flicked through the beautiful catalogue, all you found was "Painting", and you could see that much for yourself, or "Untitled", or "No 5", and that left you no wiser than before... In any case, the most modern art is obviously not intended for domestic use.⁷⁵

Apart from Pontus Hultén, Carlo Derkert and Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, Ulf Linde is perhaps the person who made the deepest impact on the Museum in the 1960s. Linde was the editor of the Friends of Moderna Museet *Bulletin*, and a critic in *Dagens Nyheter* from 1956 to 1968. He also contributed to the process behind several seminal exhibitions at Moderna Museet, including *The Museum of Our Wishes* (1963) and *Anna Casparsson. Embroidery* (1960), before he was recruited as a curator in 1973. In 1960, he published *Spejare*, in which he argued that it is the viewer who makes the work of art.⁷⁶ In 1965, he published four articles in *Dagens Nyheter* on the same theme.⁷⁷ Here, Linde adheres to Marcel Duchamp, who, in his lecture on "The Creative Act" at the Convention of the American Federation of Arts in Houston in 1958, contended that the artist and the viewer are of equal importance to the creation of a work of art. Giving the viewer more scope, and emphasising the significance of personal experience to the interpretation of works, is in line with dialogic pedagogy. This approach was gaining a strong foothold in the 1960s.⁷⁸ Art pedagogy was progressing from popular education on good taste, towards allowing more freedom to viewers.⁷⁹

This may look like an open, audience-friendly pedagogy. But Linde showed no understanding whatsoever for those who wanted to communicate art to the broader public. "Art is something for the few," he claimed, but stressed that this was not an elitist point of view, since those few could be anyone.⁸⁰ Anyone, that is, who had sufficient knowledge. To look at, say, Marcel Duchamp's works, where even the titles are word puzzles and the interpretations bear allusions to anything from mathematics to alchemy, is hardly for someone without background knowledge.

Carlo Derkert's pedagogical approach, which was strongly influenced by Herbert Read, as mentioned above, has come to be synonymous with Moderna Museet's pedagogy: everyone has the ability to see and experience art according to their own potential, and art makes us completely human. Ulf Linde's standpoint, that art is for the few, was not as prominent but nonetheless present at the Museum in the 1960s. Dialogue may be a key word used by both, but whereas Derkert meant an overt dialogue between viewer, artwork and pedagogue, Linde was referring to a tacit dialogue between the art and the viewer. Pontus Hultén created the potential for the two approaches to exist side by side at Moderna Museet, thereby attracting both the broader audience with general interests, and the initiated few.

The tension between the accessible and the obscure has its counterpart in the field of religion, where most faiths have an exoteric, accessible and open side, and an esoteric branch that is reserved for a small, enlightened circle.⁸¹ Spirituality and esoteric practices have had a far greater influence on modernism than is normally acknowledged in art history books and institutions.⁸² Art historian Peter Cornell points out that even something as profane as an exhibition preview is comparable to a freemason ceremony, with specially-invited guests adhering to a veritably ritualistic order (he takes the preview of *The Inner and the Outer Space* in 1965 as an example).⁸³ He writes,

Nor is there any whole-hearted desire to demystify modernism among museums, the cornerstones of fine arts institutions – be they called the Museum of Modern Art, the Guggenheim, the Stedelijk, or Moderna Museet in Stockholm. Like the art critics, they are battling with the insoluble dilemma of sitting on the fence: to both open their doors to the general public, and to keep the esoteric tradition alive.⁸⁴

It may seem like the visitors to the charismatic and dialogue-oriented Moderna Museet were, in some sense, “duped” into thinking they were on an equal footing with the institution, while the Museum could carry on being a place for the initiated. The more esoteric elements of art’s history, those that the traditional initiation rites decree can only be attained after intellectual and social trials, remained unavailable to the greater, more generally interested, public. The narratives of the audience-oriented museum, on the one hand, and the elitist museum on the other, are parallel and do not exclude one another. However, the grand narrative that claimed everything was one big, fun party and that anything could happen at Moderna Museet obscures the smaller narrative of a museum for the initiated.

1. Pontus Hultén, “Förord”, *John Melin till exempel. En hyllning till det enkla, vackra, lekfulla, konstnärliga, unika, egensinniga, tidlösa, moderna, experimentella*, ed. Johan Melbi, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1999, p. 1.

2. Venke Aure, Helene Illeris and Hans Örtegren, *Konsten som läranderesurs*, Skärhamn: Nordic Watercolour Museum, 2009; Karin Malmquist, “La Cour des miracles. On Visitors, Learning and Art at Moderna Museet”, and Annette Göthlund, “Activities in the Workshop and Zon. Art Education for Children at Moderna Museet”, *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, eds. Anna Tellgren and Martin Sundberg, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Göttingen: Steidl, 2008, pp. 281–296, pp. 257–280; Anna Lena Lindberg, *Konstpedagogikens dilemma. Historiska rötter och moderna strategier*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1991; Birgitta Arvas, “Barn på Moderna Museet – VERKSTAN”, *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, eds. Olle Granath and Monika Nieckels, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1983, pp. 187–194.

3. Bruce Ferguson, for instance, chooses to consider everything in and around an exhibition as different aspects of mediation: from the colour of the walls and how the works are selected and hung, to catalogues, websites, audio guides, posters, apps, touchscreens, wall texts, folders, guided tours and workshops. Others prefer to include only the various pedagogical resources that the visitor encounters in the exhibition space, such as various text material, guided tours and audio guides. See Anne-Sofie Stampe, *Formidlingens kunst. Om didaktisk-, dialogisk- och medskabende formidlingstilgang til kunstudstillinger, og hvordan det påvirker museumsgæstens oplevelse*, Kandidatspeciale, Copenhagen: Institution for Kunst- og Kulturvidenskab, University of Copenhagen, 2016, pp. 16–17.

4. Neither Jan Thomæus, Homer Lane, A.S. Neill, Paulo Freire, Ramses Wissa Wassef, Celestin Freinet, Rudolf Broby-Johansen nor Herbert Read are represented in the library.

5. Unsigned text on the Namn och Nytt page, *Dagens Nyheter*, 3 March, 1963.

6. “På tal om kultur. Samtal med museimannen Pontus Hultén”, Swedish Radio, 2001. <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=1602&artikel=1767701> (19 September, 2016).

7. See, for instance, *Fylkingen ny musik & intermediakonst. Rikt illustrerad historieskrivning & diskussion för radikal & experimentell konst 1933–1993*, eds. Christian Bock and Teddy Hultberg, Stockholm: Fylkingen, 1994, pp. 167–194, and *Statens Konstsamlingars tillväxt och förvaltning*, published 1960–1966 and archive material “Stockholms studentfilmstudio” in the series “Specialsamling”, Swedish Film Institute Library.

8. The signature MARKER, “Konstvisning på Nalen”, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 2 October, 1959.

9. The information on Louise O’Konor is from “Protokoll hållet inför överintendenten”, May 1958. Nationalmusei Centrala Kansli (NMCK). NMA MA A 2:77. The information on Anna-Lena Wibom is found in various sources, including the signature Malice, “Tummelplats för konst”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 8 May, 1963.

10. K.G. Hultén, "Moderna Museet", *Moderna Museet besöker Oslo* (exh. cat.), ed. Olle Eriksson, Oslo: Kunstnernes Hus, 1966, pp. 7–8.
11. Cf. Benoît Antille, "'HON – en katedral'. Behind Pontus Hultén's Theatre of Inclusiveness", *Afterall*, spring, no. 32, 2013, s. 72–81, and Leif Nylén, "De dyra katalogerna", *Stockholms-Tidningen*, 4 May, 1963.
12. David Rynell Åhlén, *Samtida konst på bästa sändningstid. Konst i svensk television 1956–1969* (diss.), Mediehistoriskt arkiv no. 31, Lund: Mediehistoria, Lund University, 2016, pp. 142–156.
13. Ingela Lind, "Vägarna till Moderna Museet", *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, 1983, p. 151.
14. For a discussion on Hultén's influence on recruitment at the Museum, see Ingela Lind, *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, 1983, s. 151–152.
15. More on Carlo Derkert's activities can be found in Jan Bahlenberg, *Den otroliga verkligheten sätter spår. Om Carlo Derkerts liv och konstpedagogiska gärning* (diss.), Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2001. In 2005, Bahlenberg published the book *Carlo Derkert. Porträtt av en konstvisare*, Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag, 2005. The National Library has Carlo Derkert's archive, which includes his notes on pedagogy in general and art pedagogy in particular. An issue of the magazine *Biblis* was devoted to Carlo Derkert, *Biblis*, no. 57, 2012, edited by Ingrid Svensson and Ulf Jacobsen.
16. *Uttryck, intryck, avtryck. Lärande, estetiska uttrycksformer och forskning*, ed. Ulf P. Lundgren, Uppsala: Uppsala University and the Swedish Research Council, 2006, p. 114.
17. Herbert Read (1893–1968) was a British poet, literary critic and art historian, whose book *Education through Art*, London: Faber and Faber, 1943 had a huge impact on art pedagogy.
18. Ingela Lind, Carlo Derkert and Eva Nordenson, "Om konstbildningen", *Det gamla museet och utställningarna. En konstbok från Nationalmuseum*, ed. Ulf Abel, Årsbok för Svenska statens konstsamlingar 20, Stockholm: Rabén och Sjögren, 1973, p. 91.
19. From Herbert Read, "Introduction", *The Grass Roots of Art. Four Lectures on Social Aspects of Art in an Industrial Age*, Problems of Contemporary Art no. 2, New York: Wittenborn, Schultz, Inc., 1949, p. 21, published in Swedish translation in Jan Thomæus, *Vart tar alla begåvade barn vägen*, Stockholm: Esselte Studium, 1977, p. 70. Various sources reveal the influence of Read's ideals on Moderna Museet's art pedagogy, for instance Anders Beibom, "En rolig väg till konsten", *Barnen och vi*, no. 3, 1963. Here, Derkert, like Read speaks warmly of Plato's thoughts on art as being necessary to the development of the personality.
20. Kristoffer Arvidsson, "Carlo Derkert i efterkrigstidens konstpedagogiska landskap", *Biblis*, no. 57, 2012, p. 37–47.
21. Ingela Lind, Carlo Derkert and Eva Nordenson, *Det gamla museet och utställningarna*, 1973, pp. 93–94.
22. Kristoffer Arvidsson, *Biblis*, no. 57, 2012, s. 39.
23. Ingela Lind, Carlo Derkert and Eva Nordenson Lind, *Det gamla museet och utställningarna*, 1973, p. 90.

24. Conversation between Mette Prawitz, Annika Gunnarsson and Ylva Hillström, 19 April, 2016. The author has the notes from the conversation.
25. *Ibid.*
26. The signature Malice, "Tummelplats för konst", *Dagens Nyheter*, 8 May, 1963.
27. Conversation with Mette Prawitz, Annika Gunnarsson and Ylva Hillström, 19 April, 2016. See also Birgitta Arvas, *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, 1983, pp. 187–188.
28. Anette Göthlund, *The History Book*, 2008, p. 268.
29. After being shown in Stockholm, the exhibition toured to Eskilstuna, Gothenburg, Malmö, Copenhagen and Trondheim. A new exhibition with tapestries from Harrania opened at Moderna Museet in 1966, *Egyptiska ungdomar väver 1961–1966*. This was followed by yet another exhibition in 1979 on the same theme, *Barn väver* (Children Weave).
30. Cf. letter from Carlo Derkert to Erik Zahle at Det Danske Kunstinstrimuseum, 4 January, 1961, and correspondence between Carlo Derkert and Anne Gyllenspetz. MMA MA F1:10.
31. A *didactic* exhibition is based on the ambition to teach something. A didactic presentation model is characterised, among other things, by having a distinct beginning and end to an exhibition, with texts telling visitors what they should learn from the exhibition or the separate works. A *dialogic* model assumes that the viewer's own experiences will influence how the art is perceived. The focus is shifted from the sender to the receiver and to the interaction between them. A dialogically mediated exhibition often lacks a distinct beginning or end. Several alternative interpretations and points of departure are presented, and visitors can choose between a variety of activities. A third pedagogical model, which has become more popular in recent years, is the *co-creative* model, as described by Nina Simon in *The Participatory Museum*, Santa Cruz: Museum 2.0, 2010. Co-creation can be achieved, for instance, by inviting community groups to be advisors when an exhibition is being planned, or by asking external groups to contribute their ideas for exhibitions. The above is a summary of Anne-Sofie Stampe, *Formidlingens kunst*, 2016. See also Venke Aure, Helene Illeris and Hans Örtengren, *Konsten som läranderesurs*, Skärhamn: Nordic Watercolour Museum, 2009.
32. Ingela Lind, Carlo Derkert and Eva Nordenson, *Det gamla museet och utställningarna*, 1973, p. 103.
33. "Moderna Museet 11 år. Återblick från 1969", *Avgörande ögonblick. Moderna Museet firar 50-årsjubileum*, 24 April, 2008, www.sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=1602&artikel=2052072 (31 May, 2016).
34. Herbert Read, *The Grass Roots of Art*, 1949, p. 21.
35. Letter from Carlo Derkert to Västerbotten County Museum in Umeå, 26 June, 1961. MMA MA F1:10.
36. Ingela Lind, Carlo Derkert and Eva Nordenson, *Det gamla museet och utställningarna*, 1973, pp. 98–99. This opinion was not shared by everyone, apparently. One reviewer notes that *Egyptiska ungdomar väver* was one of the Museum's most captivating exhibitions so far, and that although the

catalogue was “beautiful and amusing”, it was hardly necessary to read all about the weaves in order to get “an overall understanding of the beauty the human spirit is capable of under favourable circumstances”. Alf Liedholm, “Barn i vävstol”, *Upsala Nya Tidning*, 28 December, 1960.

37. Letter from Carlo Derkert to Västerbotten County Council in Umeå, 26 June, 1961. MMA MA F1:10.

38. Visitor numbers are mentioned, for instance, in a letter from Kerstin Stenberg to Kunstindustrimuseet in Copenhagen, 12 April, 1961. MMA MA F1:10.

39. See, for instance, the signature Boel, “Barn skapade unik vävnadskonst”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 29 November, 1960. A couple of weeks later, Ulf Linde wrote about the exhibition: “The exhibition at Moderna Museet is for adults. It should terrify them. A reminder that the price they pay for their prestigious, shiny things is that their children no longer are able to see that which lives in flesh and blood.” Ulf Linde, “Oförvillad bildsyn”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 15 December, 1960.

40. Visitor numbers taken from a summary in the archive. MMA MA F1:12.

41. “Moderna Museet 11 år. Återblick från 1969”, *Avgörande ögonblick. Moderna Museet firar 50-årsjubileum*, 24 April, 2008, www.sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=1602&artikel=2052072 (31 May, 2016).

42. Uno Grönkvist, ”Skrotkonst – skrot eller konst?”, *Folket i bild*, no. 26, 1961, pp. 8–10, 48.

43. One sign says: “CHILDREN UNDER 12 MAY NOT ENTER THE EXHIBITION WITHOUT BEING ACCOMPANIED BY AN ADULT”; others say: “Do not touch, ask the Museum staff for a demonstration”, and “The black disc can be rotated slowly. Please do not touch the pictorial elements!”. MMA MA F1:11.

44. K.G. Hultén, *Rörelse i konsten*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 18, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1961, p. 1.

45. Göran Odbratt has described one lecture where the speaker showed a picture and said: “Here we see a blue chair,” to which Carlo replied, “What do you mean by we? How can you know what I see?” in Göran Odbratt, “Carlo och horisontlinjen. Skisser till ett porträtt av Carlo Derkert”, *Biblis*, no. 57, 2012, p. 32. In this case, Derkert was contradicting the type of formulation that Hultén used in connection with *Rörelse i konsten*. Derkert’s previously quoted statement on *Egyptiska ungdomar väver*, on the necessity of explaining what the tapestries meant in order for people to understand them, is contrary to this, with the important difference that Derkert’s letter about the weaving exhibition is addressed to colleagues who also need to present a content, not directly to the audience.

46. Poster advertising events. MMA MA F1:12.

47. Mail shot to headmasters and teachers at basic and upper secondary schools in Sweden. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

48. See, for example, Lars Gyllensten and Olof Lagercrantz, “‘Rörelse i konsten’ på Moderna Museet. För friheten eller för publiken?”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 June, 1961, and Ulf Linde, “Konst som handling”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 July, 1961.

49. Olof Lagercrantz writes, for instance that: “The banter, the delight in design, the wittiness, the ridiculing, are all curbed to allow the protest to appear as a refinement in the flirtation with the public and with the public’s values – a caress, or a stroke against the hair, but mostly a caress,” *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 June, 1961; and Ulf Linde: “The words ‘meaning’ and ‘meaningfulness’ have always to me related to states where the rational and the irrational are inseparable. I have certainly not referred to them as ‘total’ – which Sven Sandström seems to infer.” *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 July, 1961.

50. Uno Grönkvist, ”Skrotkonst – skrot eller konst?”, *Folket i bild*, no. 26, 1961.

51. Ibid.

52. Kristian Romare, ”Hej du gamla mobil”, *Vi*, July, 1961.

53. Ingela Lind, Carlo Derkert och Eva Nordenson, *Det gamla museet och utställningarna*, 1973, p. 61.

54. *Vincent van Gogh. Målningar, akvareller, teckningar*, ed. Carlo Derkert and Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 50, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1965.

55. Visitor numbers are presented in, for instance, *Dagens Nyheter*, 19 December, 1965, and *Expressen*, 20 December, 1965.

56. See correspondence between Carlo Derkert and Willem van Gogh in MMA MA F1a:29.

57. Reply to tender, 4 October, 1965. MMA, F1a:29.

58. See, for instance, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 14 December, 1965, and *Svenska Dagbladet*, 17 December, 1965.

59. Eg. in *Stockholms-Tidningen Söndag*, 17 October, 1965, and the same paper in 16 October, 1965 remarks on the high value of the works in the exhibition (SEK 50 million), and the artist’s biography. “A study in misery” is the title of Martin Strömberg’s article in *Stockholms-Tidningen*, 17 October, 1965. In *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 October, 1965, the heading was “van Gogh’s nephew shows paintings worth SEK 50 million”. *Expressen* published a long article on van Gogh focusing on the artist’s life: Lars Widding, “Vad det ändå finns mycket vackert”, *Expressen*, 17 November, 1965.

60. Tord Bækström, “Vincent van Gogh på Moderna museet”, *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-tidning*, 3 November, 1965.

61. For a discussion on group identity, see, for instance, Miles Hewstone, Mark Rubin and Hazel Willis, “Intergroup Bias”, *Annual Review of Psychology*, vol. 53, 2002, pp. 575–604, and Steven Fein and Steven J. Spencer, “Prejudice as Self-Image Maintenance. Affirming the Self Through Degrading Others”, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1997, vol. 73, no. 1, pp. 31–44.

62. Nina Simon, *The Participatory Museum*, 2010.

63. Conversation between Mette Prawitz, Annika Gunnarsson and Ylva Hillström, 16 April, 2016.

64. Sven Sjöberg, “Vägar till konsten”, *På fritid*, no. 4, 1959.

65. Unsigned text on the Namn och Nytt page, *Dagens Nyheter*, 3 March, 1963.

66. See, for instance in NM Museum protocol, Statens Konstmuseer and its predecessor, Nationalmusei Centrala Kansli (NMCK). NMA MA A 2:76-83.

67. Conversation between Mette Prawitz, Annika Gunnarsson and Ylva Hillström, 16 April, 2016.

68. Ingrid Borggren, *Dagens Nyheter*, 13 February, 1998.

69. Birgitta Rubin, “Man måste få ha frihet att irritera!”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 26 May, 1991. Altogether, a nostalgia for the 1960s is expressed in connection with the opening of Rafael Moneo’s new building in 1998. See, for instance, Dan Hansson and Mårten Castenfors, *Dagens Nyheter*, 13 February, 1998.

70. *Expressen*, for instance, writes that Pontus Hultén, Carlo Derkert, Karin Bergqvist “and the others” have undertaken research for *The Museum of our Wishes* and that the works were collected around Europe by the driver Karl Axel Hultstrand and the young amanuensis Olle Granath. Lars Widding, “Konstsäsongens största evenemang”, *Expressen*, 20 December, 1963.

71. Ragnhild Prim, “Högklassig konstvägledning”, *ariel*, undated.

72. Leif Nylén, “De dyra katalogerna”, *Stockholms-Tidningen*, 4 May, 1963.

73. As early as 1959, *Expressen* reported that Moderna Museet was a place where visitors were allowed to laugh: “Of course you’re allowed to talk,” said Mr Derkert ... ‘You don’t need to shout, perhaps. But naturally you can talk. And laugh, too. Because this museum is fun.’” Lars Widding, “‘Urkul’, ‘helknasig’, ‘spännande’, tycker barnen om Moderna Museet”, *Expressen*, 23 January, 1959.

74. Urban Stenström, “Bland tomtar och troll på Moderna museet”, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 23 December, 1962.

75. The signature Viola, “En dag i mars”, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 5 March, 1963.

76. Ulf Linde, *Spejare. En essä om konst*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1960.

77. Ulf Linde, “Fyra artiklar och tre tal”, *Efter hand. Texter 1950–1985*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1985. The articles were originally published in *Dagens Nyheter*, on 26 March, 30 March, 4 April and 13 May 1965.

78. For discussion on the concept of open art, see Hans Hayden, *Modernismen som institution. Om etableringen av ett estetiskt och historiografiskt paradigm*, Stockholm, Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2006.

79. Kristoffer Arvidsson, *Biblis*, no. 57, 2012, p. 44.

80. Ulf Linde, “Konsten är något för några”, *Efter hand. Texter 1950–1985*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1985, p. 509. Originally published in *Ord och bild*, no. 1, 1969.

81. The historian of religion Mircea Eliade has studied esotericism in depth and proposes that esoteric structures and patterns can exist tacitly under what may appear to be profane: Mircea Eliade, *L’Épreuve du labyrinthe*, Paris: Editions du Rocher, (1978) 2006, p. 159.

82. See, for instance, Roger Lipsey, *The Spiritual in Twentieth-Century Art*, Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, inc., (1988) 2004.

83. Peter Cornell, “Den hemliga modernismen”, *Innanför och utanför modernismen*, eds. Peter Cornell, Sten Dunér, Kenneth Hermele, Thomas Millroth and Gert Z. Nordström, Stockholm: Gidlunds, 1979, p. 100.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. The formative Years

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