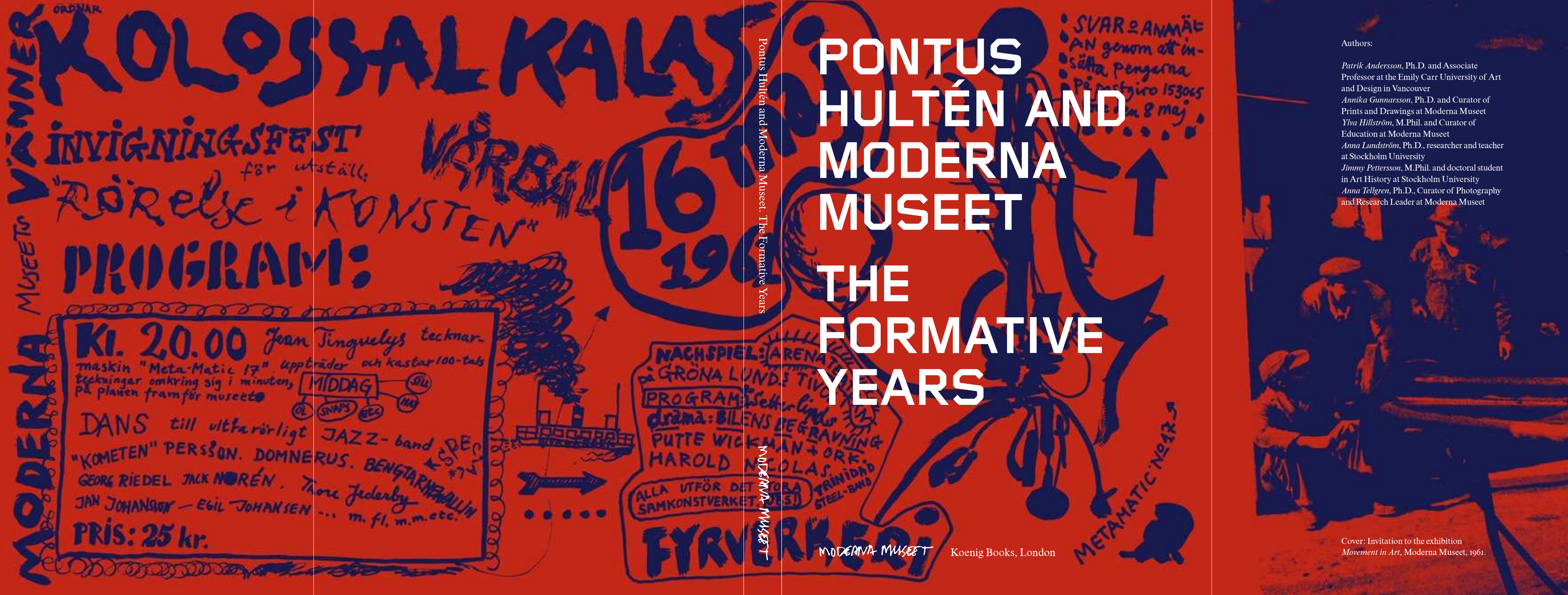




PONTUS HULTÉN AND MODERNA MUSEET THE FORMATIVE YEARS

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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Preface

Daniel Birnbaum

Pontus Hultén's years at the Moderna Museet were formative. For most of the art world, it is probably his work at the Centre Pompidou in Paris that defines him. Swedes, however, will always remember Hultén, first and foremost, as the inventive director in Stockholm. He arrived at the fledgling institution in 1958 – having spent the previous seven years shuttling between his native city and Paris, curating gallery shows and forging connections with artists like Jean Tinguely and Robert Breer – and took the helm in 1960. In the ensuing decade, he made the museum famous. One of his greatest gifts was his sense of timing, his ability to be at the right place at the right moment and to home in on the most interesting things going on. It's a talent apparent in the list of groundbreaking shows he organised at Moderna Museet: *Movement in Art* (1961), one of the first exhibitions of kinetic art; two of Europe's first surveys of American Pop art (in 1962 and 1964) and its first Andy Warhol retrospective (1968); and experimental initiatives like *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!* (1969), a show about radical politics that, in lieu of artworks, presented documentation and progressive activities, including visits from American draft dodgers and Black Panthers.

But he made perhaps the biggest impression with the startling collaborative installation *She – A Cathedral*, 1966 (conceived by Niki de Saint Phalle, Jean Tinguely, and Per Olov Ultvedt, with significant input from Hultén): a gigantic, lurid cathedral in the form of a supine woman that viewers could walk into, the entry being between her legs. Inside, visitors found a pond, full of goldfish, a love seat for couples, a bar, a small cinema showing a Greta Garbo movie, a playground with a slide and many other surprises. Green and red lights controlled the traffic through the vaginal entrance. It was sexual liberation for the entire family, something that, at the time, was probably conceivable only in Sweden, and it was an instant sensation. With such efforts throughout his career it was clear that Hultén was quite willing to privilege the creative side of his institutional role and that he, as Saint Phalle once claimed, had the soul of an artist.

Another of Hultén's talents was his ability to act as a social fulcrum, to surround himself with people who could work fruitfully with him and with each other. In 1960, for instance, he introduced Billy Klüver to Tinguely, instigating the visionary engineer's entrance into the art world. Hultén's circle in Stockholm included Peter Weiss, the polymath best known for authoring *Marat/Sade* (1964), and artist Öyvind Fahlström. On the museum's staff, he had Ulf Linde – writer, Duchamp expert and leading jazz musician – and Carlo Derkert, a quirky genius who turned the museum's educational programme into a kind of ongoing happening.

Compared to today's Moderna Museet, the institution that Hultén directed half a century ago was small and intimate, and even the most publicly successful exhibitions in those days had an audience that from today's perspective would be considered modest in size. And yet much of what Hultén realised and what he wanted his institution to represent remains valid today, and some of his fundamental beliefs continue to influence the museum's programmes and exhibitions to this day. What no doubt still animates the institution is the internationalism and a will toward experimentation as well as an awareness that art lives in a lively dialogue with other disciplines, such as film, dance, music and literature. The expansive geographies of today's art world of course make most European institutions in the 1960s appear limited in their outlook. Paris and New York were the dominating centres, and yet there were exceptions to the rule – occasionally works by artists from Latin America and Asia were included in the exhibitions of the 1960s. Today Moderna Museet famously exhibits more woman artists than any other comparable institution in the world. That was not the case during Hultén's years as director. But there were exceptions here too: a number of Scandinavian textile artists, Hannah Ryggen among them, were given important solo exhibitions during the museum's first decade.

At the very heart of today's Moderna Museet a curatorial laboratory has been created in which Hultén's spirit is very much alive. The machinery is quite loud, and that is something that the architect Renzo Piano, its designer, likes. In fact, as he explained during the premiere at Moderna Museet in Stockholm in 2008 – where his contraption makes walls of artworks descend from the ceiling along metal tracks – he would not have minded it being even noisier. However cool his architecture, Piano has a taste for extravagant machines, something he shared with his longtime friend Hultén, at

whose behest and in whose spirit the unique apparatus was created. In 2005, Hultén donated his roughly eight-hundred-piece art collection to the museum, but only on the condition that the works would still be available to the public in an open-storage warehouse designed by Renzo Piano (who had, of course, already been Hultén's partner in creating the Centre Pompidou in Paris). Curator Anna Tellgren, who directs the Moderna Museet's research programmes, has turned this experimental site into a constantly changing modernist *wunderkammer*, a key location for anyone interested in curatorial practices. The Pontus Hultén Study Gallery is perhaps the best testament – and a permanent one at that – to the playfulness and democratic ambition of the early years of this museum, as well as to the man who put it on the international map.

Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet.
Research and learning based on an art collection,
an archive and a library

Anna Tellgren

Pontus Hultén (1924–2006) worked at Moderna Museet between 1958 and 1973. As its director, he built the collection and the Museum's international reputation, with exhibitions such as *Movement in Art* (1961), *American Pop Art*, *106 Forms of Love and Despair* (1964), *She – A Cathedral* (1966), and *Andy Warhol* (1968). In 2005 he donated his private art collection, his library, and his archives to Moderna Museet. Research relating to Pontus Hultén has now entered a new phase, focusing especially on his practice as an exhibition curator and museum director. In the 1990s, curatorship became increasingly professionalised, as major international exhibitions and art biennials gained more prominence, along with the emergence of numerous specialised study programmes.¹ Several long, retrospective interviews with Pontus Hultén about his life and profession were made around that time.² One of these was carried out by the Stockholm-based contemporary art magazine *Material*, which interviewed Hultén in 1994 as part of its series on curators.³ A few years later, Hans-Ulrich Obrist conducted an interview with Hultén for *Artforum*, which is included in his book *A Brief History of Curating* (2008) and frequently quoted and referenced.⁴ This, and later interviews highlight more or less the same aspects: Pontus Hultén's own practice as an artist and filmmaker, and the early exhibitions in the 1950s in Stockholm and Paris, Marcel Duchamp, the first years at Moderna Museet, collaborations with Jean Tinguely, Willem Sandberg and the Stedelijk Museum, *The Machine* (1968) at the Museum of Modern Art, the years with Centre Pompidou, and, finally, his ideas for the Institut des hautes études en arts plastiques (IHEAP).⁵ In a number of these interviews, Pontus Hultén comments and reflects on the term *curator*, and his perception of this role after many years as a director and manager of various museums. It is also noteworthy that the book and exhibition at Moderna Museet in 2004 featuring his collection point out that he operated as an international curator before the word had been established in the Swedish language.⁶

Pontus Hultén has impacted on Moderna Museet in a variety of ways, since he was involved in the Museum from the start and

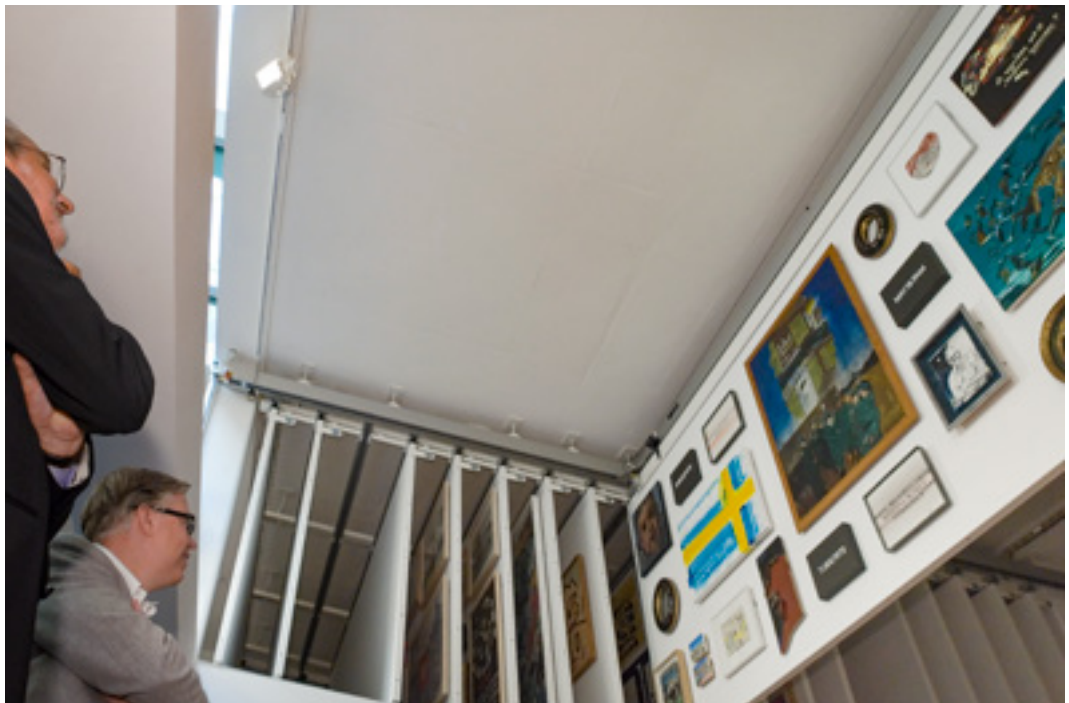


Intallations in the Pontus Hultén Study Gallery,
Moderna Museet, 2008



was appointed its director in 1960.⁷ Many of the artists he invited are still represented with key works in the collection, including Robert Rauschenberg and his *Monogram* (1955–59) – also known as “The Goat” – which was acquired after close contacts with the artist in connection with several early exhibitions at the Museum.⁸ The purpose of our current research project *Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. Research and learning based on an art collection, an archive and a library*, is to perform an inventory and to process material in the Museum archives and collection with links to Pontus Hultén, and to explore the legacy of the legendary 1960s and its implications for the Museum today. By letting researchers analyse this material, we can deepen and expand our understanding of the period. Our method is based on keeping close to the archive and making a more thorough analysis of the exhibitions and projects that Pontus Hultén was involved in. Our main sources are Moderna Museet’s public archives (MMA MA), Pontus Hultén’s archive (MMA PHA), and the Nationalmuseum archive (NMA), since Moderna Museet did not become a separate government agency until 1999. A comment heard frequently among colleagues and journalists in Sweden is that this is yet another of the Museum’s studies of Pontus Hultén, but our international contacts and collaborations have revealed that the knowledge about Moderna Museet and its history is not particularly widespread. For instance, there is still a common misconception that the exhibition *Bewogen Beweging* (1961) was initiated by Willem Sandberg and produced for and by the Stedelijk Museum. Further studies of the Swedish material are needed in multiple languages, as many Nordic researchers have found. The project is a continuation of the long-term initiative for research on Moderna Museet’s collection and history, and to present the results to the Museum’s large audience, through exhibitions, catalogues, articles, symposiums and various events.

The project is financed by the Swedish Arts Council’s funding for research on Central Museums, and is expected to run for just over two years, ending in 2018 when the Museum celebrates its 60th anniversary. The research team includes in-house researchers Annika Gunnarsson, Ph.D. and curator of prints and drawings, Ylva Hillström, M.Phil. and curator education, and Anna Tellgren, Ph.D., curator of photography and research leader. Anna Lundström, Ph.D., Stockholm University, is the external researcher on the team, which also includes Susana Mendoza Brackenhoff, registrar and archive manager at Moderna Museet. Linda Andersson has been the archive



Above: The Pontus Hultén Study Gallery, Moderna Museet, 2008. Below: Lars Nittve and Renzo Piano at the opening of the Study Gallery 30 May, 2008

assistant for the project, engaged especially in cataloguing the library. For two articles in the prospective book, we invited the external scholars Patrik Andersson, Ph.D. and associate professor at the Emily Carr University of Art and Design, Vancouver, and Jimmy Pettersson, M.Phil. and doctoral student in Art History at Stockholm University.

Our research focuses on Pontus Hultén's early museum work, but our point of departure is the archive, which includes material from many of his subsequent projects after he had left Moderna Museet. This first book looks specifically at the years from 1956 to the mid-1960s and presents five recent articles, in addition to a preface by Daniel Birnbaum, director, and this introduction. Patrik Andersson's opening study takes the previously rather neglected exhibition *The Inner and the Outer Space. An Exhibition on Universal Art* (1965–66) as the starting point for a discussion of Pontus Hultén's international role, and his relationship to Swedish criticism of the Museum's programme. This is followed by Anna Lundström's close scrutiny of the comparatively much more widely acknowledged exhibition *Movement in Art* (1961). Using archive material and photographs, she has reconstructed the exhibition and offers an alternative interpretation of the concept of "movement" to the one presented in previous research based mainly on the catalogue texts. Jimmy Pettersson takes a closer look at the avant-garde film festival *Apropos Eggeling*, which was held at Moderna Museet in 1958, partly as an attempt to attract a broader audience to the Museum. Annika Gunnarsson's study highlights Pontus Hultén's close friendship with the artists Sam Francis and Claes Oldenburg, based on the solo exhibitions at the Museum in 1960 and 1966, and the subsequent development of their collaborations. Finally, Ylva Hillström writes about the pedagogical activities at the Museum in the early years, illustrating various approaches to art and the public with three case studies. The articles complement one another, using partly the same references, but giving different perspectives on the activities and exhibitions. In particular, *Movement in Art* is explored by several of the authors, rendering new insights into the contemporary tendencies and this now legendary exhibition.

In addition to these five articles, we have included a previously unpublished text from 1962 by Pontus Hultén himself, outlining his ideas on how a modern art museum should be run.⁹ The text was written in English, as part of the application process initiated to make

Hultén Willem Sandberg's successor at the Stedelijk Museum. Here, Hultén touches on modern art in relation to society, and its history. A modern museum should side with the artists, not the audience. The museum's role is to provide information on tendencies in the field of art, and to show what is original, personal and unknown. Hultén writes that the boundaries between artistic disciplines were becoming increasingly flexible, meaning that it was natural to include films, music, architecture, poetry and ballet in the activities to attract a large and diverse audience. Combining temporary exhibitions with a permanent collection is the ideal form and the basis for the programme at a modern museum.¹⁰ The text is a kind of manifesto, or a summary of his practice after nearly six years at Moderna Museet in Stockholm.

Internationally, there is a growing trend for research in exhibition history and curatorial practices, and the Museum archives are receiving more and more requests from researchers in Sweden and abroad.¹¹ In the previous research project, *The History of Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, we studied fields such as exhibitions, funding, collection history, children's pedagogy, and catalogues, building a solid platform for further studies on the Museum's impact on the Swedish and international arts scene.¹² In this context, we also published an edited and commented interview with Billy Klüver, in which Pontus Hultén's own accounts of the early years were contrasted with another person's memories and myths.¹³ At Södertörn University, a project, *Living Archive. Pontus Hultén at Moderna Museet and Centre Pompidou in 1957–81*, is currently under way, led by Charlotte Bydler.¹⁴ In addition to the projects mentioned above, Moderna Museet as an institution has previously been the subject of a number of historical and biographical presentations and research studies.¹⁵ Several dissertation projects relating to the Museum's activities are currently in progress. As *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008* (2008) was written in the hopes that it would inspire further research on the Museum's history and collection, it is now our wish that this anthology will spark further studies in, and increased use of, the rich material in the Museum archives.

A biography of the archive creator Pontus Hultén

Carl Gunnar Pontus Vougt Hultén was born in Stockholm in 1924.¹⁶ He studied art in Copenhagen in 1945, but also began studying art history and ethnography that same year at Stockholm University.¹⁷

In 1951, he took his Licentiate degree with a dissertation on *Vermeer and Spinoza*.¹⁸ From 1949 to 1957, he worked with various amanuensis duties in the paintings department of the Nationalmuseum. During this time, he also organised several small exhibitions in Paris and Stockholm, including *Le Mouvement* (1955) at Galerie Denise René in Paris. He was active as an artist and filmmaker and was also on the editorial team of the magazine *Blandaren*, founded by students at the KTH – Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm. In 1957, he was recruited as an amanuensis at the Nationalmuseum; from 1958, he worked intermittently as a curator and supervisor at Moderna Museet. The Museum opened on 9 May, 1958, and Hultén was appointed its supervisor in 1960.

Pontus Hultén was promoted to director on 1 May, 1963, and the Museum organised more than 30 exhibitions during his directorship. He curated Sweden's contribution to the São Paulo Biennale in 1959, and for the Venice Biennale in 1962, 1964 and 1966, when the artist Öyvind Fahlström represented Sweden. The last exhibition in which he was involved at Moderna Museet was *Synligt och osynligt. Vetenskapens nya bilder* (Visible and Invisible. The New Images of Science) in spring 1973. In September that year, he was appointed director of Musée national d'art moderne (MNAM) at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris. The first exhibition after it opened in 1977 was about Marcel Duchamp. This was followed by his acclaimed city exhibitions, *Paris–New York* (1977), *Paris–Berlin* (1978), *Paris–Moscow* (1979), and *Paris–Paris* (1981).¹⁹ He was the director of Centre Pompidou until 1981, when he went on to direct the planning of the Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) in Los Angeles, where he remained for only two years, before becoming the artistic director of Palazzo Grassi in Venice.

During this period, he was also responsible for a study commissioned by the mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac, for the founding of the Institut des hautes études en arts plastiques (IHEAP), of which he was later appointed director.²⁰ The art school, which operated from 1988 to 1995, granted degrees to some one hundred students, including the Swedish artists Anna Selander, Jan Svenungsson and Sophie Tottie. After Venice, Hultén became the artistic director of the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn, while continuing to take assignments and produce exhibitions for Palazzo Grassi and other museums. In 1995, Hultén became the director of the Museum Tinguely in Basel, which he founded together with Niki

de Saint Phalle. From 1997, he was engaged in planning the museum Vandalorum in Värnamo, and produced the exhibition *Den sanna historien om Vandalerna* (The True Story of the Vandals, 2001) in conjunction with this. Moderna Museet reopened after refurbishment in February 2004 with the exhibition *Pontus Hultén's Collection...*, which toured to several other venues.²¹ The following year, he donated his art collection and library, along with his private archive, to the Museum. Pontus Hultén died on 26 October, 2006, at Lidingö in Stockholm.

The donation

Discussions had been broached with Pontus Hultén back in 2002 about organising an exhibition of his collection at Moderna Museet in Stockholm, when Hultén was simultaneously writing a book about his collection. Around the same time, the possibility of donating his collection to the Museum was being explored. Iris Müller-Westermann, who was curating the exhibition, made a preparatory visit to Pontus Hultén in his home at La Motte in March 2003, after which the ensuing discussions with Pontus Hultén regarding a donation were pursued primarily by Lars Nittve, former director of Moderna Museet. Hultén had been actively searching for a place for his private art collection for many years, and his involvement with Vandalorum was partly motivated by the idea of donating it to the planned museum in Värnamo.²² Pontus Hultén had contacted the Italian architect Renzo Piano at an early stage in the process to ask if he would design the Vandalorum museum, which was inaugurated many years later, in 2011.²³ Hultén and Piano had met in the early 1970s in connection with the building of the Centre Pompidou in Paris, which was designed by Piano and his colleague Richard Rogers.

As part of the process of finding a permanent place for the art collection, it had been catalogued and evaluated in the late 1990s.²⁴ One prominent advocate in the efforts to get the collection to Moderna Museet was Gösta Svensson, a printer who had helped produce the Museum's catalogues together with Pontus Hultén.²⁵ The process can be traced through an array of correspondence from 2002 to 2006, through lists of artists and works in the collection, packing lists, information about the tour, and the so-called Access project. The donation letter was signed in Stockholm by Pontus Hultén and Lars Nittve on 3 August, 2005.²⁶ It states, among other things, that: "The donation shall be maintained by the Museum in accordance with

the procedures applying to the Museum's other collections, libraries and archives, so that it can be used for research and education". In other words, Pontus Hultén were aware that the contents of the archive were relevant to future research. The donation was announced at a press conference on the 10 November the same year, at the Swedish Institute in Paris.

In autumn 2005, the government commissioned the Swedish Arts Council to create more jobs in the arts sector.²⁷ The Access project gave museums and other arts institutions opportunities to request funding for recruitment of staff to preserve, maintain and improve access to the collections. Moderna Museet applied for funding and was granted sufficient means to employ four art historians, an archivist and two conservators to organise Pontus Hultén's donation.²⁸ The project lasted for four years and ended in 2009.

The art collection

Pontus Hultén's art collection comprises more than 800 works, the result of a lifetime in art and close collaborations with many artists. Several of the works were dedicated to Pontus Hultén, and a few portraits of him are included, such as the highly stylised one by Siri Derkert from 1963, and more realistic depictions like the composition from 1974 by the Icelandic artist Erró. The donation also contained works by artists who were already represented in the Moderna Museet collection, thus adding to its breadth. *Money Thrower for Tinguely's H.T.N.Y. (Homage to New York)* (1960) by Robert Rauschenberg, and *Painting Made by Dancing* (1961) by Rauschenberg and Niki de Saint Phalle, created on the opening night on 17 May, 1961 of *Movement in Art* at Moderna Museet, were among them. The works by Niki de Saint Phalle include the sculptures *Two Guns and One Knife* (1960), and *Tir de Jasper Johns* (1961), along with numerous drawings, lithographs and watercolours. Jean Tinguely's sculpture *Fiesta Bar* (circa 1975) was in the collection, along with a few of On Kawara's date paintings, his *Today* series and *Postcards* sent to Pontus Hultén in 1972. Sam Francis is richly represented in the collection, for instance with two works titled *Swedish Flag for Pontus* (1987).

The donation complemented the Moderna Museet collection with artists who were not previously represented, such as Thomas Shannon and Tonie Roos. Swedish artists in the donation included Torsten

Andersson, Olle Bærtling, Lars Englund, Öyvind Fahlström, Lars Hillersberg, Arne Jones, Åke Karlung, Jan Svenungsson and Dan Wolgers. The donation also contained a collection of some 400 posters, a number of artists' books and 90 or so films of various kinds.

Most of the texts in the book *Pontus Hultén's Collection...* (2004), which was published in conjunction with the exhibition the same year and preceded the donation, were written by Pontus Hultén himself. They mix short biographical data and descriptions of the works and various art movements with personal memories from his travels and encounters with the artists. It could be called a book about friendships. In the interview with Hans-Ulrich Obrist mentioned above, Hultén hinted that he was writing his memoirs, but nothing of that kind was ever published, and this book could perhaps be read as a brief memoir, in view of the personal comments, biography and the photographs from his private album. The texts offer some insights into his approach to, and views on, art.

The archive

Pontus Hultén's archive is an integrated part of Moderna Museet's public archives.²⁹ The material covers Pontus Hultén's entire working life, from the 1940s to the early 2000s.³⁰ It consists mainly of thousands of letters between him and colleagues, artists and politicians all over the world. The content of the correspondence is professional, but the tone in many of the letters is informal since the writers and recipients were personal friends. One example is his correspondence with Niki de Saint Phalle, which fills nine boxes in the archive. But there is also material about artists such as Eva Aeppli, Alexander Calder, Marcel Duchamp, Kazimir Malevich, Claes Oldenburg, André Raffray, Robert Rauschenberg, Tonie Roos, Thomas Shannon, Daniel Spoerri, Andy Warhol and Dan Wolgers. In the archive we can follow and meet many interesting and seminal figures in the art world who were Pontus Hultén's contemporaries.

The material is highly diverse and contains letters, press cuttings, publications, preview invitations, drafts for texts, interviews, notes and a large number of black and white photographs and large slides.³¹ Many of the photographs are press images from Moderna Museet, with a stamp on the reverse side saying they should be returned to the Museum. The photographs include Christer Christian (a pseudonym of Christer Strömholm), Hans Hammarskiöld, Lennart Olson

and Vera Spørri. As mentioned, it also comprises correspondence from 1962 concerning the attempts to make Pontus Hultén Willem Sandberg's successor as director of the Stedelijk Museum. Moreover, there is extensive correspondence relating to the Musée national d'art moderne, Centre George Pompidou. Among this material, we have found documents from his period as director, marked "confidential", indicating that there is material in his personal archive that should perhaps not have ended up there. The boundaries are fluid. There are letters and material about the development and activities at the Institut hautes études en arts plastique (IHEAP) in Paris, and a great deal of papers linked to the press conference held in 1994 to save the institute.³² There are letters and telegrams with practical information, instructions, questions and specifications that would have been sent digitally today, as e-mails or even as short text messages via mobile phone or social media. Altogether, the archive material is varied, ranging from children's drawings of Pontus Hultén to letters from Marcel Duchamp.

The library

The library comprises some 7,000 books, mainly artist biographies and exhibition catalogues, but also books about art and art history, photography, design, typography, music, museums, machines, architecture and film. It also included magazines, lists, folders, and several artists' books that were transferred to the art collection when the donation was organised. The library is unique in that many of the books are dedicated to Pontus Hultén by their respective authors and artists, but also because many of the titles exist only in this library or in a small number of libraries outside Sweden.

Research on Pontus Hultén's career will reveal that books were an important part of his life. But he was not only interested in producing different and exclusive catalogues.³³ He also collected books. He wanted it to be possible at the Museum to explore and find information and biographical data on contemporary artists and art movements. The activities at the Stedelijk Museum served as inspiration in this respect, as seen in his short introduction to the catalogue for the exhibition *Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam Visits Moderna Museet Stockholm* (1962).³⁴ One of the fundamental concepts behind Kulturhuset in Stockholm and the Centre Pompidou in Paris, was to combine the art museum with the archive, library, auditorium,

cinema, restaurants and other amenities.³⁵ While he was at IHEAP, the institute incorporated the Bibliothèque Ernst Goldschmidt, which consisted of a large collection of exhibition catalogues, and also published a list with information on recently published catalogues. Later, this publication was taken over by Musée d'art contemporain (MAC) in Marseille, which also took over parts of IHEAP's archives and its library.

The Pontus Hultén Study Gallery

In August 2005, Lars Nittve wrote to the government, requesting funds for a so-called study gallery, since this was one of the conditions pertaining to Pontus Hultén's donation of his collection to Moderna Museet.³⁶ The Pontus Hultén Study Gallery opened on 30 May, 2008, in connection with the Museum's 50th anniversary.³⁷ The idea behind the Study Gallery was linked at an early stage to Pontus Hultén's practice as a museum director and curator and his approach to the museum as a forum for many activities, including exhibitions, film screenings, concerts, lectures and performance art.³⁸ He was inspired by the study collection in Moderna Museet's original building, where paintings were hung on steel wire screens that could be pulled out. This system was still in place next to the museum shop until 1994, when the Museum moved to the tram terminal on Birger Jarlsgatan while the new premises were being built.³⁹ In its first few years, the Centre Pompidou also had an open depot, where visitors could look at works from the collection.

Again, Renzo Piano was asked by Pontus Hultén to design and set up his vision of a study gallery.⁴⁰ It would be situated in the middle of the new museum building, where the Photography Library had been located since the reopening in 1998.⁴¹ The Study Gallery consists of 30 screens that are transported by a specially-constructed mechanism from the upper level of the room to the visitors on the lower level, i.e. to the second floor of the museum building. A bookcase covers the entire inner wall of the Study Gallery, reusing the Photography Library's interior. In front of the bookcase is a large table, designed by Renzo Piano, with some 20 Eames chairs in ash around it. The Study Gallery still has a glass wall facing the space outside the exhibition galleries and the cinema on the second floor. A revolving door was fitted, and climate control was installed in the Study Gallery when the premises were rebuilt.

Since it opened in 2008, the location and purpose of the Study Gallery in the Museum has been tested and reconsidered. The ideas and visions of a flexible and open Study Gallery have been hard to implement in practice in a modern 21st-century art museum. Repeated mechanical problems with the wires connected to the screens and the associated software have resulted in the screens being out of order a lot of the time. For safety reasons, it has not been possible for visitors to select and operate the screens themselves. Instead, the Museum's front staff, the hosts, have had to work in the Study Gallery, retrieving the screens visitors have requested. They have also provided information about the works and managed the educational activities. In consequence, the Study Gallery's opening hours have been limited. A few re-hangings have been performed, and now other donations to the Museum are also presented on the screens – in addition to works from the Pontus Hultén collection. In recent years, activities have been more closely tied to research. Smaller, archive-based exhibitions have been installed in the Study Gallery, and it has been used as the obvious place for visiting researchers, and for seminars and workshops.⁴² In connection with our research project, we have retrieved material from the archive, films and works from the exhibitions *Movement in Art* and *She – A Cathedral*, and presented it all in newly-made display cases in the Study Gallery (from autumn 2016). Together with archive material from the later exhibitions *Vanishing Points* (1984) and *Implosion* (1987), which has been compiled to put Pontus Hultén's period in perspective, this is a first step towards eventually filling the Study Gallery with historical material about the Museum. This material is intended to spark discussions about the Museum's current and future activities. The research results have also been made accessible to the public in the form of open lectures in association with the Friends of Moderna Museet.

Due to our deliberate focus on visiting researchers in recent years, it has transpired that there is a certain pattern in the requests for material relating to Moderna Museet's history.⁴³ We receive by far the most requests for material on the exhibitions and events *Movement in Art* (1961), *Five New York Evenings* (1964), and *She – A Cathedral* (1966). For these exhibitions, it is the material in Moderna Museet's public archives that researchers have requested and accessed.⁴⁴ Pontus Hultén's private archive still contains some documentation from the first years, but it is dispersed, and material on, say, *Movement in Art* is filed under Museums and Art Galleries, Exhibitions,

and each respective artist in the Artists section. In other words, the material in Pontus Hultén's archive is both harder and more time-consuming to search and access. We also find that from the 1990s and onwards, there was an increase in requests made directly to Pontus Hultén by curators and researchers about artists he knew, works in his collection, and the early exhibitions. There are many faxes from this period in the archive. As mentioned earlier, one of the purposes of our research project has been to highlight interesting material in the Museum's archives, to use and analyse it, and to make it more visible and accessible.

One phenomenon that permeates the archive material and is revealed in all the searches, is the hundreds of contacts that Pontus Hultén had, and the friendships he made over the years, with artists in particular, but also with other people in the arts; collectors, architects, photographers and politicians. To analyse the contents of the archive according to the theories of Pierre Bourdieu on fields, habitus and cultural capital may be one possibility. Another circumstance that is frequently remarked on is that the network he belonged to and operated within was almost exclusively male. When asked to comment on the criticism against his generation for being too male oriented, Pontus Hultén would reply that the male dominance was not total, but we get the impression that he was never really interested in feminism and its advocates.⁴⁵ Among the women who are amply represented in the archive, and whom he highlighted in various contexts are the artists Eva Aeppli, Niki de Saint Phalle, and Tonie Roos. All three are also represented with several works in his collection. The material in the packed archive boxes is very similar and consists of a large number of hand-written letters, drawings and photographs. The contents often has a highly personal tone. The one individual who seems especially significant here is Niki de Saint Phalle, through the many collaborations beginning in the 1960s and until her death in 2002. Other women who are mentioned and whom there is a great deal of material on are Dominique de Menil, Jacqueline Monnier, Claude Pompidou, and the gallerist Denise René.

One obvious result of these five new studies on the formative years is that many of the activities we have described here point towards another of Pontus Hultén's most acclaimed exhibitions, *She – A Cathedral*. It also emerges that the focus of Hultén's attention was in tune with the times, and that he thus became part of a movement that proposed a more open concept of art. He belonged

to a generation that could travel again after the Second World War, and he simply had the opportunity to see contemporary art, to learn and bring back emerging ideas to a nation that had been isolated for many years. Moderna Museet as an institution was created in the midst of a highly progressive and fortuitous period, and this was crucial to Pontus Hultén's practice. Another circumstance that transpires is that the archive and library complement the art collection and follow a number of artists and projects. Pontus Hultén was active before the internet, which means that it was harder for him and his colleagues to quickly find information about famous or less known artists and keep up with great or small developments on the art scene. To be successful as a curator and director of an art museum, you needed access to a collection, an archive and a library.

1. L'École du Magasin in Grenoble launched its curator course in 1987, followed by the Royal College of Art in London in 1992, and the De Appel Curatorial Programme in Amsterdam in 1994. Examples of other similar studies are the MFA in Curating at Goldsmiths University of London, and the Center for Curatorial Studies at Bard College in New York. In Stockholm, Konstfack, University College of Arts, Crafts and Design, offered curatorial training from 1998, and a few years later, in 2003, the Department of Art History at Stockholm University introduced its International Master Programme in Curating Art, including Management and Law.

2. This includes other influential parties in the art world from the same generation, such as the Swiss curator, artist and art historian Harald Szeemann. See *Harald Szeemann. Individual Methodology*, ed. Florence Derieux, Zurich: JRP/Ringier, 2008. The Harald Szeemann Archive and Library was acquired in 2011 by the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles.

3. "Samtal med intendent (del 4): Pontus Hultén, Kunsthalle Bonn och IHEAP, Paris. Dominans av stjärncurators skadar konstlivet på sikt", *Material*, no. 5 (21), 1994, pp. 8–9. Interviews by Erik van der Heeg, Eva-Lotta Holm and Håkan Nilsson. This was the fourth and final volume in the series "Samtal med intendent". In previous volumes Lars Nittve (Rooseum), Bo Nilsson (Moderna Museet), and Debbie Thompson (Uppsala konstmuseum) had been interviewed.

4. Hans-Ulrich Obrist, "The Hang of It. Hans-Ulrich Obrist talks with Pontus Hultén", *Artforum*, April, 1997, pp. 74–79, 113–114. In his article, Obrist addresses and questions the background to the exhibitions *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Change the World!* (1969), and *Utopias & Visions 1871–1981* (1971). These ideas inspired Obrist, who then took them further in *Poetry Will Be Made By All!*, which was part of the programme around the exhibition *After Babel* at Moderna Museet in summer 2015; see *After Babel. Poetry will be made by all! 89plus*, eds. Daniel Birnbaum and Ann-Sofi Norring, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 386, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and London: Koenig Books, 2015.

5. Examples of interviews include Yann Pavie, "Entretien avec Pontus Hultén", *OPUS International*, no. 24–25, 1971, pp. 57–63; Helén Hallgren, "Museernas gigant ger Norden en chans", *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 January, 1986; Måten Bouisset, "Les légendes du siècle. Entretien avec Pontus Hultén", *Beaux Arts*, May, 1992, pp. 72–80. A number of interviews with Pontus Hultén have been filed together under Press cuttings. MMA PHA 5.2.2.

6. Lars Nittve, "En curator's book", *Pontus Hulténs samling...*, ed. Iris Müller-Westermann, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 321, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 2004, p. 7. The Swedish word "utställningskommissare" (exhibition commissar) was used before the more international "curator" became established in the end of the 1990s in Sweden.

7. Moderna Museet's directors: Otte Sköld (1958), Bo Wennberg (1959–1960), Pontus Hultén (1960–1973), Philip von Schantz (1973–1977), Karin Bergqvist Lindegren (1977–1979), Olle Granath (1980–1989), Björn Springfeldt

- (1989–1996), David Elliott (1996–2001), Lars Nittve (2001–2010), and Daniel Birnbaum (from 2010).
8. On Robert Rauschenberg and Sweden, see a theme issue of *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 76, issue 1–2, 2007.
 9. This text is attached to a letter to professor Pieter Sanders, 4 December, 1962. MMA PHA 4.1.52.
 10. Originally, there were plans that Moderna Museet would be a transit museum, where parts of the collection would eventually go on to the Nationalmuseum. A model that had been used by Musée du Luxembourg and Musée du Louvre in Paris, see Hans Hayden, *Modernismen som institution. Om etableringen av ett estetiskt och historiografiskt paradigm*, Stockholm, Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2006, pp. 184–194.
 11. Examples of literature in this field: *Salon to Biennial. Exhibitions that Made Art History*, vol. 1, 1863–1959, ed. Bruce Altshuler, London: Phaidon, 2008; *Biennials and Beyond. Exhibitions that Made Art History*, vol. 2, 1962–2002, ed. Bruce Altshuler, London: Phaidon, 2013; Charlotte Klonk, *Spaces of Experience. Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009; *Hängda och utställda. Om hängningarnas och utställningarnas historia på Göteborgs konstmuseum*, eds. Kristoffer Arvidsson and Jeff Werner, Skiascope 1, Gothenburg: Göteborgs Konstmuseum, 2009. Also see the series published by Afterall: *Exhibition Histories*.
 12. The project concluded with the publication of *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, eds. Anna Tellgren and Martin Sundberg, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Göttingen: Steidl, 2008.
 13. Marianne Hultman, “Our Man in New York. An Interview with Billy Klüver on his Collaboration with Moderna Museet.”, *The History Book*, 2008, pp. 233–256.
 14. The project team consists of Charlotte Bydler, Andreas Gedin and Sinziana Ravini. See Andreas Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, Hon & Moderna*, Stockholm: Bokförlaget Langenskiöld, 2016.
 15. Selected literature on Moderna Museet: *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, red. Olle Granath and Monica Nickels, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1983; Per Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum 1792–1992*, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum and Höganäs: Förlags AB Wiken, 1992; Bo Wennberg, ”En berättelse om Moderna Museets tillkomst”, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 69, issue 1, 2000, s. 41–48; Patrik Andersson, *Euro-Pop. The Mechanical Bride Stripped Bare in Stockholm, Even* (diss.), Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2001. See also the bibliography in *The History Book*, 2008, p. 461.
 16. Pontus Hultén’s parents were professor Eric Hultén (1894–1981) and Elsie Vougth (1893–1976). During his time at Moderna Museet, he often signed official letters, documents and texts with an abbreviation of his given name: K.G. Hultén. In more familiar and friendly contexts, he used Pontus, as he did consistently later in life. On the name change, see his father Eric Hultén, *Men roligt var det. En forskares memoarer*, Stockholm: Generalstabens litografiska anstalts förlag, 1963, p. 229. He was married to Kerstin Olsson from 1951 to 1966, and they had a son, Felix (born 1951). He started

a relationship with the film producer Anna-Lena Wibom in 1958, and they had a daughter, Klara (1960–1998). They remained close friends throughout life. From 1988, he lived with Marie-Louise von Plessen at La Motte in Saint-Firmin-Sur-Loire in France, before returning to Stockholm in 2005, where he lived until his death.

17. An attested Curriculum Vitae for Pontus Hultén's early career, from 1945 to 1960, is among the documents concerning his childhood, student years, finances and family. MMA PHA 1.3.4. For an overview of Hultén's career at the Nationalmuseum and Moderna Museet, see also Anna Lundström, *Former av politik. Tre utställningssituationer på Moderna Museet 1998–2008* (diss.), Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam Förlag, 2015, p. 14, footnote 6.

18. The manuscript can be found in the archive under his own works. MMA PHA 2.10–12. The book was later published in French: Pontus Hultén, *Vermeer et Spinoza*, introduction Bernadette and Thierry Dufrêne, trans. Lydie Rousseau, Paris: L'Échoppe, 2002.

19. Pontus Hultén was awarded the French Legion of Honour, first the class of Chevalier (1980) and later the class of Officier (1992).

20. For a documentation of this activity: *Quand les artistes font école. Vingt-quatre journées de l'Institut des hautes études en arts plastique 1988–1990, Tome I*, ed. Pontus Hultén, Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2004, and *Quand les artistes font école. Vingt-quatre journées de l'Institut des hautes études en arts plastique 1991–1992, Tome II*, ed. Pontus Hultén, Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2004.

21. The exhibition toured to Palazzo Franchetti in Venice, Ateneum in Helsinki, Henie Onstad Kunstsenter in Høvikodde, and Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt.

22. Pontus Hultén also had several meetings with the Vice Chancellor Bo Sundqvist about donating his collection of art to Uppsala University. In June 2004, a team from the Department of Art History at Uppsala University visited Hultén at his home at La Motte for a continued discussion and to look at the collection. The team consisted of professor Jan von Bonsdorff, postdoctoral research fellow Hans Hayden, doctoral student Annika Öhrner, and Johan Cederlund, who was an antiquarian at the University and in charge of its art collection. Telephone conversation with Jan von Bonsdorff, 7 October, 2016.

23. The name of the museum today is Vandalorum – Centrum för konst och design. Document on Vandalorum. MMA PHA 4.1.55.

24. Pontus Hultén's art collection was inventoried and evaluated by Jan Runnqvist at Galerie Bonnier in Geneva. See letter from Jan Runnqvist to Pontus Hultén, 1 November, 1999. MMA PHA 4.1.4.

25. On the collaboration with Gösta Svensson, see Martin Sundberg, "Between Experiment and Everyday Life. The Exhibition Catalogues of Moderna Museet", *The History Book*, 2008, p. 320.

26. Deed of gift, Reg. no. 2005-23-105, 3 August, 2005. MMA MA F2d:35.

27. See *Uppföljning av Access*, Kulturrådets Skriftserie 2010:1, Stockholm: Swedish Arts Council, 2010.

28. For a presentation of the Access project at Moderna Museet, see

Pontus Hulténs donation, ed. Ylva Hillström, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 2008. Project manager: Ylva Hillström. Project team: My Bundgaard (conservator), Jessica Höglund (art historian), Evelina Jansson (art historian), Audrey Lebioda (archivist), Ellen Magnusson (conservator), Joanna Persman (art historian), and Klara Rudebeck (art historian).

29. In 2015, the Museum also acquired Ulf Linde's archive (MMA ULA), which includes letters, material and photographs around the work on Moderna Museet's replicas of Marcel Duchamp's works. This, however, is a private archive. For an in-depth analysis of Marcel Duchamp and his contacts with Sweden, see the publication *Étant donné Marcel Duchamp*, no. 11, ed. Paul B. Franklin, Paris: Association pour l'Étude de Marcel Duchamp, 2016.

30. See Arkivbeskrivning (description of the archive) by Audrey Lebioda from 2008.

31. Nathalie Meneau started working for Pontus Hultén in 1976 and was his assistant from 1988 until the end. All the documents in the archive were filed by her, and she claims not to have thrown anything away. Certain private documents were removed by the family in connection with the donation. Interview with Nathalie Meneau by Audrey Lebioda, 11 January, 2007. Notes from the interview can be found in MMA PHA 6.

32. Press conference, 11 October, 1994. MMA PHA 4.3.3.

33. See *Das gedruckte Museum von Pontus Hultén. Kunstaussstellungen und ihre Bücher*, Ostfildern-Ruit: Cantz-Verlag, 1996.

34. K.G. Hultén, "Sandberg och Stedelijk Museum", *Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam besöker Moderna Museet Stockholm*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 19, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1962, pp. 4–9.

35. A presentation of the plans and vision for a potential transfer of Moderna Museet to Sergels torg can be found in an article by Bo Andersson, Carlo Derkert, Pontus Hultén, Li Lind, Per Stolpe and Anna-Lena Thorsell, "Ett kulturhusprogram: Experiment i social samverkan", *Dagens Nyheter*, 9 September, 1969.

36. Letter to the Government, Ministry of Education and Culture, Reg. no. 2005-21-106, 23 August, 2005. MMA MA F2d:35.

37. The project started in 2006. Project manager for the Pontus Hultén Study Gallery was Cecilia Widenheim (curator for Swedish and Nordic art at Moderna Museet in 1998–2012). Project team members from the Museum were Lars Byström (chief conservator), Agneta Modig Tham (head of administration), Harry Nahkala (head of technician), and Mats Rosvall (head of security and operations), together with staff from the National Property Board Sweden and representatives from the Renzo Piano Building Workshop. The construction of the mechanism for the Study Gallery was commissioned to OCS Overhead Conveyor System AB in Borås. See invitation to tender dossier, Reg. no. 2007-17-48: Förfrågan angående Maskin för konstvisning till Moderna Museet i Stockholm. MMA MA F2bb:66.

38. See e.g. Cecilia Widenheim, "Rörelse i konsten", *Pontus Hulténs donation*, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 2008, p. 4. For a detailed analysis of Pontus Hultén's Study Gallery, its background and the purpose of this gallery

in the modern art museum in the 21st century, and the role of the viewer, see Anna Lundström, *Former av politik*, 2015, pp. 49–81.

39. Eva Eriksson, “Transformation and Transit. Moderna Museet and its buildings”, *The History Book*, 2008, pp. 65–96.

40. See an interview with Renzo Piano, where he shares the plans for the study gallery in the film *The Pontus Hultén Study Gallery at Moderna Museet* (2013), produced by Catrin Lundqvist and Stefan Wrenfelt.

41. In 2006, the Photography Library was moved to the second floor in Building 21 (the former Nautical Chart Department) Holmamiralens väg 2 on Skeppsholmen, Stockholm. The Photography Library was then merged with the Art Library in 2013, and the new special library for art, photography and design is operated jointly by Moderna Museet and the Nationalmuseum. It is situated on the third floor of Building 21.

42. The following exhibitions and projects have been presented in the Study Gallery over the past years: *Tryckt omkring 1980-talet* (spring 2011), an exhibition with art-related Swedish magazines and fanzines from the late 1970s to the early 1990s; *Reading the Object. Artist-Made Books from the Collection at Moderna Museet* (summer 2011); *Magritte – Foucault. The Order of Things* (autumn 2011), a one-screen exhibition that was simultaneously published in the new series of essays, Moderna Museet Essä; *Jacqueline de Jong. A Small Modification and Dérive of the Pontus Hultén Collection in the Renzo Piano Grotto* (spring 2012), on a screen as part of the project *All the King's Horses; Marcel Duchamp through Pontus Hultén*, archive material complementing the exhibition *Picasso/Duchamp. “He was Wrong”* (2012–13); *Paul Thek, in Process (Stockholm)* (summer 2013), an archive-based exhibition; *60 years of prosperous friendship* (2013–14), a presentation of works donated by the Friends of Moderna Museet; *A Way of Life. Swedish photography from Christer Strömholm to today* (2014–15), with books of photography and magazines from the Art Library’s collection relating to the photographers featured in the exhibition; *Duchamp and Sweden. On the Reception of Marcel Duchamp after World War II* (spring 2015), material from Pontus Hultén’s and Ulf Linde’s archives, and posters by students attending a university course on Marcel Duchamp in collaboration with Södertörn University and Stockholm University; *A good home for everyone. With Anna Riwkin and Björn Langhammer in the shadow of the welfare state* (2015–16), a presentation of photographs, films, articles, documents and books; *Comparative Vandalism. Photographs from the Asger Jorn archive* (2016–17).

43. Since 2013, all administration and planning of research visits is done at the so-called FAB-meeting. (Research Archive Library). The participants at this meeting are the respective curators, the archive manager, the picture editor and the collection registrar. The meeting is convened by the research leader. Reports on research and collaborations with universities and other museums can be found in Moderna Museet’s annual reports.

44. The most frequently requested material in the archive has been digitalised, and further digitalisation is in progress.

45. See *Material*, no. 5 (21), 1994, p. 9.

The Inner and the Outer Space.
Rethinking movement in art

Patrik Andersson

Between 1961 and 1966, Stockholm's Moderna Museet propelled itself into the world of contemporary art under the directorship of Pontus Hultén. While he directed the museum until 1973, these years were vital in defining and promoting a visually, physically, and philosophically dynamic art. Two exhibitions bracket these years and gained the greatest international notoriety: *Rörelse i konsten* (*Movement in Art*, 1961) and *Hon – en katedral* (*She – A Cathedral*, 1966). Each was spectacular in its own way. Yet they typify Hultén's anarchic aspirations and his penchant for art in the spirit of Marcel Duchamp that employed machines, movement, irony, chance, and humour. While much has been written about these exhibitions, very little has been said about *Den inre och den yttre rymden. En utställning rörande en universell konst* (*The Inner and the Outer Space. An Exhibition on Universal Art*, 1965–66), the exhibition just prior to *Hon – en katedral*. While less rambunctious, it was equally monumental and helped set the stage for the notorious work that succeeded it.

As I have shown elsewhere, Niki de Saint Phalle, Jean Tinguely and Per Olof Ultvedt's *Hon* was a tongue-in-cheek critique of the optimism and entertainment associated with certain types of American art (in particular Happenings, Pop Art, and Experiments in Art and Technology).¹ Here I suggest the exhibition *Den inre och den yttre rymden* was vital in strategically redeeming Hultén's previous curatorial decisions and addressing the combative criticism the museum was receiving circa 1965.² If we consider that *Hon* was a distinctly European critique of what the artists saw as the technological hubris of a New York-centred participatory art that had broken free from modernist art (such as Colour Field Painting and Post-Painterly Abstraction), we need to look at *Den inre och den yttre rymden* as an attempt to reassert Hultén's alliance with a radically individualist form of anarchism rooted in proto-forms of European existentialism.³ With this in mind, *Den inre och den yttre rymden* functioned as both an engagement with, and a negation of, curatorial projects Hultén had avoided overt contact with in the late fifties and early sixties such as *Zero*. What Hultén shared with these other projects,

and artists like Tinguely and Yves Klein in particular, was a desire to challenge the confines of the traditional gallery by introducing physical and philosophical movement. By the time he curated *Den inre och yttre den rymden* in 1965, movement had preoccupied Hultén for a decade.

As early as 1955 Hultén convinced Denise René, arguably the most influential gallerist in Paris supporting geometric abstraction, to let him co-curate *Le Mouvement*, an exhibition devoted to kinetic art. The project allowed Hultén to put his own spin on an increasingly contemporary paradigm.⁴ Like a number of like-minded artists, he sought to escape the polemics of not only the School of Paris, but also, by the late fifties, of gestural and geometric abstraction. *Le Mouvement* consisted of three elements: a historical section, with kinetic sculptures by Alexander Calder and Marcel Duchamp; contemporary work by Victor Vasarely and Robert Jacobsen; and work by four emerging artists who came from places considered peripheral to an art world centred on Paris: Yaacov Agam (Israel), Pol Bury (Belgium), Jesús Rafael Soto (Venezuela), and Jean Tinguely (Switzerland). While anchoring the exhibition in Denise René's elegant stable of international kinetic art with works by Calder, Jacobsen and Vasarely, Hultén's inclusion of Duchamp's optical experiment *Rotary Demisphere* (1925) gave the exhibition its intellectual edge and rooted it in the anarchism of Dada. Unlike Vasarely's formalist Op Art, Duchamp's optical work destabilised the mind in order to activate the intellect.⁵

Of the younger artists in *Le Mouvement*, Hultén found Tinguely's work most "free". Unlike the pseudo-scientific seriousness exhibited by the majority of the artists at Denise René, Tinguely seemed to share Duchamp's pataphysical playfulness, which forged a path between the often naïve optimism of geometric abstraction and the more pessimistic expressions of an *art informel*. Through curating *Le Mouvement*, Hultén established an artistic and intellectual framework that governed his idea of modern art for the next decade – an idea that took issue with the technocratic side of contemporary art and design without dismissing its modernity. Hultén also developed a deep philosophical interest in the existential side of Expressionist art, but not an interest so entrenched in object materiality that he ignored modernity's pop cultural aesthetic-pleasure and humour. In other words, it was an art that negotiated the inner and outer spaces defining Europe's post-war Socialism.

Hultén was by no means the only curator attempting to establish his own post-war canon. For example, in France, Michel Tapié's *Art Autre* and Charles Estienne's Tachisme were but two of the movements progressing alongside Hultén's trajectory, and in London Lawrence Alloway's activities at the Institute of Contemporary Art were even closer in spirit.⁶ But Hultén avoided direct dialogue with these other curators to secure his own vision of art. As he would later recall:

What distinguished *Le Mouvement* from other exhibitions and earned it widespread publicity was its presentation of a new outlook in art. A great deal of the art of the 1950s had been pessimistic, defeatist, and passive. A lot of people were surprised to learn that there was another kind of 'modern' art, dynamic, constructive, joyful, deliberately bewildering, ironic, critical, teasing, and aggressive.⁷

To distance his project from others' interest in kinetic art, particularly that of Europeans connected to László Moholy-Nagy's dominant account of the historical avant-garde *Vision in Motion* (1947), Hultén shifted the terms of the discussion ever so slightly – from motion to the more metaphorical possibilities of movement:

When you want to talk about movement, Swedish is an unpractical language. English is much more convenient since it distinguishes between *motion* and *movement*. Motion appears to imply movement in general ... (whereas) movement implies movement itself ... This belongs to this century's big events to allow an art work to move within itself like a motor or the way a tree moves in the wind.⁸

Hultén increasingly understood Duchamp's visual and conceptual experiments as a genre-breaking toolbox to challenge the rational and technocratic optimism of Moholy-Nagy's Bauhaus rhetoric.⁹ For this reason, as Tinguely would later recall, Hultén "had to fight for Duchamp at Denise René," since his playful critique of scientific rationalism was not always appreciated or understood.¹⁰ Perhaps it was the resistance of René, Vasarely, and art critics such as Léon Degand that made Hultén realize his interest in Duchamp could help define his own anarchistic position.

By the early sixties, Hultén had managed to import the ideas and artists he had discovered in Paris to Stockholm. He had established himself as curator and director of Stockholm's Moderna Museet,

which was founded in 1958. In October 1959, the museum's public was given a taste of Hultén's international and philosophical interests with the exhibition *Sebastián Matta. 15 Forms of Doubt*. Having worked with both Le Corbusier and Duchamp during the 1930s, this Chilean artist's painted psychological morphologies, or inscapes, read as a response to work such as Jean Fautrier's heavy *informel* lead-clad hostages.¹¹ But they were also understood as a reaction to the seductive coloured structures of technocratic urban environments. In other words, Matta's work was a responsive dialectical play between an *inner and outer space* – a hint of the kind of "movement" that Hultén needed to escape art-world polemics while remaining anchored in the dominant existential and progressive discourses of his day.

By 1961, Hultén was ready to activate the museum with the exhibition *Rörelse i konsten* (Movement in Art). This refined elaboration of the 1955 *Le Mouvement* exhibition would launch Hultén's career in ways few could have predicted.¹² Much has been made of the fact that this exhibition established Hultén's international reputation. But often downplayed is the fact that movement had become a widespread discourse by the time the exhibition opened at Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, Moderna Museet, Stockholm and the Louisiana, Humlebæk. In fact, this exhibition for which Hultén has largely been credited was not entirely his own but was in fact a collaboration with Daniel Spoerri, an artist who then was closely associated with *Nouveau réalisme* and the Zero group.¹³

Between 1955 and 1961, the art that Hultén had invested so much energy in developing had gained widespread currency. Not only was work like Tinguely's being shown and discussed in the Parisian circle around Pierre Restany, but platforms for his ideas around movement had also emerged in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and Denmark.¹⁴ Artists such as Klein, Spoerri and Tinguely were particularly active in the circle around Zero, the collaborative project initiated by Heinz Mack, Otto Piene and Günther Uecker in the late fifties that blurred institutional distinctions by arguing for artist curators, collaboration, and artistic exchanges. By November 1960, members of *Nouveau réalisme* and Zero were exhibiting together in places such as *Le Festival de l'art d'avantgarde*, an exhibition held at the Palais des Expositions in Versailles, Paris.¹⁵

As these activities suggest, by the late fifties, Hultén was not the only curator responding to Moholy-Nagy's *Vision in Motion*. Most

obvious in this regard was the Antwerp group of artists who in 1959 organised the exhibition *Vision in Motion–Motion in Vision*. In other words, movement and motion had become catchwords, representing responses to stasis in numerous contexts. Generally speaking, these various movements challenged the increasingly institutional historicising Hultén was offering at his new museum. Perhaps this was why Hultén would by 1961 redirect his activities to make greater room for a New York-centred avant-garde open to his platform.

As we will see, while the 1965 exhibition *The Inner and the Outer Space* would on many levels resemble a Zero exhibition, Hultén was clearly responding to these movements in his own way. He was defining this contemporary art as a historical paradigm rather than an impermanent gesture. This is particularly interesting to consider in light of the fact that Hultén's first major exhibition, *Rörelse i konsten*, was curated in close collaboration with Spoerri. As art historian Andres Pardey has recently chronicled, Hultén and Spoerri's relationship was extremely strained. Both were vying for Stedelijk director Willem Sandberg's attention and both had nuanced and contrasting ideas about the direction the exhibition should take.¹⁶ As Pardey makes clear, Spoerri had a deep investment in Zero through his *Édition MAT*, which produced editions with artists such as Yacov Agam, Josef Albers, Pol Bury, Marcel Duchamp, Heinz Mack, Dieter Roth, Jesús Rafael Soto, Jean Tinguely, and Victor Vasarely.¹⁷ While this lineup suggests interests similar to Hultén's, Spoerri disagreed with Hultén's desire to include established artists like Calder as well as design objects in their exhibition: "the idea of building a monument when one wants to show something young and alive is somewhat strange."¹⁸

In the end, *Rörelse i konsten* represented Hultén's first major international success and defined Moderna Museet as one of the most progressive art institutions in Europe. Not only did the exhibition break attendance records in Stockholm and receive critical reviews in Amsterdam, Stockholm and Humlebæk, it also helped redirect art history towards Hultén's interest in movement and build an expansive international network of artists. While the following years demonstrated a diverse agenda – establishing government funding, building the museum's collection – the most prominent feature of the museum was its strong focus on a New York-centred art scene. Perhaps this was a way for Hultén to distinguish his project from Zero and *Nouveau réalisme*, gaining attention through promoters

DEN STÄLLFÖRETRÄDANDE FRIHETEN

Svenska är ett opraktiskt språk när man skall tala om rörelse. Engelskan som skiljer på motion och movement är smidigare. Motion tycks betyda rörelse i allmänhet, t. ex. en kropps förflyttning från en plats till en annan, movement betecknar rörelsen i sig själv, t. ex. fingrarnas rörelse i förhållande till varandra när man skriver maskin. Det hör till detta sekels stora nyheter att låta ett konstverk röra sig inom sig själv på detta sätt liksom en motor eller ett träd i vinden rör sig.

Film är rörliga bilder och det är klart att filmbildernas rörlighet och allt annat filmen har av möjligheter gör den till ett oförläppligt konstnärligt uttrycksmedel (sällan utnyttjat och utom räckhåll för de flesta som skulle kunnat använda det).

Men film är inte den enda nya konstform som uttrycker sig med rörelse. Visserligen är projekten för en kinetisk skulptur mycket mer uppseendeväckande än de utförda konstverken, men en del inger ändå en stor hoppfullhet.

Att konstverket kontinuerligt förändras, att det tagit tidsfaktorn (den fjärde dimensionen) direkt i sin tjänst måste betyda ett upphävande av gamla tiders konstnärliga lagar. Det innebär en total förnekelse av den äldre konstens heliga värden. Man förnekar det som var dess yttersta mål: slutgiltig skönhet och evig ordning. Den ständigt varierade rörelsen är en manifestation av slumpen som man betraktade som det mest okonstnärliga av allt. Man föreslår den ständiga förändringens skönhet i stället för den slutgiltiga ordningens. Det förefaller som om den kinetiska konsten är det mest radikala uttrycket för några av de väsentligaste idéerna i den moderna konsten. Den tycks vara det naturliga svaret på några av de mest oroande av de frågor den moderna konsten ställer sig själv.

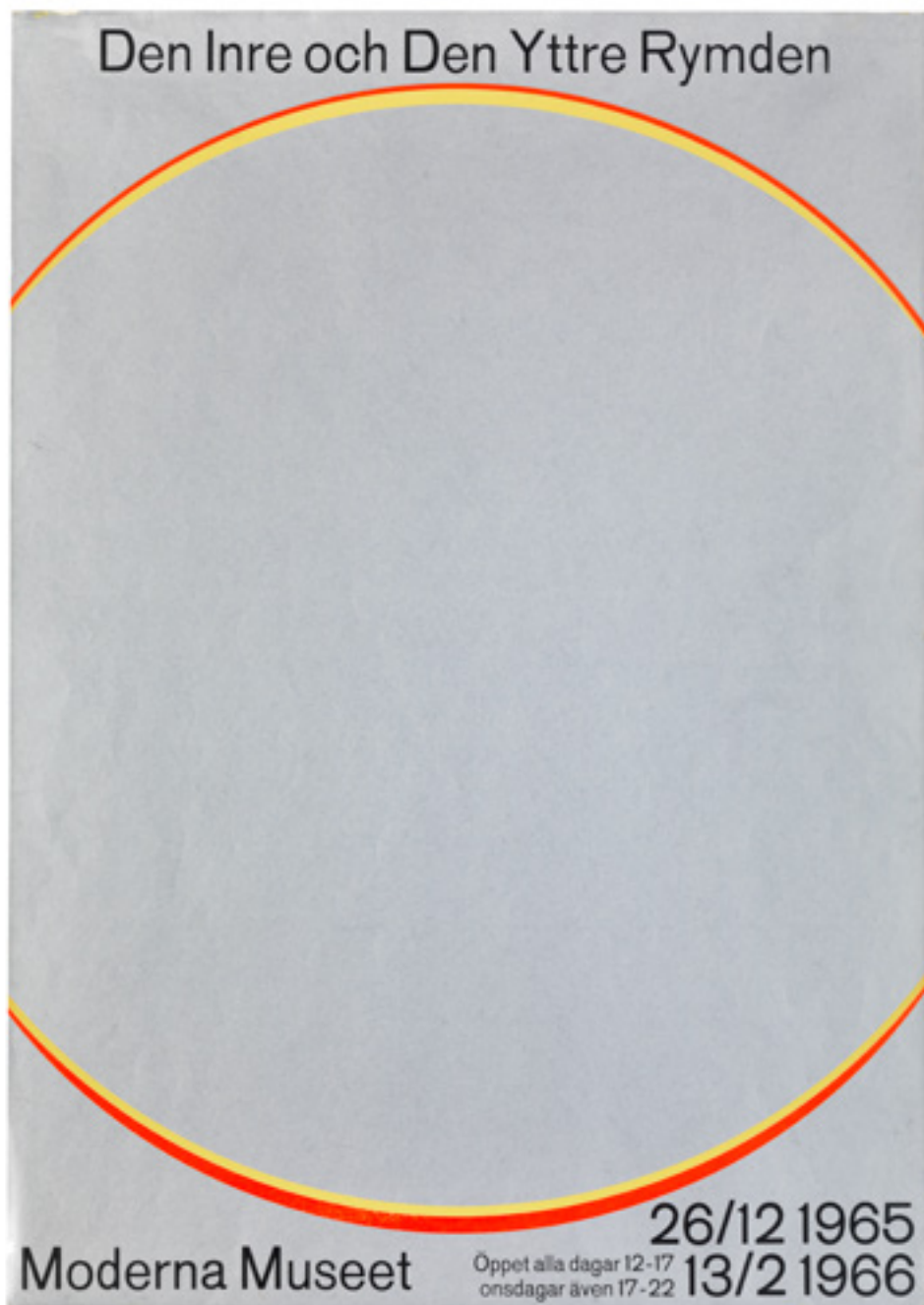
AV KARL G. HULTÉN

such as Pierre Restany. However, as we will see, for Hultén, controlling his own movement would prove difficult.

As early as the spring of 1962, Moderna Museet opened its doors to *4 Americans*, which showcased the work of Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg and Richard Stankiewicz. A lively debate ensued between the museum's defenders and more conservative factions of the art community. A particular target in the debate was the display of Rauschenberg's *Monogram* (1955–59), which became a scapegoat for professors at both the Royal Academy of Art and Lund University to attack contemporary art.¹⁹ To coincide with this exhibition, Moderna Museet organised *The New American Cinema – New York Film* as well as *New American Music and Poetry*, for which John Cage presented his lecture “Where are we going? And what are we doing?”²⁰

Contextualising these contemporary exhibitions of American art, in 1963 Hultén offered his Swedish public *Ben Shahn. American Commentary* and *Jackson Pollock*, the first survey of Pollock's work in Scandinavia. By 1964, the museum had committed a large portion of its exhibition schedule to American art. *American Pop Art. 106 Forms of Love and Despair* was the most impressive exhibition that year and was the first major museum presentation of Pop Art in Europe. This show, which included work by Claes Oldenburg, George Segal, James Rosenquist, Roy Lichtenstein, Andy Warhol, Tom Wesselman and Jim Dine, was complemented by *The New American Cinema, Tributes and Floor Plans. A Happening by Ken Dewey, The Films of Chris Marker*; and *Five New York Evenings* – a major collaboration with the music society Fylkingen that featured Merce Cunningham, Robert Rauschenberg, John Cage, David Tudor, Yvonne Rainer, and Öyvind Fahlström, among others. There were, of course, many exhibitions featuring European and specifically Swedish art, such as *Sigrid Hjertén 1885–1948* and the group exhibition *Swish. A Manifestation*. But for the news media and the cultural press it was clear that under Hultén's directorship, New York occupied Moderna Museet's agenda.²¹

But as early as 1964, the year Hultén began to organise what would become *Den inre och den yttre rymden*, it appears that he had himself begun to regret this rushed relationship with an avant-garde that defined itself by rejecting modernist abstraction rooted in European philosophical traditions. As the working title for the show proposed, Hultén was looking for “New Spaces in Art,” but this did



Poster for *The Inner and the Outer Space*,
Moderna Museet, 1965

not mean at the expense of history.²² Perhaps it was his own radical individualism, rooted in European existentialism, that prevented Hultén from embracing an art that was increasingly read as an optimistic symbol for collectivity and American individualism. In his catalogue introduction for *American Pop Art*, Hultén did not provide the usual enthusiastic sales pitch one would have expected. In fact, considering how much time and effort Hultén had invested in promoting an art tied to irony and humour, the introduction casts a rather dark shadow on an otherwise eye-popping exhibition. It also shows how Hultén filtered his views through existentialism:

It is a common mistake to believe that there is irony pointed at mass culture embedded in Lichtenstein's or Warhol's pictures . . . This is in many ways a new art created from a different point of origin. It is the creation of a generation that feels powerless to transform the world . . . and in order to survive is forced to accept it . . . They partake in much of the world around them in a meaningless, unengaged manner. In relation to society and its problems they stand passive. Politics do not interest them.²³

Hultén's description of these artists' "apolitical" attitude and lack of irony may be a false accusation. Nevertheless, it did serve to distance Pop Art from the more apparently engaged and historical European avant-garde that Tinguely, for example, aligned himself with. By pointing to the American artists' "middle-class upbringing," Hultén positioned them squarely in the lap of a consumer-based mass culture:

They are not bohemians. They have never had to confront real external pressures. Most of them are too young to have participated in the war. As artists they have reached success and economic security with a speed rarely seen before. This economic success is what they strive for. They are not especially intellectual, nor do they have a deep interest in anything but pure personal experience. Their way to respond to society is personal, not social.²⁴

Despite the political nature of his own project, Hultén advocated neither a socially detached politics nor a socially political art. Most important, he was not interested in having his museum become a political platform. What was important was that in social spaces such as Moderna Museet Hultén could activate his ideas of anarchist "play" rooted in the same kind of radical individualism that artists like

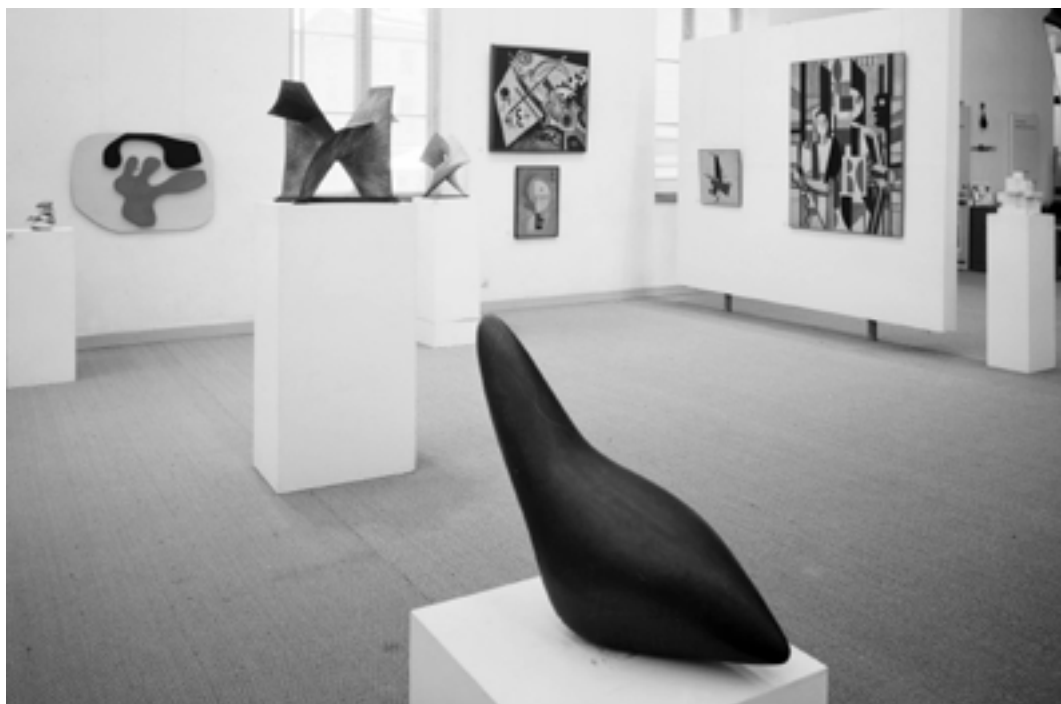
Duchamp and Tinguely saw as liberating. Considering the above quote, Hultén's image of Pop Art reads as one of *despair* – a position to be avoided. Scrambling to make something positive of the exhibition, Hultén, without suggesting that the work was socially critical, proposed that the 106 forms of love and despair on display revealed a desperate attempt to obtain the freedom to experience life:

Pop Art is not social criticism. Instead one can say that it shows a longing for relaxation. It is desperately taking part in an unavoidable environment, and being subtly optimistic about the power of vulgarity and banality. On a personal level, one object is not better than the next. If there is something of interest one can manage to find in these often similar copies of objects, it is the triumph of feelings. The Pop artists do not ask any questions and have no agendas. What they want to offer us, by all accounts, is a new way of feeling.²⁵

Withholding a public judgment of Pop Art, Hultén concluded his introduction with the rhetorical question in brackets: “Will (these artists) be successful in fulfilling that part of the experiential vacuum which is the bomb’s ultimate reason?”²⁶

Swedish political commentators had for some time attacked America’s role in Vietnam, but when the U.S. began bombing Vietnam in March 1965 the public outcry was great enough to warrant questions about Moderna Museet’s role in promoting American art. The decision to organise a large Rauschenberg exhibition did not make things easier.²⁷ Perhaps most significant for Hultén was that one of the museum’s strongest supporters and intellectual allies, art critic Ulf Linde, wrote the first of four “seminal” articles denouncing the New York avant-garde in the liberal daily *Dagens Nyheter*.²⁸ For Linde, the discourse around Pop Art consistently confused the influence of John Cage and Marcel Duchamp. This, he felt, was due to not understanding their differences, which were rooted in an embrace of instinct (Cage) and of intuition (Duchamp). For Linde, the former rejected the intentionality that Duchamp had advocated by embracing artistic choice. In other words, the “openness” advocated by Happenings and Pop Art was problematic for Linde. It removed artistic control – something dangerous that he equated with a specifically American form of pragmatic liberalism.

Hultén’s response to all this was swift. Rather than avoid another “American” show, Hultén offered an exhibition to James Rosenquist,



one of the most prominent American Pop artists. Rosenquist had just produced an epically scaled painting that clearly articulated a critique of both America's consumer culture and its foreign politics. Despite Hultén's claim in 1964 that "Pop Art is not social criticism," Hultén saw that a few such artists were critical of their culture. This would certainly help Hultén save face in light of public anti-American sentiments. In September that year, the museum presented Rosenquist's *F-111* (1964), a twenty-eight-meter-long painting on canvas and aluminum reminiscent of Picasso's *Guernica* (itself the first work to be exhibited at Moderna Museet, in 1956).²⁹ The billboard-size montage was made up of images such as canned spaghetti, an umbrella, and an atomic bomb's mushroom cloud superimposed onto the side of an American fighter-bomber that stretched the full twenty-eight meters. As art critic Eugene Wretholm pointed out in the art journal *Konstrevy*, "Every American is part owner and partly responsible for its horrible existence."³⁰ Against this tumultuous backdrop of internal and external politics, Hultén turned his attention to the most ambitious exhibition he had organised since *Rörelse i konsten: Den inre och yttre den rymden*, which was to be devoted to universal art.

Having spent a decade supporting a new generation of artists who questioned high modernist ideals, it must have seemed odd that Hultén was now organising an exhibition that on the surface seemed very formalist. But despite how "contemporary" his museum had become, he had never abandoned his grounding in art history and philosophy.³¹ On October 16, 1965, Hultén wrote to Barnett Newman in an effort to restore a relationship possibly soured by supporting so called Neo-Dada and Pop Art:

I would like to tell you more about the exhibition that I rapidly mentioned at Kiki Kogelnik and Mr. Kaplan's party. It is meant to be a thematic show concerned with the art of artists like Malevich, Albers, Rothko, Fontana, Stella, Yves Klein, Reinhardt, Robert Morris, Don Judd. It will be an exhibition of an art which is neither constructivist, nor "op art," an art using space, silence, stillness, even emptiness and negation as means of expression. An art of contemplation more than an art of the eye, of space more than of building.³²

This return was necessary for Hultén to redeem the dialectical play he had helped set in motion as early as 1955. By turning back to a

Hegelian tradition of negative dialectics, Hultén hoped to salvage art's "social" responsibility without being tied down by the kind of Socialist politics that he saw institutionalized in places such as Sweden under Socialism.

The exhibition opened on December 26, 1965. It was accompanied by an impressive catalogue that was laboriously constructed with individual elements that were hand-stamped and bolted together before being packaged into a square box. As in the past, Hultén followed Willem Sandberg's footsteps in seeing the catalogue and poster design not only as a document of the exhibition but also as a creative outlet for his own artistic impulses.

While introducing artists from many countries on an epic scale similar to *Rörelse i konsten*, *Den inre och den yttre rymden* lacked the former show's overtly anarchic spirit. With the exception of a *White Painting* from 1951 by Rauschenberg, it was also notably void of any so-called Neo-Dada or Pop Art.³³ And as much as this exhibition resembled a Zero exhibition through the inclusion of Enrico Castellani, Lucio Fontana, Yayoi Kusama, Heinz Mack, Piero Manzoni, Otto Piene, Günther Uecker and Herman de Vries, it extended that group's paradigm by historicising their work. Indeed, Hultén's installation looked more like a museum hang than an experimental laboratory. This was the very thing that Spoerri, a member of Zero, had objected to back in 1961.³⁴ Not surprisingly, Spoerri was left out of *Den inre och den yttre rymden* while his close friend and collaborator Robert Breer was represented with his sculpture *T* (1964). Breer's inclusion makes clear that Hultén's early agenda – finding movement in art – was still at play. Breer, after all, had been with Hultén throughout his journey from Paris (*Le Mouvement*) to Stockholm. In 1961, during *Rörelse i konsten*, Breer screened his animation *Inner and Outer Space* (1959–60), a film that humorously addresses the space between the viewer and screen with images that oscillate between abstraction and figuration and whose title clearly lent itself to Hultén's show.³⁵

In Hultén's catalogue introduction, titled "A Concluding Beginning," he carefully steers his exhibition away from the continental discourses rooted in *Art Concrete* and Op Art and towards the meta-paradigm of Duchamp's *Creative Act*. He stresses that the exhibition is meant to historicize the type of art that "uses negation as a mode of expression" and makes it clear that this art "is not constructivist" (although it shares some of Constructivism's "emotive" qualities).³⁶ As

Stockholm, October 16th, 1965.

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I would very much like to have an important work of yours in this exhibition and would be very grateful, if you would be willing to lend us one.

I would be very glad, if you could lend us something like the big light red painting that was on the first wall in Sao Paulo, to the left of the iron sculpture. We can afford the transportation of a painting of ca 2 x 3 meters, but will have difficulties with the very biggest ones (if they are not rolled).

We will, of course, pay all costs involved. I can promise you, that we will treat the painting with great care.

The exhibition will open on the 26th of December 1965 and close the last week of February 1966. The works coming from New York will be packed by Budworth & Co. and sent by Keating & Co.

I am looking forward to hearing from you. I very much hope, that you will be able to give a positive answer.

Yours sincerely,

Barnett Newman, Esq.,
685 West End Avenue
New York 25, N. Y.

exemplified by the work of Malevich and Klein, it also has “a strong tendency towards a transcendental mystic side.”³⁷ As in the past, Hultén stressed how different this work is from that promoted by someone like Moholy-Nagy and his followers:

This art has very little to do with the optimistic, worldly, factual, and concrete type of art which was made during the thirties at the Bauhaus. Nor does it have much to do with the Concretism of the forties and fifties. It has very little to do with optical art (Op art), which in most cases does nothing more than entertain the slimy surface of the retina.³⁸

As in *Le Mouvement* and *Rörelse i konsten*, Duchamp’s material but anti-retinal focus on artistic intentionality is highlighted:

The actual decision about the art work is the artistic work, the creative act. The simple act of manual execution decides a part of the object’s magnificence. The decision is thus what the work is; in a similar way as when Marcel Duchamp chose a factory-made object to be an artwork, a “ready-made.”³⁹

This “negation,” or turn away from the street-smart realism of Pop Art (outer space) towards a more contemplative “minimal” and “mystical” abstraction (inner/outer space), rooted in individual intent, shows a strategic return to his engagement in art before New York had taken centre stage. But it was also a way to make clear that Hultén’s project had “nothing to do with ‘op art.’”⁴⁰ It is worth remembering that this had been one of the main paradigms Hultén had confronted as early as 1955, when he inserted artists like Duchamp and Tinguely into René’s and Vasarely’s Op Art agenda in *Le Mouvement*.

Like Duchamp and Tinguely, by the sixties New York’s avant-garde had also provided Hultén with a Dada-inspired sceptical view of art with which to respond to philosophical and aesthetic dilemmas concerning inner existential space and outer social space. As the quotation above suggests, Duchamp’s Dadaistic impulse was still central. Carefully organised around three separate sections devoted to the work of Kazimir Malevich, Naum Gabo, and Yves Klein, *Den inre och den yttre rymden* presented work by thirty-six postwar artists who had in different ways visibly demonstrated a return to degree zero.

While Malevich, Gabo and Klein were represented in individual spaces by approximately fifty works each, the thirty-six other artists

generally showed single works that were positioned to provide a heterogeneous paradigm of inner and outer space. For example, the dramatic and surreal spatial abstraction of Mark Rothko's *Orange Red and Red* (1962) was placed next to the self-conscious spaceless materialism of Ad Reinhardt's *Abstract Painting* (1961–63) and against the base materialism of Lucio Fontana's *Nature* (1959–60). In another section, the bodily theatricality of Robert Morris's *Sculpture* (1965) and Kusama's horizontal *Aggregation Boat* (1962–65), stood counter to Donald Judd's objectivity and the stoic and masculine verticality of Barnett Newman's *Tertia* (1964).⁴¹ In other words, as quiet as this exhibition looked on the surface, each section was meant to break down philosophical or material stasis. With the inclusion of artists from Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, Sweden, the United States, and Venezuela, the exhibition was truly international. Not only that: the six Swedish artists included in the show – Olle Bærtling, Albert Contreras, Lars Englund, Eddie Figge, Einar Höste, and Eric H. Olson – suggested that Hultén was also looking after the interests of his local art scene.⁴²

As the catalogue essay by abstract painter Joost Baljeu, entitled “The Hegelian Romantic Negation in Modern Picture Making” made clear, the exhibition's three touchstone artists were chosen for their varying utopian impulses, as well as their ability to illustrate a Hegelian philosophy of art.⁴³ While all three artists “dreamed of a better world – Utopia” their romantic negations of the world around them manifested differently.⁴⁴ While Malevich had attempted to escape what he viewed as the confines of space (*rummet*) and time through a spiritual understanding of symbols, Gabo had clung to the material world through a “constructive principle” closely related to the Bauhaus.⁴⁵ Understanding these conflicting philosophies of art, Klein, Joost argues, had tried to suspend himself *in between* these two romantic approaches towards abstraction by making himself and his art the *synthesis* of the material and immaterial world. This is the elevated position his blue monochrome paintings sought to achieve and his *Leap into the Void* illustrated. Neither soaring toward the heavens nor crashing to earth, Klein represented that magical position between heaven and earth, reality and fiction.

By positioning Klein as central postwar artist best able to synthesise inner and outer space, Hultén had in effect whitewashed (or more literally bluewashed) his recent engagement with Pop Art. If European art had lost its centrality to America, as Duchamp once



Works by Yves Klein in *The Inner
and the Outer Space*, Moderna Museet, 1965



Aggregation Boat (1962–65) by Yayoi Kusama in
The Inner and the Outer Space, Moderna Museet, 1965

suggested with his *Air de Paris*, it was now given back some of this aura in the form of *Yves the Monochrome*. Despite its conservative façade, for Hultén, this performative “copy-cat” could still represent a rebellious spirit in art which remained both social (outer space) and individual (inner space):

Art in this day and age has an important part to play and is often made into an object of interest to the state. At the same time, our society and nation lacks a place for it and shows little interest in finding a place for it. While art may have a purely decorative role to play, the programmatically anti-decorative art we are talking about here suggests an unwillingness to let itself be caught in this unclear situation. By producing pictures that are so big, or so boring, that they can hardly ever be put up in a home, a museum, or anywhere else, the artists show an unwillingness to contribute to the decorative and extroverted “artist’s life” and even that commercialization (to that mundane cocktail-like atmosphere) that in some cases highlight modern art’s appearance. Consequently, one often avoids considering this detachment. The picture of space (*rymdens*) in art is a picture of our ability to use fantasy to penetrate the universe. Since each and every one carries our own universe within ourselves, these images also become images of ourselves.⁴⁶

Following Hegel’s example, Hultén argued for an art bound as much by the social as it was made free by the individual – a position he had always seen manifested in the work of Tinguely. In a subtle way, the focus on Klein, who had died at the very moment Pop Art was born, allowed Hultén to reinforce his interest in Tinguely. While Tinguely was not mentioned in the list of contributing artists at the back of the catalogue, it is noteworthy that Hultén included *L’escavatrice de l’espace*, the collaboration between Tinguely and Klein made for the 1958 exhibition *Vitesse pure et stabilité Monochrome* at Galerie Iris Clert, Paris. That piece is a reworking of Duchamp’s *Rotary Demisphere* (1925), which Hultén had included in *Le Mouvement*.

In his contributing essay on Klein, Ulf Linde, whose four-article critique of the New York avant-garde was still fresh in everyone’s mind, focused on the idea of a dialectical “fourth dimension” in Klein’s work. In this dimension, where three-dimensional objects could metaphorically and metaphysically become the shadows of a mystic fourth dimension, the individual was formulated as the synthesis of inner and outer space – perfectly embodied by Klein’s

levitation act. Here, in this reformulated space, Linde suggested that movement would always be possible: “If you can even just move a millimeter in a direction, the whole universe has been left behind you!”⁴⁷ In many ways, this assertion by Linde gave Hultén a renewed license to move forward from what must have felt like a position of stasis. Considering the mystical, even spiritual, side of this move toward an unknown fourth dimension, we can say that Moderna Museet found itself born again. It was now ready to reconcile inner individual spaces with outer social space by constructing the spectacular *Hon – en katedral*, a cathedral built with Duchampian irony and wit.

1. Patrik Andersson, “Niki de Saint Phalle’s Killing Game. Participation, Happenings, and Theatre”, *Niki de Saint Phalle* (exh. cat.) Bilbao: Museo Guggenheim Bilbao, pp. 56–61.

2. As international as Hultén’s agenda was, by 1965 the museum had begun to receive national criticism for having a bias toward American art in general and avant-garde art from New York in particular. This criticism became especially heated at the moment when the United States began dropping bombs over Vietnam, and Swedish-American diplomatic relations entered a Cold War phase. While this essay will consider some of this political turmoil, it examines how Hultén was forced to respond to intellectual, philosophical, and artistic differences within the very art world he had tried to foster in Stockholm. The most poignant critique of the New York avant-garde came in the form of four articles published by Ulf Linde in *Dagens Nyheter*. See Ulf Linde, *Fyra artiklar*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1965.

3. I have argued elsewhere that Hultén’s philosophical and political perspective was indebted not only to Marcel Duchamp and Jean Tinguely, but also to the writings of Max Stirner, the nineteenth-century “young Hegelian” who argued for a radically individualist form of anarchism against more mainstream socialist forms of anarchism espoused by Marx, Engels, and others. See Patrik Andersson, “Rörelse i konsten. The Art of Re-assembly,” *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 78, issue 4, 2009, pp. 178–192. See also Patrik Andersson, *Euro-Pop. The Mechanical Bride Stripped Bare in Stockholm, Even* (diss.), University of British Columbia: Vancouver, 2001.

4. It should be noted that Hultén did not curate *Le Mouvement* alone. In fact, according to Denise René, she and Victor Vasarely were responsible for organising it. See *Le Mouvement, The Movement, Paris 1955*, Paris, New York, Düsseldorf: Editions Denise René, 1975. Hultén’s contribution was his introduction of, and work with, the younger artists such as Tinguely and his argument for Duchamp’s inclusion in the show.

5. The exhibition also grew out of his own interest in abstraction and film, as evident in his collaborations with filmmaker Robert Breer and curatorial work with Swedish Dadaist Viking Eggeling’s abstract films. The exhibition was complemented by a film night at the Cinémathèque Française that included work by Robert Breer, at the time a frequent collaborator with Hultén on abstract films.

6. Notes related to the planning of Hultén’s 1961 *Rörelse i konsten* exhibition makes this awareness clear. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

7. Pontus Hultén, *Jean Tinguely. Méta*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 107, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1972, p. 35.

8. Karl G. Hultén, “Den ställföreträdande friheten eller Om rörelse i konsten och Tinguelys metamekanik”, *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, p. 1.

9. Hultén drew a curious historical lineage: from turn-of-the-century Italian designer Ettore Bugatti’s automobile and the Futurists’ interest in speed, to Duchamp and Alexander Calder’s kinetic experiments, to the constructivist tendencies of Gabo, Antoine Pevsner, Vladimir Tatlin and the early

work of Moholy-Nagy, to the Italian artist Bruno Munari, to Tinguely's meta-mechanical sculptures.

10. Quoted from a 1988 interview with Dieter Daniels in Heidi E. Violand-Hobi, *Jean Tinguely. Life and Work*, New York: Prestel, 1995, p. 41.

11. Sebastian Matta, "On Emotion", *Reality*, no. 2, 1954, p. 12

12. The exhibition showcased 233 works by 85 artists. As in Amsterdam, the exhibition in Stockholm broke attendance records with 70,000 visitors. *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, eds. Olle Granath and Monica Nieckels Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1983, p. 80.

13. See Andres Pardey, "Curating *Bewogen Beweging*. The Exchange Between Daniel Spoerri, Jean Tinguely, Pontus Hultén, and Willem Sandberg", *The Artist as Curator. Collaborative Initiatives in the Internal ZERO Movement 1957–67*, eds. Tiziana Caianiello and Mattijs Visser, Ghent: MER Paper Kunsthalle, 2015.

14. For a detailed account of some of these activities, see *The Artist as Curator*, 2015.

15. Andres Pardey, *The Artist as Curator*, 2015, p. 222.

16. Correspondence between Pontus Hultén, Daniel Spoerri, and Willem Sandberg concerning this exhibition can be found in MMA PHA 5.1.47.

17. Regarding *Édition MAT*, see Ulrike Schmitt, "An 'Art Manager' on the Road", *The Artist as Curator*, 2015, pp. 193–219

18. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

19. See Rabbe Enckell, "Ikaros och lindansaren (ett försvar för klassicismen)", *BLM*, no. 7, 1962, pp. 550–554 and Hultén's rebuttal: K.G. Hultén, "Enckells förvirringar", *BLM*, no. 9 1962, p. 550. See also *Är allting konst? Inlägg i den stora konstdebatten*, ed. Hans Hederberg, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1963.

20. "Historik", *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, 1983, p. 83. The lecture had been published the previous year in John Cage, *Silence. Lectures and Writings*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.

21. For detailed analysis of this conflict, see Marianne Hultman, "New York Collection for Stockholm", *Teknologi för livet. Om Experiments in Art and Technology*, Paris: Schultz Förlag AB, 2004, pp. 159–170. See also Annika Öhrner, *Barbro Östlihn & New York. Konstens rum och möjligheter* (diss.), Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2010.

22. As a letter from Pontus Hultén to poet Carlo Belloli suggests, the exhibition was planned as early as November 1964 under the working title *New Spaces in Art*. The early title is significant in that it points to Hultén's penchant for summarizing and historicizing art. MMA MA F1a: 30.

23. Pontus Hultén, "Förord", *Amerikansk pop-konst. 106 former av kärlek och förtvivlan*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 37, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1964, p. 15.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

27. On March 19, 1965, Moderna Museet opened Rauschenberg's 34 *Illustrations for Dante's Divine Comedy*. The timing could not have been more

sensitive: within a week of the opening the American bombing of Vietnam began and what has been called the “Swedish-American conflict” escalated to the point of daily public demonstrations throughout the city. As historian Fredrik Logevall and others have shown, the summer of 1965 marked a new direction in Swedish foreign policy, one that embodied a more activist approach to international issues and a greater determination to stake out a position between the superpowers. Sweden’s new direction, an attempt to forge a more sovereign path, ultimately strained Swedish-American relations to the point where both the Johnson and Nixon administrations issued numerous threats of impending economic sanctions. Fredrik Logevall, “The Swedish-American Conflict Over Vietnam”, *Diplomatic History*, summer, 1993, pp. 427–444.

28. Ulf Linde’s four articles: “Den öppna konsten: arvet från München”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 26 March, 1965; “Den öppna konsten. Myten om den historielösa formen”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 30 March, 1965; “Den öppna konsten. Den bild ’man’ har”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 4 April, 1965; “Den öppna konsten. Dialog utan slut”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 13 May, 1965.

29. For Rosenquist’s political intent, see James Rosenquist, “The F-111. An Interview with James Rosenquist by G.R. Swenson”, *Partisan Review*, fall, 1965, pp. 590–595.

30. Eugen Wretholm “Utställningsrond”, *Konstrevy*, no. 6, 1965, p. 223.

31. His Licentiate degree, completed in 1951, was on Spinoza and Vermeer. Hultén’s grounding in art history and philosophy has been stressed by Hans Hayden. See his “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 och Martin Sundberg, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Göttingen: Steidl, 2008, pp. 177–200.

32. Letter from Hultén to Barnett Newman, 16 October, 1965. MMA MA F1a: 30. Hultén’s collaboration with Newman is particularly interesting when we consider how much Newman disliked Duchamp. In 1957 Newman accused Robert Motherwell of “smear and slander” saying that he wanted to “make clear that if Motherwell wishes to make Marcel Duchamp a father, Duchamp is his father and not mine nor that of any American painter that I respect.” See Newman, *Barnett Newman. Selected Writings and Interviews*, ed. John P. O’Neill, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990, p. 208.

33. On November 22, Hultén received instructions from Rauschenberg via Billy Klüver on how to reproduce his *White Paintings* from 1951 in order to save money on shipping: “These are Bob’s *White Paintings*, you are to make them in Stockholm according to his instructions. They are not to be labeled as copies or reproductions but simply dated 1951. When the show is over you are to send the paintings back to Bob in New York.” Letter from Billy Klüver to Pontus Hultén 22 November, 1965. MMA PHA 4.1.4 . As it turned out, the paintings were not returned to Rauschenberg. On November 12, 1999, Jan Runnqvist, director of Galerie Bonnier, wrote to James Goodman Gallery in New York requesting an estimated value for his *White Paintings* that had been shown in *Den inre och den yttre rymden*. The request was

forwarded to Rauschenberg's studio, which promptly replied on November 15 to point out: "Obviously the instructions were ignored." Letter from David White to Jan Runnqvist, 15 November, 1999. MMA PHA 4.1.4. The motives for not returning the work unknown, but it should be pointed out that in 1965 the museum still operated on a shoestring budget and exhibitions were generally organised with a fairly laissez-faire attitude – especially with artists who were considered friends.

34. Correspondences between Hultén and Heinz Mack show that Hultén was fully aware of New York's Museum of Modern Art's *The Responsive Eye* exhibition that opened in February of 1965 – an exhibition by Peter Seitz that similarly attempted to historicize art associated with art ranging from Optical Art to Post-Painterly Abstraction. See letter from Heinz Mack to Pontus Hultén, 5 February, 1964. MMA MA F1a:30. The additional thirty-five included artists were: Josef Albers, Martin Barré, Olle Bærtling, Max Bill, Robert Breer, Enrico Castellani, Albert Contreras, Piero Dorazio, Lars Englund, Eddie Figge, Sam Francis, Lucio Fontana, Kasper Heiberg, Einar Höste, Donald Judd, Akira Kanayama, Yayoi Kusama, Heinz Mack, Piero Manzoni, Robert Morris, Barnett Newman, Kenneth Noland, Eric H. Olson, Otto Piene, Robert Rauschenberg, Ad Reinhardt, Jean Paul Riopelle, Mark Rothko, Jesús Rafael Soto, Frank Stella, Wladyslaw Stzemiński, Mark Tobey, Günther Uecker, Georges Vantongerloo, and Herman de Vries.

35. For complete details of the film, theatre, and music events organised for *Rörelse i konsten*, see event calendar/poster. MMA MA F1: 12.

36. Pontus Hultén, "Avslutande inledning", *Den inre och den yttre rymden. En utställning rörande en universiell konst*, eds. Karin Bergqvist Lindegren and Pontus Hultén, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 51, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1965, n.p. This historicizing agenda was made clear by Hultén in a letter dated 18 May, 1965 to contributing writer Joost Baljeu when describing the exhibition: "The meaning of the exhibition is to show the great line in modern art that starts with Malevich and Gabo and which I think has never been defined. (And which, of course, has nothing to do with 'op art'.)" Letter from Pontus Hultén to Joost Baljeu, 18 May, 1965. MMA MA F1a: 30.

37. Pontus Hultén, *Den inre och den yttre rymden*, 1965, n.p.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. The significance of Kusama's inclusion was not lost on art critic Beate Sydoff, who wrote a feature on Kusama's work in *Konstrevy* in which she clearly situated the artist as much in New York's art world as in the group activities of Japan's Gutai and Europe's Zero movements. Beate Sydoff, "Kusama eller mångfalden upprepad i nya landskap", *Konstrevy*, no. 1, 1966, pp. 20–23. Kusama's *Aggregation Boat* was shipped along with other artists' work from the Stedelijk Museum, which had just concluded a large Zero exhibition. Worried that her work was not going to arrive on time, Kusama

wrote to Hultén on 15 November, 1965, five weeks before the exhibition opening, proposing that it should ideally be shown with accompanying posters. Stressing that “it would mean very much to me for Stockholm to have an important example of my work,” she offered to gift to Moderna Museet her *Sofa (Accumulation #2)* (1962) on the condition that the museum pay for its transport. Whether it was a lack of funding or interest on the part of Hultén is unclear, but *Sofa* was never gifted. Letter from Yayoi Kusama to Pontus Hultén, 15 November, 1964. MMA MA F1a: 30.

42. Several articles in the January 1966 issue of *Konstrevy* gave a close reading of the exhibition and specific works. In his editorial, art critic Olle Granath brought to light the differences he saw between large-scale biennials administered out of financial need and Hultén’s large-scale exhibitions *Rörelse i konsten* and *Den inre och den yttre rymden*, which he felt had “a critical historical contribution from an informed perspective.” Olle Granath, “Två teman”, *Konstrevy*, no. 1, 1966, p. 4.

43. Joost Baljeu, “Den hegelianska romantiska negationen i den moderna bildkonsten”, *Den inre och den yttre rymden*, 1965, n.p.

44. Ibid.

45. Gabo quoted in *Den inre och den yttre rymden*, 1965, n.p. I would suggest that the choice of Gabo to represent the Constructivist tendency in art was a way to overshadow the more dominant legacy of László Moholy-Nagy.

46. Pontus Hultén, *Den inre och den yttre rymden*, 1965, n.p.

47. Ulf Linde, “Den fjärde dimensionen”, *Den inre och den yttre rymden*, 1965, n.p.

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

Ljus reklam

DYNAMIS

Tekniska
museet

Om rörelsen i konsten

Utgångsläget. Konstverket är ett stilla ständigt

Rörelsen (sken, liv, energi, tid) är något som gyller
konsten i verkligheten - utom i konsten - som den rörelsesl.

Konsten låter oss se rörelsen trots att vi är i sin värld.

På två nivåer: genom att låta åskådarerna se rörelsen, exp. utgången i rörelsen
självständigt följ.

I. Skenbar rörelse

1. A. Bild av ett vatten som strömmar
- B. Bilden själv börjar kännas som ett vatten som strömmar.
 1. genom impressionens rörelse förmåga
 2. hos den dynamiska vatten bryt
 3. hos klockorna
 4. hos spontantekniken

Obs skulpturens
ornamental
rörelse

I denna utveckling rör sig om en dynamisering av
självna bildprocessen

För prester - måleri

Impressionens utveckling

Ständigt utvecklat hos spontantekniken. Det finns goda tecken
av denna Pöthel i aktion. Måleriets teknisk (genom i
färg och i olika ställningar som i bilden; T.M. har det).

förstärkning
inspiration
Kinesiska bevarar
målning

2. Färg i rörelse

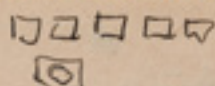
- A. Egypetiska bildstadiet (den första bästa gestaltningen)
 - B. Grekiska aktet i rörelse (den förberedande gestaltningen)
- Porträtt: hur den rörelse åskådas i en sådant ständigt bild
Renaissansens förtäring: Leonardo - Dürer

Poussin

Futurism - Impressionens rörelseteknik

Kubismen och impressionen har bild

kommit i den senaste fortbildningskonsten

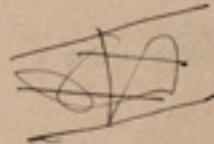


2

3. Successionsbilder

Bildserien → Spiralfeldreihen, Bestanden etc.
Simultan succession (bestanden bildserie) / Eignung.
Plattbild (H. a. K. H. M.) metakop.

Filmen



II. Verklig rörelse

1. Rörelse förstått till hastighet: ballett. ballett
föreläsa

2. Den mekaniska rörelsen = maskinen

A. Först sträng bildskärning mellan hast och teknik
a. dock chekering: teknik bild i hastighet, eller autonom
maskin med hastighet till "hastighet".

B. Lärare: Tekniker eller Autonom

C. Ny mera positiv förståelse av maskinen som form-
maskin (H. a. K. H. M.)

a. Den nya förståelsen till maskin form, förståelse för maskinens
form, den bild som den skapar.
Exempel: omformning av maskinens form till "strömings-
form".

b. maskinens form som själv är "strömings-
form".

D. Kontinuerlig själv öppet maskin i sin form
genom att förstå den maskinens maskinbild

Förståelse och ynd.

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.

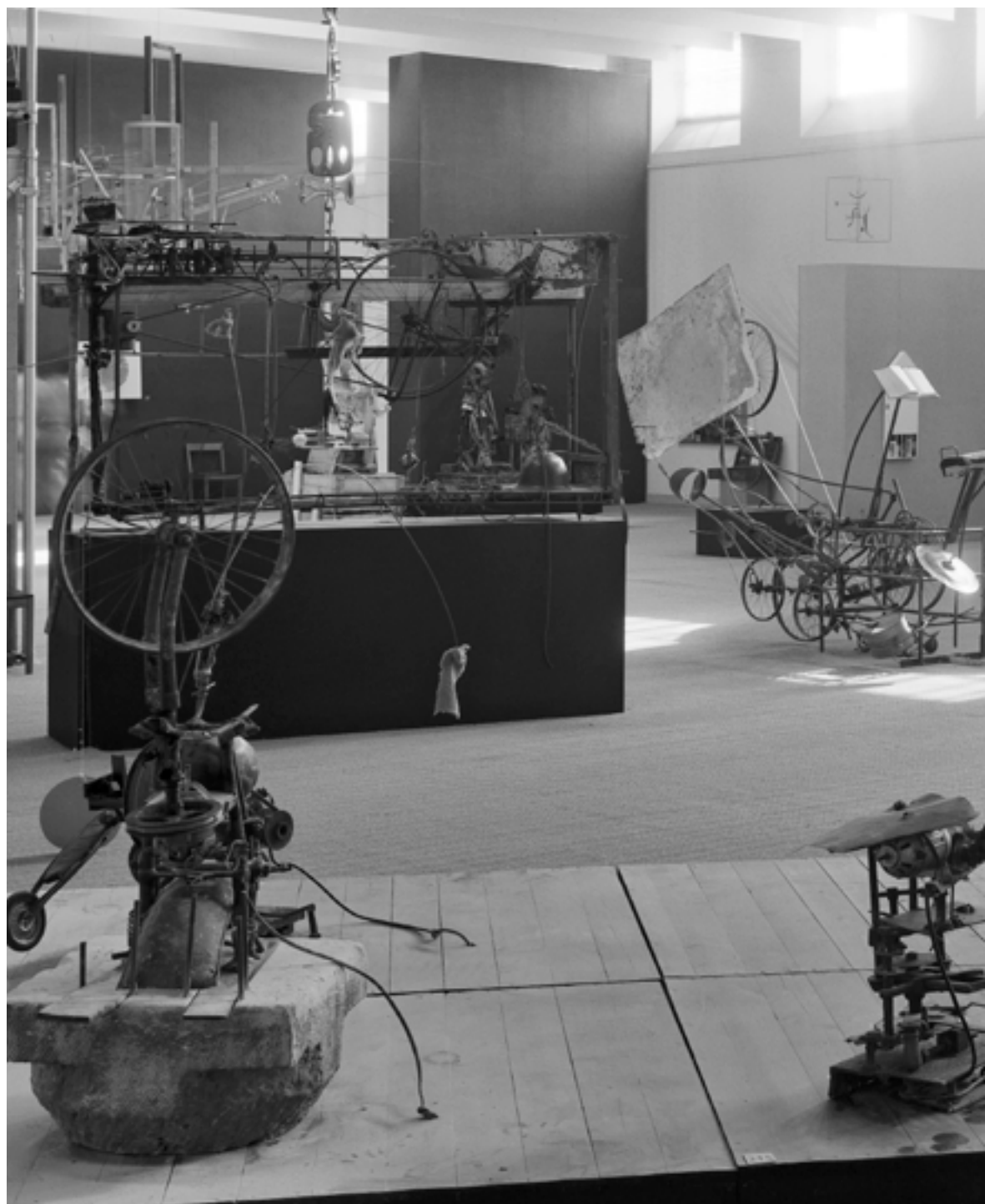
Although the result was a broad exhibition, where a large number of artists were represented, the exhibition concept grew around a handful of artists. A note made prior to the exhibition gives the impression that Hultén was trying to sort out the various kinds of movement that would be featured, and 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, Schöffer”.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.

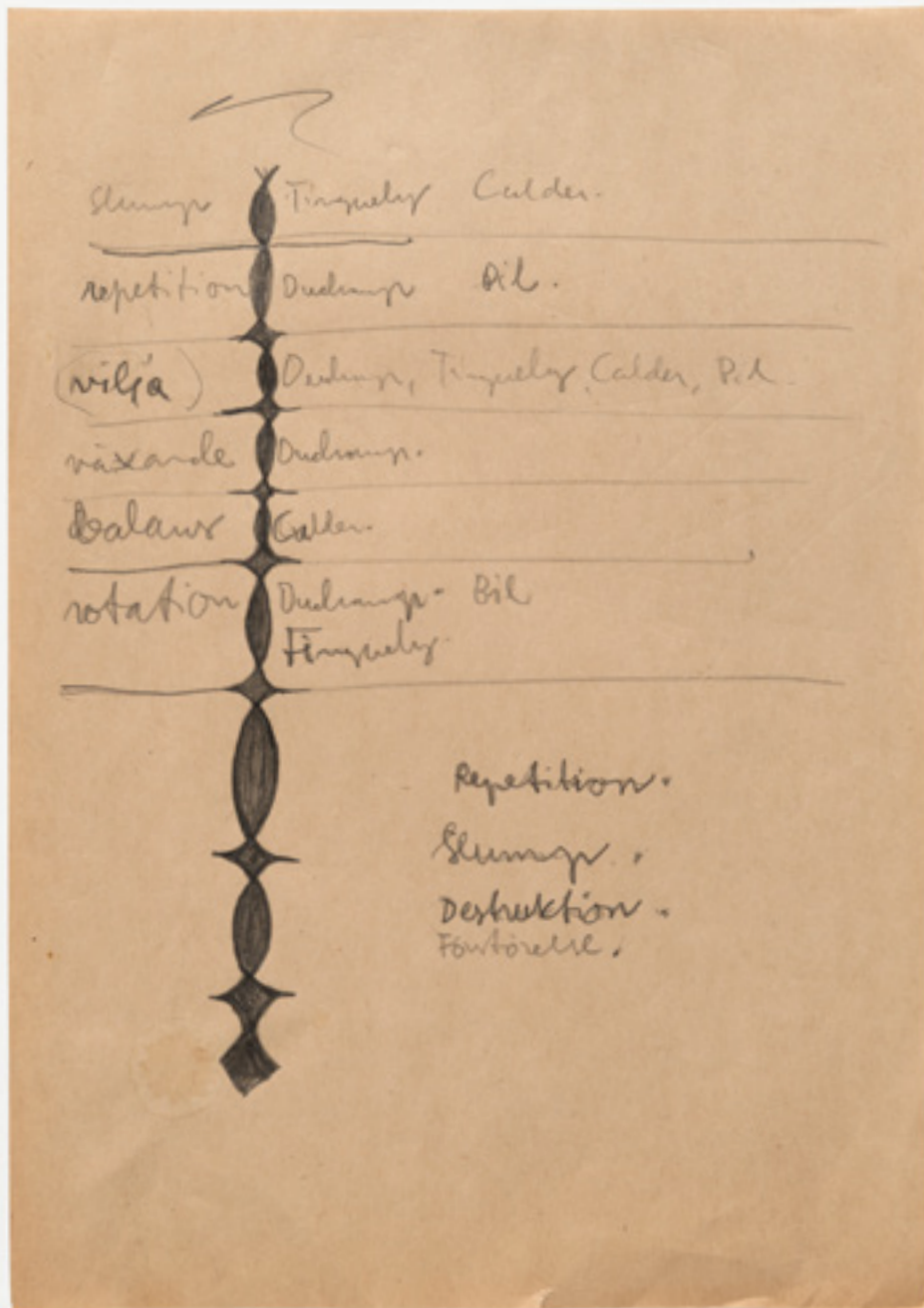
In hindsight, and regardless of these grand aspirations, *Movement in Art* cannot reasonably be seen as a panorama of either early 20th century avant-garde or contemporary art. Instead, the exhibition featured a very specific sample of prevailing art tendencies, linking them particularly to Eggeling’s 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.



Pontus Hultén's notes for
Movement in Art, Moderna Museet, 1961

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.

Föremål i den mobila konstens periferi

tinglasat /klockorna/
kyrkuklockor, klockspel
ekorrhjulet
gungor
vågen
symmaskinen
fiskbeten
löpande bandet
tombloss /kompl. fyrverkeri/
svängdörrar
laser
soluret
hängsmycken
trapetser, romerska ringar

Fig. 1. Skissen

Restaurangidé Tokanten

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 Nieckels, 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, François 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, <http://www.bu.edu/sequitur/2016/04/29/schoenberger-tinguely/> (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 *Bevægelser 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 prouvée qu’il s’agit de l’art ... et en commençant 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 Pavié, “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 Battock, 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 Nemeczek, 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).

Apropos Film.

On moving images in a modern art museum

Jimmy Pettersson

The histories of Moderna Museet and Pontus Hultén are closely entwined with film. After the Museum opened on 9 May, 1958, the avant-garde film festival *Apropos Eggeling* was among the first event to take place in the new premises on Skeppsholmen. On four evenings between 13 and 21 May, 52 films relating to modern visual arts were screened, to illustrate the potential of film as an artistic medium.¹ The use of film at Moderna Museet as a means of attracting a broader public and a first step towards eventually making room for happenings and other open art forms at the Museum has been described previously.² This study will account primarily for the presence of film and Hultén's endeavours to highlight the historical and contemporary significance of film as an expressive medium in his first exhibitions in the 1950s.

Showing film as art

Pontus Hultén's focus on film began with the exhibition *L'Art suédois 1913–1953. Exposition d'art suédois, cubiste, futuriste, constructiviste* at Galerie Denise René in Paris in 1953. It was organised by Hultén and Oscar Reutersvärd, together with the Swedish Institute in Paris and the Nationalmuseum, as a historic and contemporary presentation of Swedish abstract art. The exhibition presented early Swedish abstract art through artists such as Gösta Adrian-Nilsson (GAN), Siri Derkert, and Otte Sköld, and more contemporary works by, for instance Olle Bærtling, Lennart Rodhe, and Olle Bonnier.³

The artist who stands out in Hultén's and Reutersvärd's selection of Swedish abstract artists is Viking Eggeling, and the difficulties he presented when it came to integrating his film *Diagonal Symphony* (1924) and two of his image scrolls in the exhibition. *Diagonal Symphony* is an eight-minute animation that Eggeling made, assisted by the photographer Erna Niemeyer-Soupault, in autumn 1924.⁴ In the film, a series of white abstract shapes appear and are repeated against a black background, metamorphosing constantly and moving mostly diagonally across the surface. The shapes in the film

originate in a collection of image scrolls. Eggeling's scrolls are up to five-metre long pencil drawings with clearly separated abstract figures presented serially.⁵ Eggeling thus differs considerably from the other artists in the exhibition, whose practices were mainly in traditional media, such as painting and sculpture.

What made the inclusion of Viking Eggeling an even bolder decision was that his works, unlike those of the other featured artists, were not actually shown in the exhibition. The National Museum of Science and Technology's copy of his film *Diagonal Symphony* could not be screened in the daylight of the exhibition space, and most of his oeuvre was in the USA. Instead, visitors were given an impression of his works by slides with excerpts from *Diagonal Symphony* and one of his scrolls, hung in the gallery window, and photographs of another scroll hanging on the gallery wall.⁶ Including Eggeling in the exhibition even though his works could not be shown in the gallery space demonstrates the importance that Hultén and Reutersvärd attributed to his practice; it was essential to show Eggeling and highlight film in the history of abstract art. This position is clearly expressed in the interviews given prior to the exhibition.⁷ Eugen Wretholm's wrote the following in a review of the exhibition in *Svenska Dagbladet*:

Viking Eggeling, creator of the first abstract film, is famous among the youthful elite who frequent the ciné clubs in Paris, and is deservedly represented with a few dia positives and photographs from his films "Diagonal Symphony" and "Horizontal-Vertical Mass"; this as a reminder that the history of modern visual arts does not consist exclusively of painting and sculpture.⁸

This "reminder" of the significance of film as an art form in its own right, and its connection to modern visual arts would become a recurring theme in several of the film programmes organised by Hultén in the 1950s.

In autumn 1953, Hultén elaborated on his interest in film and Viking Eggeling's oeuvre in the Scandinavian special issue of the French magazine *Art d'aujourd'hui*.⁹ This special edition referred specifically to the exhibition in Paris earlier that year, and contained, in addition to Hultén's article on Eggeling, a piece by Oscar Reutersvärd on the *art concret* artist Otto G. Carlsund, and one by the art historian Rolf Söderberg on the history of Swedish abstract art as the theme of *L'Art suédois 1913–1953*. Hultén's article on Eggeling further



Contact sheet with Pontus Hultén and
Oscar Reutersvärd in connection with *L'Art suédois*
1913–1953 at Galerie Denise René, Paris, 1953

explains his fascination for Eggeling's oeuvre and *Diagonal Symphony*. For Hultén Eggeling represented the first modern artist to relate image to time. Hultén particularly stressed how *Diagonal Symphony* replaced individual pictures by creating actual movement in a living form.¹⁰ In other words, it was not merely the fact that Eggeling made film that Hultén found interesting, but that *Diagonal Symphony* related to the aspect that fascinated him at the time, movement in art, prompting him to view his oeuvre primarily as art in a wider concept of art focusing on movement.

In April 1955, two years after *L'Art suédois 1913–1953*, Hultén contributed to the exhibition *Le Mouvement* at Galerie Denise René in Paris.¹¹ In conjunction with the opening, a yellow booklet was published that became known as the *Manifeste jaune* (Yellow Manifesto). Although the works shown were predominantly paintings or sculptures, the main concern of the four texts in the booklet was another art form. In their essays, Hultén, the art critic Roger Bordier, and the artist Victor Vasarely identified film as a central point, towards which contemporary art should be aimed. Vasarely grandly declared in his “Notes for a manifesto” that “the CINEMATOGRAPHIC FIELD is systematically being taken over by abstract discipline. We are witnessing the dawn of a great epoch.”¹² And in “Film”, Bordier called on contemporary abstract artists to explore the potential of film as an artistic medium:

It is up to the abstract artists, each in his own sphere, to take part in this still timid and yet genuine effort to renovate the seventh art ... What I call the artist's film is entitled to be considered, on exactly the same grounds as a painting, as a work of art.¹³

For technical reasons, no film was shown in the gallery's exhibition space. Instead, a film screening was held at the Cinémathèque française on 21 April, 1955.¹⁴ The film programme was arranged entirely by Hultén, and in chronological order, from historical abstract film to contemporary works.¹⁵ The programme kicked off with Viking Eggeling's *Diagonal Symphony* (1924), and Henri Chomette's *Cinq minutes de cinéma pur* (1925). These were followed by *Hoppity Pop* (1942), and *Hen Hop* (1942) by Norman McLaren, one of the most established and famous avant-garde filmmakers at the time. To represent the younger generation of art film, however, Hultén also showed works such as Robert Breer's *Form Phases IV* (1955), and his

own piece, *X* (1954).¹⁶ Hultén's inclusion of himself in the exhibition's film programme is not unexpected. He was active as an experimental filmmaker at the time, and had developed a close friendship with the more experienced American film maker Robert Breer in his Paris years.¹⁷ Together with Breer, Hultén made the less than one-minute long film *Un miracle* (1954), and the exhibition *Le Mouvement* was also documented in a 15-minute film by Breer and Hultén.¹⁸

In hindsight, it may seem strange that it is the history and future potential of film as an artistic medium got the most attention, both in the exhibition catalogue and in the accompanying film screenings. Today, *Le Mouvement* is mainly remembered for its mobile sculptures, movable reliefs and pictures with optical effects. In the activities and texts around the exhibition, however, film was presented as a natural and important part of contemporary art.

Shortly after *Le Mouvement*, Hultén embarked on *A Day in the City* (1956), a film he co-authored and directed together with Hans Nordenström and Gösta Winberg. This film attracted a great deal of international attention when it was accepted for the *International Competition of Experimental Films*, organised by Cinémathèque de Belgique in 1957.¹⁹ On Breer's recommendation, Hultén was also contacted by Amos Vogel about showing *A Day in the City* at the Cinema 16 film club in New York and distributing it in the USA.²⁰ The main reason why Vogel was denied the distribution rights for the film was that Hultén already had a contract with Europafilm.²¹ But Hultén was not entirely happy with his contract, stating in a letter to Billy Klüver that Europafilm was burying the film instead of letting him distribute it.²²

A Day in the City has aptly been described as an anarchic collage of society's rigid and conservative institutions, and organisations and bureaucracy in general.²³ One of the institutions identified as a culprit at the end of the film is the Nationalmuseum, which is shown to blow up and burn down. But maybe the bang from the explosion in the avant-garde film was the wake-up call the Nationalmuseum had been waiting for, because from 1956, it started showing more and more films through its new department Moderna Museet and Pontus Hultén.

Film at Moderna Museet

In an essay in the catalogue for the exhibition *Det moderna museet* (The Modern Museum, 1950), written before the existence of Moderna Museet, Otte Sköld, director of the Nationalmuseum, asks

Var kommer ni närmast ifrån?
Varför kommer ni just till mig?

Goddag jag vill byta namn

Vad heter ni?

Karl

Man kan inte byta förnamn

Jaså. Jag vill byta familjenamn.

Varför det?

Jag kanske har fått fel namn.

Det kan ni kontrollera i kyrkoboken. Vad vill ni heter?

Ja jag tänkte byta varje år.

Det går inte. Det tar två år att byta namn.

Jag heter Nordlund-Berglöv.

Då får ni byta bara om ni har en bror som är mördare.

Jag har ingen bror.

Jaså.

Kan jag få heter som den här teckningen ser ut? Den föreställer
inget annat.

Det går inte

Då vill jag heter som den här tabletten snakar.

Det gäller inte på posten.

Har ska jag göra då?

Det ska vara något med mycket K och S i.

Gullesch blå?

hemhäl (rörelsen)

Kan man heter Päränö?

Det är gammalt.

Då tar jag mig namnet Ööbööööööörrrrp.

Nej har jag sagt.

Jag vill heter som rörelsen i svalornas flykt,
som det ljud som uppstår när man knäpper rocken
men helst vill jag heter som mitt fädernesken,
Odengatan 6.

Ni kan ja föreslå. Fyll i det här. Vad heter er fra i sig själv?

Goddag. Och jag, jag har tre förnamn.

Det finns många som har. Vilket tillnamn söker ni?

Jag vill inte ha något namn alls, inte heter någonting. Jag vill
sakna namn.

Det skulle bara ge upphov till pinsamma misförstånd. Ni är väl för
färdig den samma som förr.

Ja vi skriver väl tisdag då.

himself what responsibilities a future modern museum should have, and concludes that “room should be given to film of artistically high quality”.²⁴ This was to have a huge impact on Moderna Museet’s early years. Sköld’s emphasis of the importance of film was also obvious in the exhibition *Viking Eggeling 1880–1925. Tecknare och filmkonstnär* (Viking Eggeling 1880–1925. Illustrator and film artist, 1950) and the accompanying film series *30 år experimentfilm* (30 Years of Experimental Film).²⁵ *Viking Eggeling 1880–1925* was the first exhibition at the Nationalmuseum that focused on film, and in the catalogue preface Sköld wrote optimistically about the qualities and potential of film as a visual art.²⁶

Even before it opened, the exhibition had attracted great media attention. That the Nationalmuseum was screening a series of avant-garde films was noted in the press as highly interesting and exciting.²⁷ The film series consisted of three programmes on different evenings at the Nationalmuseum, in association with the collections of the National Museum of Science and Technology’s department of cinematic history. The first evening was on the theme of *Viking Eggeling and early avant-garde film*, and consisted mainly of abstract films from around 1920. This was followed by *From René Clair to Cocteau*, with a distinct focus on French film history; the third was advertised as *Modern American avant-garde film* and included the avant-garde pioneers Maya Deren and John and James Whitney. The three film shows began with an introductory lecture and ended with discussions on the theme of the evening.²⁸

Sköld’s experiences from the successful film series *30 år experimentfilm*, together with his open attitude to film as art, was probably the reason why Pontus Hultén was able to organise two film series in conjunction with the exhibition of Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica* in Moderna Museet’s provisional premises in 1956.²⁹ Material in Moderna Museet’s archive shows that the two film series were organised at short notice, and that Hultén was in charge of them.³⁰ Initially, Hultén had planned to create a temporary cinema in the Skeppsholmen venue, but problems with fire safety regulations and projectionist certificates meant that the first film series had to be shown at the Terrassen cinema, and the second at the larger Palladium cinema in Stockholm.³¹ The first show centred on documentary film and was intended to provide a historic backdrop to Picasso’s painting. The films shown during the two evenings included *Guernica* (1949) by Alain Resnais and Robert Hessens, along with Paul Haesaerts’ *Visit*

MODERNA MUSEETS FILMSERIE

anordnad i samarbete med KURSVERKSAMHETEN VID STOCKHOLMS HÖGSKOLA
med anledning av Picasso-utställningen "GUERNICA" i Moderna Museet:
Filmer av den spanske regissören Luis Buñuel. Biografen PALLADIUM, Kungsg. 65.

Lördagen den 24 nov. kl. 15

UN CHIEN ANDALOU (En andalusisk hund), Paris 1928, manus Buñuel och Salvador Dalí, regi Buñuel.

L'AGE D'OR (Guldåldern), Paris 1930, manus Buñuel och Salvador Dalí, regi Buñuel.

"Den som blir besviken därför att han inte kan finna ordning och mening i den filmen kommer att i egenstans finna ordning och mening; utom kanske bland blin och maskar ... Jag upprepar: L'Age l'Or är den enda film som jag vet som avslöjar filmens möjligheter." Henry Miller.

(Vid denna föreställning visas sist även Ivens, Hemmingways och Dos Passos' The Spanish Earth som vid visningen den 3 nov., i förra serien, ersattes av Coeur d'Espagne.)

Lördagen den 1 dec. kl. 15

LOS OLVIDADOS (De Glömda, i svensk distribution Götans Desperados), Mexiko 1949. Manus Buñuel och Alcariza, regi Buñuel, foto Figueroa.

TERRE SANS PAIN, Spanien 1932. Manus Buñuel, Pierre Unik, Elie Lotar, regi Buñuel.

(Terre sans pain visas ännu en gång därför att vi nu disponerar en kopia som är tekniskt överlägsen den som visades den 3. nov.)

Lördagen den 8 dec. kl. 15

EL (Han, i svensk distribution Den Nakna Sanningen), Mexiko 1954. Regi Buñuel, foto Figueroa.

Serie kort å 9: — säljas på Moderna Museet på Skeppsholmen, Kursverksamheten, Grevtureg. 9, och före första föreställningen, från kl. 14, på Palladium.



Buñuel i Un Chien Andalou

to *Picasso* (1949), and two short films about Francisco de Goya by Luciano Emmer.³² While the first series stressed the pedagogical value of films in providing knowledge about Picasso and Spanish art, the second had a substantially more artistic ambition.³³

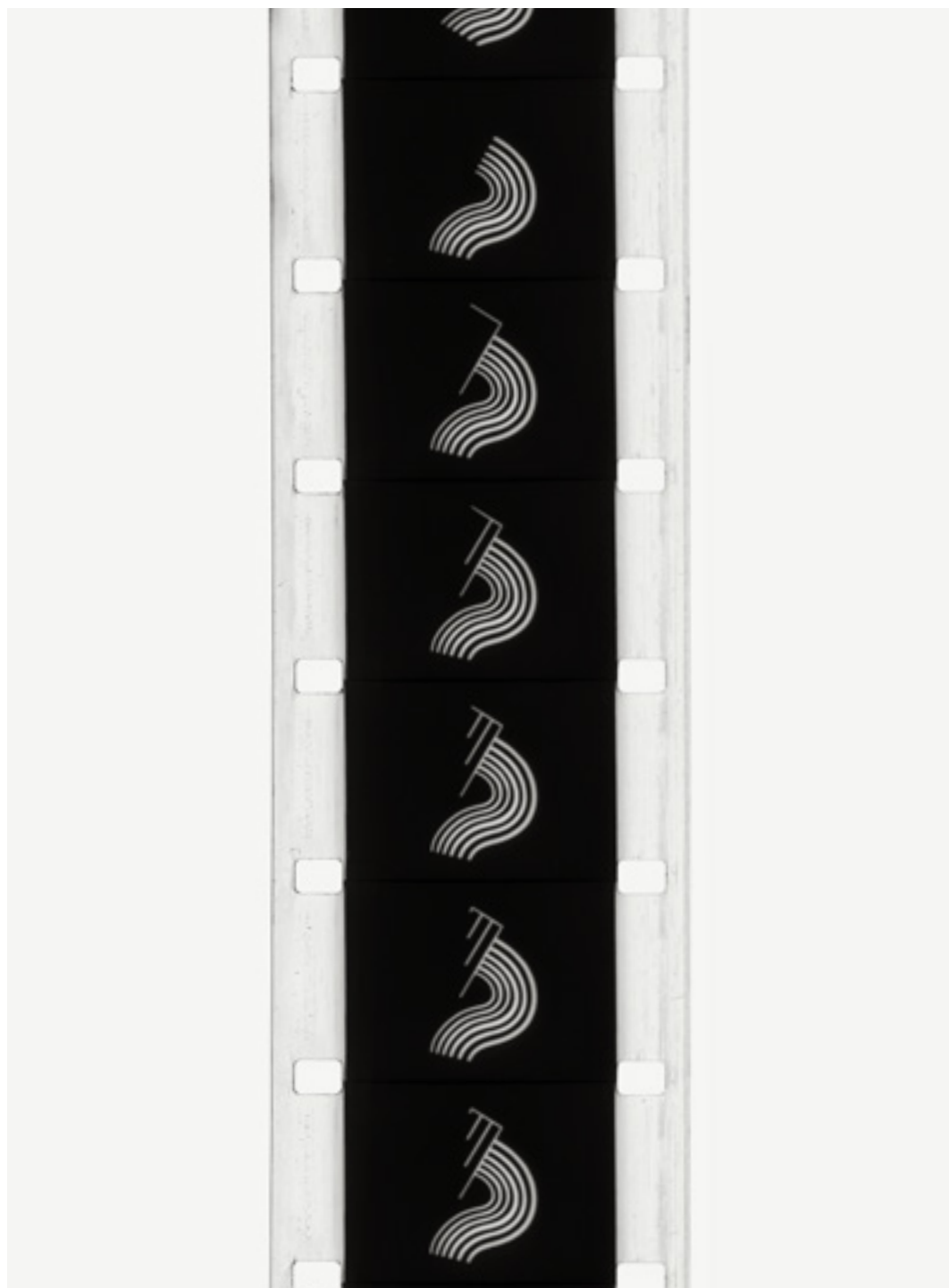
In a letter to Seth Karlsson asking to borrow Luis Buñuel's film *Los Olvidados* (1950) from Europafilm, Hultén describes the purpose of the film series:

The second series, comprising three screenings is exclusively devoted to the Spanish director Luis Buñuel, who, in many ways, is Picasso's equal. The intention of the screenings is to present the two greatest modern Spanish artists, Picasso and Buñuel, to the audience in one context, and to utilise the opportunity that this confrontation may provide for a deeper understanding of the oeuvres of both.³⁴

Although a temporary cinema could not be built at such short notice, we get a clear picture of the value Hultén attributed to film as an artistic medium. Buñuel's art films should not be subordinated to Picasso's paintings, and they should not be shown outside the Museum; Buñuel's films should be in the Museum, to shed light on Picasso, just as Picasso should shed light on Buñuel. Hultén's desire to show moving images in the exhibition space clearly demonstrates his expanded notion of what a museum should display, and the status of film as art.

After the screening of Buñuel's films, Hultén was in charge of a further two series. In spring 1957, Jean Vigo's and Georges Franju's films were shown at the Palladium, and in the autumn Joris Iven's films were screened at Stockholms Borgarskola on Kungstensgatan 4. Since both series also attracted audiences with little or no experience of avant-garde film, Hultén wrote long articles in *Dagens Nyheter* with presentations of the film directors.³⁵ When Georges Franju's film *Blood of the Beasts* (1949) was censored prior to its planned screening, this triggered an even more intense debate about film at Moderna Museet in the daily press.³⁶

The day after the censorship was announced, Erik Skoglund, director of the Film Board, explained in *Dagens Nyheter* why they had decided to censor *Blood of the Beasts*.³⁷ Skoglund said that the Board had come to its decision mainly because Moderna Museet's film series were comparable to public screenings, and that the film was not suitable due to its repulsive contents. *Blood of the Beasts* takes a



documentary approach and shows cows and horses being taken to an abattoir and slaughtered. The Board considered the slaughter to be highly abhorrent and that some of the brutal scenes could cause mental trauma to an unsuspecting audience at a public screening. Moderna Museet's film series was categorised as public partly because it was so easy to buy tickets, and partly because the films were being shown at one of Stockholm's largest cinemas. If membership in a film club had been required to buy tickets for the film series, Skoglund intimated that the screenings could have been regarded as private events at which the audience was more accustomed to alternative films. The censorship of Franju's film was one of the factors that prompted Moderna Museet to start a film studio; according to the statutes, its purpose was to "enable Moderna Museet to show films to its members that were prohibited from public screenings".³⁸ To show films that were not allowed to be screened publicly was also a contributing reason why Joris Iven's film series was transferred from Palladium to Stockholms Borgarskola. One of the terms in the rental agreement for Palladium, which was owned by Svensk Filmindustri, was that all films must be approved by the censors.³⁹

It is worth noting that the Nationalmuseum's management showed strong support for the popular film series at Moderna Museet. When *Blood of the Beasts* was censored, Otte Sköld wrote to the head of Biografbyrån (the Film Board), Erik Skoglund, presenting his case for why the Nationalmuseum and its Moderna Museet department should be exempt from film censorship:

Since art film must be counted as one of the most active and, from a modern point of view, interesting artistic disciplines, screenings of art film will be included as a natural part of activities in the newly-established Moderna Museet department.⁴⁰

The fact that film activities became a "natural part" of Moderna Museet's activities in the early years was largely due to the contacts that were made in connection with these four film series. Especially valuable support for the Museum's continued screenings of film was provided by Barbro Sylwan at the Swedish Institute's Office national du tourisme suédois, and Dominique Johansen at Académie du cinéma, also in Paris. In connection with the plans for the Vigo/Franju series, Hultén asked Sylwan and the Office national du tourisme

Stockholm den 27 juli 1959.

Begärande Ingmar Bergman

S F

Begärande

För Falc nämnde i våras att Vi har i Er ägo en samling klassiska snalfilmer. Det skulle intressera oss att visa den här. Genom herr Hjortberg höorde jag för ett par veckor sedan att projektet intresserar också Er. Vi håller nu på med att lägga upp programmet för höstens filmvisningar. Jag vill därför fråga: Här kan Vi tänka Er att ha denna serie visningar och har några kvällar räcker samlingen till? Vi skulle vilja föreslå november som bästa tid.

Tackas för att höra från Er.

Högaktingsfullt

K. G. Hultén
intendent

suédois to help him contact Franju.⁴¹ Sylwan was also contacted by Johansen, since she represented several French filmmakers in the distribution of their films.⁴² This was the start of a long collaboration, where Johansen and the Académie du cinéma provided the films and Sylwan and the Office national du tourisme suédois handled the forwarding to Sweden and Moderna Museet. The archives contain a massive correspondence between Johansen, Sylwan and Hultén, indicating clearly the crucial importance of their partnership on the Museum's early film activities in general and the *Apropos Eggeling* film festival in particular.⁴³

Apropos Eggeling

The *Apropos Eggeling* festival began four days after Moderna Museet opened its new premises on Skeppsholmen. It offered a rich programme of 52 films made from 1910 to 1958, including Émile Cohl's *Le Retapeur de cervelles* (1910), Viking Eggeling's *Diagonal Symphony* (1924), Len Lye's *Color Box* (1935), Maya Deren's *Meshes of the Afternoon* (1943) and *A Study in Choreography for the Camera* (1945, and Per Olof Ultvedt's *Nära Ögat* (1958).⁴⁴ In addition to Académie du cinéma, a large number of the films shown on the four festival evenings came from the National Museum of Science and Technology's film history collection and Det Danske Filmmuseum.⁴⁵

Today, film, video and other moving images are a natural part of the Museum's exhibitions and of contemporary art; in the late 1950s, however, the *Apropos Eggeling* film festival made a strong stand for film as art. Unlike the four previous screenings organised by Moderna Museet and Pontus Hultén, the films were now shown on the Museum's own premises, and the potential of film as an artistic medium was highlighted. In the planning phase of the exhibition, Hultén contacted several internationally prominent filmmakers and critics, along with other people more close at hand, requesting them to write in the festival catalogue.⁴⁶ His letters specify clearly that the purpose of the catalogue was to discuss the current situation of film and its relationship to visual arts:

In order to give this festival a sign of its importance and also in order to save the memory of it we are going to edit a booklet with some short articles on the situation of cinema, on avant-garde-film and experimental film, its relations to the plastic art etc.⁴⁷



Catalogue for *Apropos Eggeling*.
Avant-Garde Film, Moderna Museet, 1958

Among those who accepted Hultén's invitation were authors from his international and Swedish networks; Georges Franju, for instance, provided an essay on the multitude of styles in the field of avant-garde film.⁴⁸ An article by Nils-Hugo Geber, who was later to head Moderna Museet's film studio, links the ambitions of art film with the conditions of film production, in what could be termed an informative opinion piece on the situation of art film in Sweden.⁴⁹ The texts by John Halas and Roger Manvell focus on animated film and how its significance to static visual arts has been ignored too long.⁵⁰

Apropos Eggeling was a mobilisation for the status of film as art, and in the preface of the catalogue Hultén summed up his views on film and the role of film in contemporary art: "A whole generation turns to film to satisfy its need for art ... film is the most powerful means of expression available in this day and age. It is an excellent artistic medium".⁵¹ In the years after Moderna Museet opened, film continued to have a strong presence there. A follow-up of *Apropos Eggeling* was held already in autumn 1958, and in spring 1959 another two film series were organised by Moderna Museet's film studio.⁵² The exhibitions *Movement in Art* (1961), *4 Americans* (1962), and *American Pop Art* (1964), were all accompanied by film programmes. The Museum's popular film studio for children opened on 14 March, 1959, and soon expanded from one show on Saturdays to two Saturday shows and one on Sundays.⁵³ Many people were involved in Moderna Museet's film activities in the early years, but the dual role of Pontus Hultén as museum director and experimental filmmaker was probably crucial to the position of the medium in the still young institution.

1. See appendix with programme in *Apropå Eggeling. En samling korta uppsatser om film utgiven med anledning av avantgardefilmserien i Moderna Museet Maj 1958* (exh. cat.), ed. Karl G. Hultén, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1958. The film evenings took place on 13, 16, 19 and 21 May at 8.00 pm.
2. See for example Pontus Hultén, “Moderna Museets tillkomst och första år”, *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, eds. Olle Granath and Monica Nieckels, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1983, pp. 30–37; Lars Gustaf Andersson, John Sundholm and Astrid Söderbergh Widding, *A History of Swedish Experimental Film Culture. From Early Animation to Video Art*, Stockholm: Mediehistoriskt arkiv no. 17, 2010; Magnus af Petersens and Martin Sundberg, “Art on Stage: Happenings and Moving Images 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. 97–120; Leif Nyhlén, *Den öppna konsten. Happenings, instrumental teater, konkret poesi och andra gränsöverskridningar i det svenska 60-talet*, Stockholm: Sveriges Allmänna Konstförening no. 107, 1998.
3. The exhibition took place between 27 March and 20 April, 1953, and a total of 51 works by the following artists were shown: Siri Derkert (4 works), Gösta Adrian-Nilsson (5), Otte Sköld (2), Viking Eggeling (3), Otto G. Carlsund (5), Erik Olsson (5), Christian Berg (3), Lennart Rodhe (4), Olle Bonnier (4), Arne Jones (4), Karl-Axel Pehrson (3), Olle Bærtling (3), Lars Rolf (5), Ted Dyrssen (1). For a full list of works shown by each respective artist, see *L'Art suédois 1913–1953. Exposition d'art suédois, cubiste, futuriste, constructiviste* (exh. cat.), Paris: Galerie Denise René, 1953.
4. Louise O’Konor, *Viking Eggeling 1880–1925. Artist and Film-Maker, Life and Work* (diss.), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971.
5. A shorter image scroll, *Étude pour Symphonie diagonale* (51 x 213 cm), the film *Diagonal Symphony*, and most of Eggeling’s sketches are included in the Moderna Museet collection.
6. On Eggeling being represented with slides and photographs, see “Viking Eggeling”, *L'Art suédois 1913–1953*, 1953. For information on how the works were hung in the exhibition space, see Rolf Söderberg, “Svensk konst i Paris”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 1 April, 1953.
7. “Svensk nutidskonst på utlandsturné”, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 19 March, 1953, and “Svensk konst far jorden runt”, *Stockholms-Tidningen*, 19 March, 1953.
8. Eugen Wretholm, “Svensk modernism i Paris”, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 9 April, 1953.
9. Karl G. Hultén, “Viking Eggeling”, *Art d'aujourd'hui*, no. 7, 1953, p. 3.
10. “Il semble que Viking Eggeling soit le premier représentant de l’art moderne qui, consciemment, ait mis ses images en relation directe avec le temps; c’est le premier artiste de l’image dans l’histoire du film ... Le film fit disparaître la beauté des images individuelles, qui fut remplacée par celle des mouvements réels sous une forme vivante.” Karl G. Hultén, “Viking Eggeling”, *Art d'aujourd'hui*, no. 7, 1953, p. 3.
11. *Le Mouvement* is one of the first steps towards what would later become Pontus Hultén’s, and one of Moderna Museet’s, major initiatives

in the 1960s, the exhibition *Movement in Art* (1961). According to Patrik Andersson, Hultén's article on Eggeling in *Art d'aujourd'hui* was one of the primary reasons why he came to be involved in the work on the exhibition *Le Mouvement*. Patrik Andersson, "Rörelse i konsten: The art of Re-assemblage", *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 78, issue 4, 2009, pp. 178–192.

12. Victor Vasarely, "Le manifeste jaune", published as facsimile in *Le Mouvement/The Movement, Paris 1955. Agam, Bury, Calder, Duchamp, Jacobsen, Soto, Tinguely, Vasarely* (exh. cat.), Paris, New York, Düsseldorf: Edition Denise René, 1975.

13. Roger Bordier, "Film", facsimile in *Le Mouvement/The Movement, Paris 1955*, 1975.

14. In connection with the exhibition *Le Mouvement. Vom Kino zur Kinetik* at the Museum Tinguely in Basel in 2010, a lost copy of *Le Mouvement's* film programme was found in Robert Breer's private archive. Films by the following were shown: Viking Eggeling, Henri Chomette, Francis Lee, Norman McLaren, Richard Mortensen, K.G.P. Hultén, Edgard Pillet, Robert Jacobsen & Mogens Kruse, Robert Breer, Len Lye, and Oscar Fischinger. For a facsimile of the film programme, see *Le Mouvement. Vom Kino zur Kinetik* (exh. cat.), Basel: Museum Tinguely, 2010, p. 80.

15. On Pontus Hultén's influence on the film programme, see "Robert Breer. Interview on the occasion of the exhibition 'Le Mouvement. From Cinema to Kinetics'", *Le Mouvement. Vom Kino zur Kinetik*, 2010, p. 148.

16. Earlier research has shown that the exhibition practice of creating an active relationship between history and contemporaneity was a recurring theme in several of Pontus Hultén's exhibitions and texts in the 1950s and 60s. The film programme reflects this theme in so far as it also highlights historical pioneers, established contemporary artists and younger artists with a view to the future. See Hans Hayden, *Modernismen som institution. Om etableringen av ett estetiskt och historiografiskt paradigm*, Stockholm, Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2006, pp. 190–191, footnote 25–26.

17. Pontus Hultén's archive includes a substantial number of letters from Robert Breer to Pontus Hultén, see primarily MMA PHA 5.1.3.

18. The documentary film without sound is included in Pontus Hultén's archive: Pontus Hultén and Robert Breer, *Le Mouvement* (1955). MMA PHA 5.5.98.

19. Letter from Jacques Ledoux at *La cinémathèque de Belgique* to Pontus Hultén, 5 April, 1958. MMA PHA 4.4.18.

20. There is a large collection of letters from Amos Vogel to Pontus Hultén. They are partly on the subject of the possibility of renting film from Cinema 16, partly on the distribution rights for *A Day in the City*. Hultén also visited Vogel when he was in New York, and in 1962 Vogel expressed a desire to go to Stockholm to see Hultén and to show films there. Letters from Amos Vogel to Pontus Hultén, 17 September, 1957, 8 February, 1960, 19 January, 1962. MMA PHA 4.4.18.

21. Contract with Europafilm. MMA PHA 4.4.18.

22. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Billy Klüver, 29 January, 1957. MMA PHA 5.1.21.
23. Lars Gustaf Andersson, John Sundholm, and Astrid Söderbergh Widding, *A History of Swedish Experimental Film Culture*, 2010, p. 96.
24. The exhibition was shown from 5 September to 9 October, 1950. *Det moderna museet. Vägledning över utställningen av modern konst ur Nationalmusei samlingar. Liljevalchs konsthall 1950* (exh. cat.), Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1950.
25. The exhibition of Viking Eggeling's art was on from 27 October to 19 November, 1950. There is no information on the film series in the exhibition catalogue, *Viking Eggeling 1880–1925. Tecknare och filmkonstnär* (exh. cat.), Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1950. For the programme for the film series, see "Föreläsningar hösten 1950", *Det moderna museet*, 1950, p. 51.
26. Otte Sköld, "Förord", *Viking Eggeling 1880–1925*, 1950, pp. 3–8.
27. See, for example, Casper (Lennart Ehrenborg), "Göra film av konst och film till konst", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 1 November, 1950; "Svensk filmpionjär räddas ur glömskan", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 13 August, 1950; Carl Nordenfalk, "Viking Eggeling, målare och filmpionjär", *Dagens Nyheter*, 13 August, 1950.
28. Gösta Werner lectured in connection with the first show, Bengt Idestam-Almquist in connection with the second, and Gerd Osten replaced Rune Waldekranz as the lecturer for the third. On Osten replacing Waldekranz, see "Amerikanskt avantgarde", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 15 November, 1950, and "Notis", *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 November, 1950.
29. Otte Sköld's position on film as art is clearly revealed in a review of a press preview of Moderna Museet's recently allocated premises: "Around a permanent core we will have moving visual art here at the Museum," the enthusiastic director notes during our tour of the spacious drill hall. No modern artist will, thus, need to feel omitted." Chevalier, "Museet för modern konst", *Dagens Nyheter*, 23 September, 1956. Back in 1946, Sköld also wrote the introduction to a book on film as art, see Otte Sköld, "Förord" in Bengt Idestam-Almquist, *Filmen som konst*, Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1946.
30. Letter from K.G. Hultén to Det Danske Filmmuseum, 9 October, 1956, and Ernest Lindgren at The British Filminstitute, 31 October, 1956, requesting to borrow films. MMA MA F2aa:3.
31. For the plans to build a provisional cinema, see letter from K.G. Hultén to Bo Kärre, 3 October, 1956. MMA MA F2aa:3.
32. Hultén also wanted Moderna Museet to show Henri-Georges Clouzot's then new film *Le mystère Picasso* (1956), but instead it was shown by Artfilm AB at the Sture cinema, opening on 15 October, 1956. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Ove Brusendorff (Det Danske Filmmuseum), 9 October, 1956. MMA MA F2aa:3.
33. For more on art film and how film was put to the service of art education in Sweden in the 1950s and 60s, see David Rynell Åhlén, *Samtida konst på bästa sändningstid. Konst i svensk television 1956–1969* (diss.), Mediehistoriskt arkiv no. 31, Lund: Mediehistoria, Lund University, 2016, p. 49, and Malin Wahlberg, "Från Rembrandt till Electronics. Konstfilmen

i tidig svensk television”, *Berättande i olika medier*, eds. Leif Dahlberg and Pelle Snickars, Stockholm: the Swedish National Archive of Recorded Sound and Moving Images, 2008, pp. 201–232.

34. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Seth Karlsson (Europafilm AB), 20 November, 1956. MMA MA F2aa:3.

35. K.G. Hultén, “Jean Vigos filmer”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 15 March, 1957, and K.G. Hultén, “Joris Ivens filmer”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 22 October, 1957.

36. The censorship decision was followed by a one-month debate in the Swedish press on censorship and art, where Pontus Hultén and other intellectuals, including the authors Peter Weiss and Olof Lagercrantz, showed no understanding for Biografbyråns (the Film Board’s) decision to censor Georges Franju’s film. K.G. Hultén, “Censuren – en smaksak?”, *Stockholms-Tidningen*, 31 March, 1957; Peter Weiss, “Censorn ryggade inför ärlig vardagsrealism”, *Expressen*, 26 March, 1957; Olof Lagercrantz, “Olyckligt censurbeslut”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 27 March, 1957; Olof Lagercrantz, “Interiör från filmcensuren”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 29 March, 1957.

37. Erik Skoglund, “Filmcensuren. Hänsyn till publiken kräver totalförbud för Djurens blod”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 25 March, 1957.

38. Otte Sköld was the chairman of Moderna Museet’s film studio, and Pontus Hultén, Bo Wennberg, Kerstin Sandqvist, and Bengt Idestam-Almquist were on the board. See “Stadgar för Moderna Museets filmstudio”. MMA MA F2aa:3.

39. For the terms of Svensk Filmindustri, see K.G. Hultén and Lennart Westerberg, “En redogörelse för de hittillsvarande förbindelserna mellan oss och censurmyndigheterna”, 23 March, 1957. MMA PHA 5.1.14.

40. Letter from Otte Sköld to chefen för Statens Biografbyrå (the head of the Film Board, Erik Skoglund), 28 August, 1957. MMA MA F2aa:3.

41. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Barbro Sylwan, Office national du tourisme suédois in Paris, 2 February, 1957. MMA MA F2aa:3.

42. Letter from Barbro Sylwan to Licentiate of Ph. K.G. Hultén, 14 February, 1957. MMA MA F2aa:3.

43. For letters from Dominique Johansen and Barbro Sylwan to Hultén on organising film shows at Moderna Museet in the 1950s and 60s, see primarily in the archive under MMA MA F2aa:3 and MMA PHA 4.1.22 and 4.1.24.

44. For a complete list of the films that were shown, see appendix with programme in *Apropå Eggeling*, 1958.

45. For correspondence on available films, see letter from Pontus Hultén to Académie du cinéma and Det Danske Filmmuseum. MMA MA F2aa:3

46. Two authors who did not accept Pontus Hultén’s invitation to contribute to the catalogue were Lindsey Anderson and Amos Vogel. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Lindsey Anderson, 21 February, 1958, and Amos Vogel, 28 January, 1958. MMA MA F2aa:3. The following authors are included in the catalogue: Robert Breer, Eivor Burbeck, Georges Franju, Nils-Hugo Geber, John Halas and Roger Manvell, Norman McLaren, Hans Nordenström, Hans Richter, Walter C. Türeck, and Peter Weiss.

47. Letter from K.G. Hultén to Roger Manvell, requesting him to write for the catalogue, 12 February, 1958. MMA MA F2aa:3.
48. Georges Franju, "Avant-garde", *Apropå Eggeling*, 1958, pp. 19–21.
49. Nils-Hugo Geber, "Noteringar", *Apropå Eggeling*, 1958, pp. 23–24.
50. John Halas and Roger Manvell, "Experiment med tecknad film", *Apropå Eggeling*, 1958, pp. 35–36.
51. Karl G. Hultén, "Inledning", *Apropå Eggeling*, 1958, p. 7.
52. In connection with the first film series in 1959, Moderna Museet was also visited by the prominent Austrian avant-garde filmmaker Peter Kubelka, who presented and screened his films *Mosaik im Vertrauen* (1955), *Adebar* (1957), and *Schwechater* (1958). In the beginning, Hultén was looking for different genres of film and contacted, for example, the director Ingmar Bergman, see letter from K.G. Hultén to Ingmar Bergman, 27 July, 1959, and letter from Ingmar Bergman to K.G. Hultén, 31 August, 1959. "Film i Moderna Museet". MMA MA F2aa:4.
53. As early as autumn 1959, a further show was added on Saturdays, and during spring 1963, the activities were expanded with film screenings on Sundays. See the programmes and all other information on the film studio for children in MMA MA F2aa:5. Anna-Lena Wibom worked with and developed the film studio for children during these years.

Sam Francis and Claes Oldenburg.
Two Americans

Annika Gunnarsson

Moderna Museet featured roughly one American exhibition every two years throughout the 1960s. One of the most noteworthy of these exhibitions under Pontus Hultén's directorship was *American Pop Art. 106 Forms of Love and Despair* in 1964.¹ It included works by Jim Dine, Roy Lichtenstein, Claes Oldenburg, George Segal, Andy Warhol, and Tom Wesselmann. Out of the six, Claes Oldenburg and Andy Warhol later had solo exhibitions at Moderna Museet, in 1966 and 1968 respectively. The first of the American exhibitions was with Sam Francis, however. In 1960, his paintings, drawings and collages were shown in Moderna Museet's main gallery and elsewhere. Both Francis and Oldenburg became close friends with Hultén, as did the artists Niki de Saint Phalle and Jean Tinguely. They all impacted on Hultén's nearly five decades of museum practice, and he, in turn, was instrumental to their œuvres.

The solo exhibitions with *Sam Francis* (1960) and *Claes Oldenburg* (1966) begin and end this period of group shows that are regarded to mark the beginning of Pontus Hultén's more acknowledged museum career in Sweden. A close reading of preserved documents in the archives of Moderna Museet and the Nationalmuseum presents a micro-perspective on Hultén's early activities as museum director. The material Hultén himself collected on and by Francis and Oldenburg allows us to follow their friendship over time.

Sam Francis

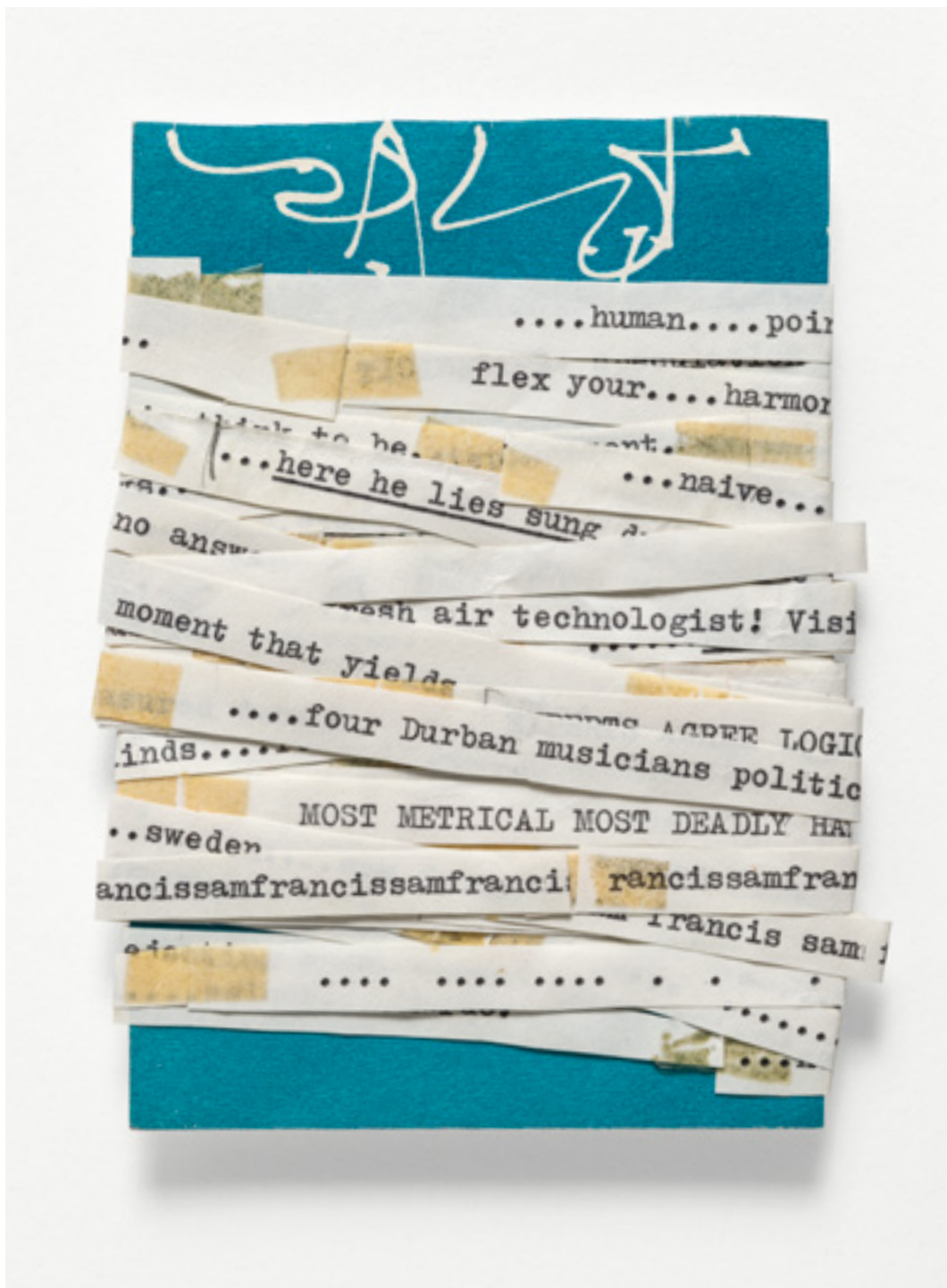
Pontus Hultén and Sam Francis were both in their mid-twenties when they met for the first time in Paris in the early 1950s. Francis already had a reputation as being one of the most requested American artists in both Europe and the USA.² Hultén was just embarking on his career after graduating from university. The exhibition of Francis' works at Moderna Museet probably originated in New York in autumn 1959, when Hultén made his first trip to the USA and Brazil to organise Sweden's participation in the fifth São Paulo biennale.³ In June the following year, Hultén wrote to the Swiss art collector

and gallerist Eberhard W. Kornfeld that the Swedish gallerist Pierre Hugo Lundholm had advised Hultén to contact Kornfeld to ask for help in organising an exhibition of Francis' works in Stockholm.⁴ In the same letter, Hultén mentions that he had met Francis in New York "last autumn", that is, in 1959.

Sam Francis was being shown at Kunsthalle in Bern in the summer of 1960, in an exhibition curated by Franz Meyer, then director of the Kunsthalle. On 20 May that year, Pontus Hultén wrote to both Meyer and Jacques Dubourg, Francis' gallerist in Paris. In the letter to Meyer, Hultén mentions having met Francis in New York and Paris, and that Francis is interested in exhibiting in Sweden after Bern.⁵ Dubourg, on the other hand, was asked whether it would be possible to organise one more exhibition of Francis' works.⁶ Nine days later, Hultén thanked Dubourg for his positive response to the proposal.⁷ That summer, Hultén corresponded with Dubourg, Kornfeld, and Meyer, to get the exhibition in place.

Initially, Pontus Hultén's letters reveal a degree of uncertainty as to whether the exhibition would actually take place. Hultén's tentative enquiries were not immediately answered, and Sam Francis went to Italy without leaving an address and was hard to contact.⁸ A no would have affected the entire exhibition programme for the autumn, which Hultén had planned before getting confirmation for the collaboration. When contact was established after midsummer, things happened quickly.⁹ In minutes from meetings on matters brought before the director Carl Nordenfalk in July 1960, Hultén was granted travel expenses to visit the Venice biennale on his holiday, and to attend the negotiations for taking Francis' exhibition in Bern to Stockholm.¹⁰ During an intense holiday month, Hultén accomplished the feat.¹¹

The exhibition opened at Moderna Museet on 19 September and closed on 30 October, 1960. It comprised 77 works (paintings, ink drawings, watercolours and gouaches) compiled by Eberhard W. Kornfeld and Franz Meyer, who are thanked in the preface of the catalogue. The exhibition was based on the exhibition that Meyer had put together for Bern, with a few minor changes. Moderna Museet could not show as many large works as Meyer had in Bern, and a few of them were being returned to Paris. Therefore, Hultén borrowed a few recent pieces by Francis from Jacques Dubourg and private collectors in Sweden, as can be seen in the catalogue's list.¹² The installation photographs documenting the exhibition show the large



Detail of manuscripts by Sinclair Beiles for
the catalogue *Sam Francis*, Moderna Museet, 1960



The artist Sam Francis in the exhibition,
Moderna Museet, 1960

paintings placed along the walls of the first, biggest room at Moderna Museet, and between the windows and suspended from the ceiling at right angles from the walls. There is no material in the archives showing how the ink drawings and gouaches were presented.

The exhibition catalogue contains pieces by the poet Sinclair Beiles, Yoshiaki Tono, an art critic and close friend of Sam Francis, and Brion Gysin, who was a poet and performance artist. Beiles' work references contemporary poetic sound works. He enclosed strips of text and offered free editing, according to the concept "Minutes to Go' cut-up"; that is, whoever was holding the scissors determined the script flow.¹³ He proposed that the strips, alluding to the paper strips produced by Jean Tinguely's machines, could be printed in a larger format and put up here and there in the exhibition. He also took the opportunity to promote a possible exhibition with himself, Brion Gysin, and the beat poet William S. Burroughs. Yoshiaki Tono's personal portrayal of Francis was handwritten on stationery emblazoned with the letterhead of the Hôtel du Pas-De-Calais in Paris.¹⁴ Gysin's contribution was a visual poem, also handwritten, but on squared notebook paper. In the catalogue, the squares have been blotted out, so that the four words *this is Sam Francis*, varied to mean different things, hover across the page. They each received remuneration of SEK 100.¹⁵ A lithograph was also produced and sold at the exhibition, along with posters and postcards, which Eberhard W. Kornfeld had printed.¹⁶

When the exhibition was installed, it was presented by the curator Carlo Derkert, amanuensis Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, and the artist Gösta Gierow.¹⁷ In conjunction with the exhibition, a lecture was held by Professor Ellen Johnson on "American Abstract Painting".¹⁸ The photographs documenting John Cage's performance of *Solo for Piano* on 10 October, 1960, show him playing in front of Francis's paintings. The number of visitors was said to be between 20,000 and 22,000 in letters, which tallies more or less with visitor data printed in *Meddelande från Nationalmuseum* no. 85 that year.¹⁹

The total budget was SEK 14,650.²⁰ SEK 720 was paid for advertising space in Stockholm's three largest daily papers, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, and *Stockholms-Tidningen*.²¹ Together with bill posting, planned to cost SEK 1,000, the two items of PR accounted for nearly 12 per cent of the total budget. Carlo Derkert wrote to the Police Authority and thers to apply for permission to post bills on one of the bridges across Kungsgatan in Stockholm, "to

alert people to Moderna Museet's exhibition".²² The biggest budget item was freight, at approximately 37 per cent (compared to around 32 per cent for the catalogue). When the exhibition ended, some of the works went on to London, but most of them were shipped back to Paris. A few private collectors bought works, and Pontus Hultén kept two paintings, to be bought by the Museum after the exhibition: *Middle Blue* (1957), and *Over Yellow* (1958-60).²³ The latter was acquired by the Museum for SEK 15,000, and was reproduced the following year in the report on the museums' activities.²⁴

The Pontus Hultén archive contains a newsreel showing him being interviewed at Moderna Museet with Francis' paintings in the background.²⁵ Hultén was asked whether this exhibition was his most daring venture so far, and he replied, not without pride, that it was the "biggest and most colourful", adding that this was a very "fresh" and "happy" and "unproblematic style of painting" that "radiated colour" and showed "freedom and imagination in shape".²⁶ This statement is in line with Hultén's words in the preface to the catalogue:

I recall his studio in Paris five or six years back, in short, a long time ago: a dreadful noise from a factory next door and the silence from the almost infinite, almost monochrome white paintings. It was remarkable. I thought, among other things: the noise here and the silence from the paintings, that's the sort of thing you read in prefaces to exhibition catalogues.²⁷

Many of the critics who reviewed the exhibition, however, took more note of the colour and size than of the stillness and silence of the paintings.²⁸ Ulf Linde, who was also a jazz musician, wrote his own piece on the rhythm of Sam Francis' works in an article in *Dagens Nyheter*.²⁹ Referring to the catalogue cover, where *Sweetbeat* "trembles in a water reflection", Linde explored the "jazz word" *beat*, which he considered to concern phrasing and precision, making "the whole mass of notes swing and come close", even if, in the case of Francis, it could also be about one sustained note. Carl Nordenfalk wrote that the exhibition was "a cosmic experience that may not have looked like this had not the artist experienced being a pilot in the Second World War".³⁰

Pontus Hultén kept in touch with Sam Francis in various ways after this first collaboration. For Francis' publishing company, Lapis Press, Pontus Hultén edited and wrote the preface for *The Surrealists Look at Art* (1990). He also wrote an essay about Francis' monotypes for the book *The Monotypes of Sam Francis* (1994). In the correspondence



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MODERNA MUSEET

Ink. 13/8 1960

Nr 131

The completely calculated ~~is~~ innocence.
The learn ~~o~~ falls falls falls ^{falls} after
the "original" white perfection. Perfect. perfect.
perfect perfect. What is, however, Perfection?

It is the ~~most~~ way to doubt everything so
delightfully with bloody pain... that is, the
completely calculated Innocence.

Sam saw once the God of vacancy ~~the~~
~~the~~ the resource of all the world, opening ~~the~~
blind eyes through the ~~very~~ sacred magical
windows, of Mother's, maybe. A Raymond Radigast
~~he~~ was listening to the luring echo, ~~at the~~ ~~the~~
at the place of Pacific. ~~Unpleasant and vicious~~
After that white ~~the~~ "original" Perfection,
Sam still survives, nevertheless.

What a damn pity!

Yoshiaki Tono
TONO

Letter from Yoshiaki Tono
to Moderna Museet, 13 August, 1960

with the publishers, we encounter a experienced museum director: “I have no great love for editors who have to justify their existence by making the maximum of changes ... It would be nice if a few elements of mine could be left in.”³¹ In the catalogue for Sam Francis’ solo exhibition at the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn in 1993, where Pontus Hultén was the director between 1990 and 1995, Hultén delivers a personal portrait of the artist.³² He gives a short account of Sam Francis’ life and work. This description of his close friend also gives glimpses of Hultén’s own choices in life. Among other things, he recommended Francis to read Peter Alexeyevich Kropotkin’s “The Memories of an Anarchist”.³³

Claes Oldenburg

Claes Oldenburg was part of the young New York scene at the time of Pontus Hultén’s first visit to the city, and mingled in the same circles as Billy Klüver, who was Hultén’s friend from his student years in Stockholm.³⁴ When the Swedish artists Barbro Östlihn and Öyvind Fahlström moved to New York in 1961, they also joined the new American pop avant-garde and worked close to Oldenburg and his then wife Pat Oldenburg (Mucha).³⁵ The solo exhibition of Oldenburg’s works was presented only two years after his participation in *American Pop Art* (1964), from which the Museum bought his work *Ping-Pong Table* (1964).³⁶

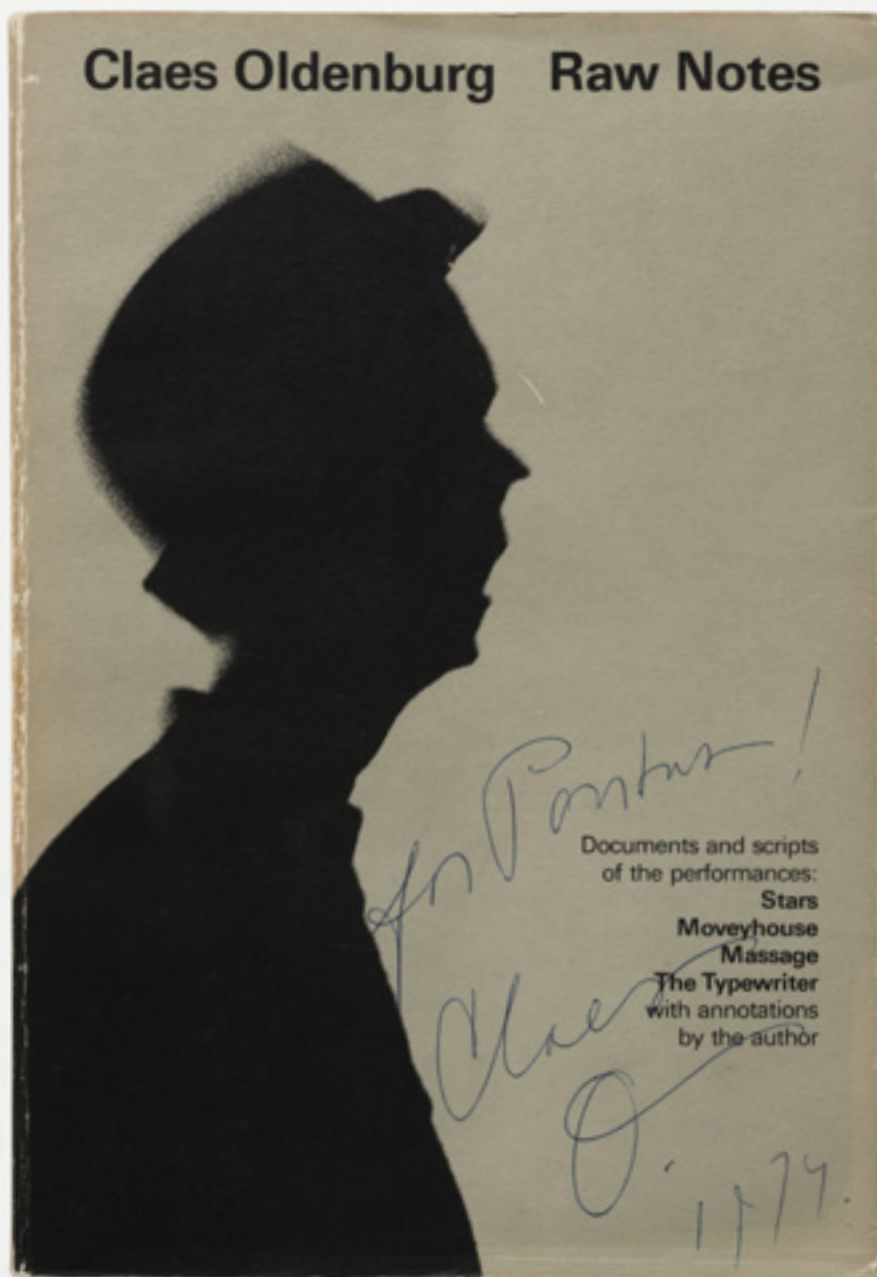
In early March 1966, Pontus Hultén was in contact with the gallerist Sidney Janis in New York to borrow drawings for an Oldenburg exhibition that was planned to open officially on Saturday, 17 September.³⁷ A few weeks later, Oldenburg replied: “I really dont (sic.) have time, dear Pontus to work on a Stockholm retrospective.”³⁸ Hultén replied immediately that they (Claes and Pat Oldenburg) were welcome in Stockholm from Monday 15 August, to work at the Museum in their own 100-square metre studio, and that they would have access to the exhibition space two weeks prior to the actual opening.³⁹ Claes Oldenburg responded a few days later, explaining that “I find that I sometimes work better if I can refuse a task as a starting point. My letter turning down the show is more a statement of feeling of the moment than a continuing state of mind. Right after writing you I felt more optimistic.”⁴⁰ Oldenburg had just opened an exhibition at Sidney Janis’ gallery (for which Hultén hurried

thrice in the above-mentioned letter), and was preparing a major retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in New York the following year.⁴¹

Pontus Hultén also had plans that included the Museum of Modern Art. In a reply to Kasper König, then a freelance art historian, Hultén writes that next winter he “will working (sic.) on a project in NY”.⁴² *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age* was in the planning phase, an exhibition Pontus Hultén was engaged in, which did not open at the Museum of Modern Art until 1968.⁴³ The reply was probably provoked by a letter in late March, in which König writes that Claes Oldenburg had spoken to him about helping out with an exhibition in Stockholm, since Billy Klüver was too busy.⁴⁴ Hultén answered that he would be very happy if König could assist with “the Oldenburg show”.⁴⁵

Kasper König thus served as a coordinator on site in the USA. He took his task seriously, printing a letterhead with a picture of Claes Oldenburg’s *Geometric Mouse* for correspondence, explaining, “The stationery because it makes the job easier; I hope it is alright with you.”⁴⁶ And Pontus Hultén replied, “The stationery is very great. Could you send me some?”⁴⁷ To begin with, Hultén wrote in person to Oldenburg and König respectively, without always coordinating the information between them. Early on in the correspondence between König and Hultén, the former mentions that “Claes is a bit touchy and as long as he does not receive an enthusiastic letter once a week from you he seems to think that you are not that interested in the whole project.”⁴⁸

Repetitions and rephrasings are found in the discussions about a possible touring exhibition. Pontus Hultén wrote to Claes Oldenburg in mid-April that he had not talked to any other museums about a touring exhibition but that: “de Wilde in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam is very interested, and there is of course Ileana Sonnabend. Also Museum ‘Louisiana’ in Copenhagen. If you want to send a part of the show to London and the other part to Paris ... it could of course be easily arranged.”⁴⁹ A few weeks later, Kasper König wrote to Hultén that Oldenburg wanted the exhibition to tour, and suggested, “Mr Beeren, from the Stedelijk in Amsterdam, expressed great interest ... maybe Bryan Robertson in London; maybe Wember in Krefeld; and Seemann (sic.) in the Swiss landscape.”⁵⁰ But there was no touring exhibition, and the loans were requested for Stockholm only.



Dedication from Claes Oldenburg to Pontus
Hultén on *Raw Notes* (1974)

Two preserved requests were received, however. Maurice Tuchman, curator at the Los Angeles County Museum, asked Claes Oldenburg if they could take over the exhibition but received the reply: “Loaned on condition. No traveling.”⁵¹ Kunstnernes hus in Oslo were told by the curator Karin Bergqvist Lindegren that “this is not an exhibition you use to fill a hole”.⁵² Instead, twelve crates were shipped to the Fraser Gallery in London when the exhibition closed, and the work *The Bedroom Ensemble* (1963) was sent to Santos and the 9th biennale in São Paulo. Claes Oldenburg donated a few works to other institutions in Sweden, and sold some to private collectors.⁵³ Bergqvist Lindegren, for instance, bought the drawing *Typewriter* for SEK 500, which “to Eriks (Lindegren) delight” was hung in the apartment on Riddargatan – “Hurrah”.⁵⁴ The other works were returned to New York.

Claes Oldenburg stipulated a few conditions and had some questions regarding the work on the exhibition.⁵⁵ One of these was that he would not have any new works to bring from America, but that he might be able to plan a happening in advance. Pontus Hultén had requested this already in 1964 but had been turned down by Oldenburg, who wrote, “We are sorry we have to say no to a happening in Stockholm which is at least a two week affair of preparation.”⁵⁶ Claes and Pat Oldenburg were in Paris at the time.

The exhibition *Claes Oldenburg. Sculptures and Drawings* opened on 17 September and closed on 30 October, 1966. It featured 48 of Oldenburg’s sculptures, paintings and drawings from the period 1963 to 1966.⁵⁷ Several of the works were made on site in Stockholm. *The Bedroom Ensemble* was one of the works that were borrowed for the show. In a letter from March, Claes Oldenburg withdraws his offer, his “grand gesture”, to give the ensemble to Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet, explaining that he can’t give the work away, which, he believes, belongs in New York, but promising that it would be available for the exhibition in Stockholm.⁵⁸ The work was later priced at USD 20,000, and Moderna Museet was offered a 20 per cent discount and an instalment plan that expired in January 1968, if they wanted to buy it.⁵⁹ In 1974, the work was instead acquired by the National Gallery of Canada.⁶⁰ The installation photographs in the archive show only a small part, where one or a couple of works are seen hanging on a wall or placed on plinths. *The Bedroom* was installed in a temporary room in the middle of the exhibition, and the drawings seem to have hung in a row on free-standing walls in a space with softer light.

In conjunction with the exhibition, the happening *Massage* was performed on four nights at 9.30 p.m. from 3–6 October, 1966.⁶¹ The title is a play on the word's sexual connotations, and on Marshall McLuhan's famous phrase "The medium is the message", and focusing on the term *mass-age*, which is found in, for instance, Claes Oldenburg's *Raw Notes* (1974).⁶² Claes Oldenburg's original idea was associated with his stay on the US West Coast in spring 1966, which inspired him to start thinking about "a Discotheque happening piece... entitled Communication".⁶³ On site in Stockholm, he instead developed *Massage*, a composition for Moderna Museet, into a 45-minute work that involved not just the participants but also the spectators.⁶⁴ 200 blankets were borrowed from the I1 regiment in Solna, so the audience could lie down, and hot dogs were served.⁶⁵ In brief, the press reactions to the happening ranged from "peaceful" to "bed art".⁶⁶

Claes Oldenburg was very interested in collaborating with the designer John Melin on the content and style of the catalogue.⁶⁷ The correspondence about the catalogue makes up a large part of the archive material, and Moderna Museet's press officer, Katja Waldén, took charge of the catalogue production. The names that were considered to write and finally did write the catalogue texts says something about the importance of positioning, and of coordinating different people's time and fields of expertise. The following are mentioned in the correspondence: Richard (Dick) Bellamy, Donald Judd, Öyvind Fahlström, Robert Whitman, Kasper König, Ulf Linde, Pontus Hultén, and Claes Oldenburg himself, who had intended to write about his father's childhood memories of Vaxholm.⁶⁸ The catalogue that was produced consists of 31 spreads (un-numbered), but it could just as easily have been three times as many, with all the material that was proposed and rejected in the process.

Dick Bellamy of the Green Gallery had been invited to write the introduction, but he declined.⁶⁹ Instead, Claes Oldenburg suggested that Donald Judd could write an informative introduction and Öyvind Fahlström a poetic contemplation.⁷⁰ Fahlström's text on Oldenburg's art, with references to the New York scene, was printed. He writes, for instance, that Oldenburg: "succeeds in directing his army of helpers to sew for him, poor female artists and dancers, rich housewives, professional seamstresses, and first and last, his wife Pat. Without her stitching and her contributions in his performances, Oldenburg as we know him would not exist."⁷¹ Pat Oldenburg was also mentioned in reviews of the exhibition.

Donald Judd's text was not included, however. His typewritten six-page manuscript is in the archive.⁷² It starts with a short discussion on the anthropomorphism in art and the object's relationship to its reference, and ends with a comparison between Oldenburg's light switch and a woman's nipples. Karin Bergqvist Lindegren waited until 3 October to tell Judd in a letter that his text had arrived too late, that it was hard to translate, and too long, and that Claes Oldenburg had "considered it a little too abstract" for the occasion.⁷³ Ulf Linde's text, which was printed, had the same perspective as Donald Judd's, but without the erotic tone. Linde stuck to semantics from beginning to end, and the inclusive and exclusive function of the object, which was also a fairly abstract discussion. The catalogue was sent to professor Arnold Bode, head of *Documenta IV*, and the curator Lawrence Alloway at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, among others.⁷⁴

Carlo Derkert and Karin Bergqvist Lindegren held guided tours as advertised in the daily press, and Ulf Linde guided the Friends of Moderna Museet.⁷⁵ A multiple was produced for the exhibition, a crisp bread made of iron, in an edition of 250 signed copies, along with 20 artists' proofs.⁷⁶ The bread was available *rostad eller orostad*, toasted or untoasted (a pun on the Swedish word for toasted, *rostad*, which also means *rusty*) and the Museum of Modern Art in New York bought one.⁷⁷ The exhibition budget was SEK 88,890, and advertising accounted for some 4 per cent, shipping 25 per cent, while the catalogue took half the budget.⁷⁸ In *Meddelande från Nationalmuseum* no 91 for 1966, Carl Nordenfalk wrote nothing specifically about Moderna Museet's activities. His focus was on the Nationalmuseum's 100th anniversary and the exhibition about Queen Christina. Pontus Hultén mentioned the Oldenburg exhibition in his short presentation but opted to put the main emphasis on *She – A Cathedral*, which had preceded the Claes Oldenburg exhibition, attracting some 80,000 visitors, as compared to the 30,000 who had been to Oldenburg.⁷⁹

Critics in general focused on consumerism and reality as concepts in their reviews, rather than the exhibition itself, and an approach to art that they either embraced or opposed.⁸⁰ During his stay in Stockholm, Oldenburg also planned a few monuments that he envisioned being placed in public spaces. Among others, he drafted a wingnut for Karlaplan, a door handle for Skeppsholmen, a saw for the House of Parliament, and, many years later, a basketball basket with ball when Stockholm was Cultural Capital of Europe in 1998.⁸¹ None

of these monuments were realised, since so many municipal bodies had to be involved and grant permission. The children's magazine *Kamratposten* (KP) announced a statue competition the year after Oldenburg's exhibition. The magazine launched its competition with a picture of Oldenburg's wingnut and the text: "Do you recognise the wingnut in the picture? It was printed in the first issue of KP this season and is a proposal for a statue. The artist Claes Oldenburg designed it. He has made others too."⁸² In a previous article, "Ice cream cones, ironing boards, typewriters, car engines (and lots, lots more)", readers could accompany the nine-year-old pupils Yvonne Kahlin from Gårdesskolan and Peter Oscarsson from Hedvig Eleonora school in Stockholm on a tour of Moderna Museet together with Claes Oldenburg, documented by the photographer Hans Hammarsköld.⁸³

The collaboration with Claes Oldenburg continued, and Pontus Hultén occasionally played the part of a boxer or of Theodore, patron saint of Venice, in Claes Oldenburg's drama *Il Corso del Coltello*, which had two documented performances in Venice, in 1977 and 1985.⁸⁴ In an interview with Oldenburg on the occasion of his exhibition *Claes Oldenburg. An Anthology* (1995), which was shown in Bonn in 1996, among other venues, Oldenburg mentions that "There is a humour that is considered to be Swedish. I don't know, but sometimes when I meet Pontus we tell each other jokes. And no one else laughs."⁸⁵ Together, Hultén and Oldenburg made the picture book *A Day at the Museum* (2000), published by (Barbro) Schultz Förlag. In a letter to Claes Oldenburg, Pontus Hultén wrote "people rarely grow younger, and I certainly don't", and asked Oldenburg to select a few drawings, which "would make me happy".⁸⁶ Oldenburg replied that he had looked carefully at the drawings in "the 1966 Stockholm notebook" and that they, on the whole, looked like the product of "too much Aquavit".⁸⁷ Oldenburg stated clearly that the drawings had nothing to do with Hultén's story, but he promised to try and wrote: "Still wish I was Dr. Seuss for this occasion."⁸⁸ He enclosed a photocopy of a picture by Dr. Seuss of a cow with a head and hindquarters that are infinitely repeated. The book *A Day at the Museum* was shown at the Swedish Institute in Paris in 2001 and reviewed in Sweden by Peter Cornell.⁸⁹ In a letter to Barbro Schultz, a somewhat disheartened Pontus Hultén wrote: "That a relatively friendly and qualified *children's book* will not be more widespread in this jungle of horrid 'children's books' is nevertheless surprising and deeply depressing. I have written loads of letters, and received very few replies, most of them negative."⁹⁰



Above: Claes Oldenburg showing his exhibition to schoolchildren, 1966. Below: Ulf Linde showing *Claes Oldenburg*, Moderna Museet, 1966

If “Americans” were trendy in Sweden in the 1960s, Pontus Hultén, a Swede in the USA, was not entirely in the right place as the director of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles from 1981 to 1983. He and Sam Francis shared the idea of creating a museum with and for artists. The entirely different economic reality that prevailed in the American museum world, however, cut short his US career and he returned to Europe. Many years later, in a letter to Claes Oldenburg, Hultén wrote, “It is really nasty. Even if one does not especially appreciate Koshalek, what he has done is not his invention but the logical consequence (sic.) of the system of U.S. museum financing. What a mess.”⁹¹

Hultén’s first years as a director

The two solo shows described here are both similar and different, partly in the preserved documentation, and partly in the approaches used to create the exhibitions. The Moderna Museet archive file on the Sam Francis exhibition contains fewer documents than the one for Claes Oldenburg. The same is true for the respective artists in Pontus Hultén’s private archive material. Altogether, the source material nevertheless provides an ample basis for describing Pontus Hultén’s activities as the director in the early 1960s, and shows what he brought with him to his established and more documented career.

The exhibition with Sam Francis was largely a finished exhibition concept that was transferred from one art institution to another. Franz Meyer was a few years older than Pontus Hultén and had taken over as director of the Kunsthalle Bern after the art historian Arnold Rüdinger. Rüdinger was one of the first to introduce American artists in Europe. Like Hultén, Meyer was a close friend of Francis and later also worked with Jean Tinguely, as did Hultén. Museum and gallery directors showed the same artists now and then, borrowing exhibitions from each other. At the time, Hultén was more of a curator under the director of the Nationalmuseum, than an independent museum director of Moderna Museet. What made the Sam Francis show a Swedish production was the catalogue, which Hultén produced himself.

The exhibition of Claes Oldenburg reveals a more personal collaboration between Pontus Hultén and the artist, but also with Kasper König, who was a few years younger, as his assistant. The distribution of roles and responsibilities was not as definite for this

exhibition. Hultén operated as neither museum director or prime mover in the actual exhibition process, but kept in the background. The artist was the real exhibition producer, with the aid of a small number of assistants for the day-to-day administration. With only six years between the exhibitions, it still stands out clearly that Pontus Hultén went from being the younger colleague who benefited from the practices and contacts of his elders, to taking the lead for his younger colleagues.

Pontus Hultén was a museum director but had very few colleagues in-house to collaborate with. For the Sam Francis exhibition, he had the curator Carlo Derkert, the secretaries Kerstin Stenberg and Margareta af Geijerstam, and his amanuensis Karin Bergqvist Lindegren. For the exhibition of Claes Oldenburg, there was “Mrs Karin Bergqvist Lindegren curator and Mädchen für Alles, (who) sort of tries to keep the things together and (is) to be blamed if something goes wrong”, as she herself put it in a letter to Kasper König.⁹² The administrators were mainly the secretary Märta Sahlberg, the press and catalogue officer Katja Waldén, and Ulla Setterholm, who handled insurance, shipping and invoices.⁹³

The actual lead times for the exhibitions of Sam Francis and Claes Oldenburg were short, at four to six months, even though Pontus Hultén had embarked on the conceptual phase one or two years prior to the openings. Both were held from mid-September and throughout the month of October. The various draft budgets found among the exhibition documents only include planned expenses and income. There are no preserved records of the actual results, so no conclusions can be drawn as to the actual finances of the exhibitions, but the budget had grown six-fold in six years. Visitor numbers also increased by nearly 10,000 in six years, for two comparable exhibitions with regard to format and contemporary relevance. It can reasonably be assumed to have been both a challenge and a real necessity for Pontus Hultén to prove that Moderna Museet attracted new visitors.

From 1964, Pontus Hultén became increasingly occupied with tasks that were also performed by the senior curators at the Nationalmuseum. In between planning, hanging and packing and unpacking exhibitions, he travelled around Europe to negotiate purchases of art with the government's one-off allocation of SEK five million that had been acquired in connection with *The Museum of our Wishes* (1963–64).⁹⁴ He also filled in as director, along with others, for Carl Nordenfalk

during the latter's study tours abroad, and was the head curator of Sweden's presence at the biennials in Venice and São Paulo. In addition, he attended meetings on the establishing of a special committee for modern art museums in the International Committee of Museums (ICOM). In Sweden, he took part in the activities of NUNSKU (the National Committee for the Exhibition of Contemporary Swedish Art Abroad). When Hultén was free for work travel, Carlo Derkert initially substituted for him, and Karin Bergqvist Lindegren in turn filled in for Derkert. Later, Derkert and Bergqvist Lindegren shared the tasks of the museum director when Hultén was on leave. Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, who began as a part-time office assistant at the Nationalmuseum image archive on 15 September, 1949, was eventually the director of Moderna Museet between 1977 and 1979.⁹⁵

During the period when Sam Francis was shown at Moderna Museet, parts of the collections were to be installed at the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art in Copenhagen, and alongside Sam Francis, the 99-year-old Anna Casparsson was showing her embroideries, with Carlo Derkert as the curator in charge. Meanwhile, Hultén was engaged in preparations for the exhibition *Movement in Art* (1961). When the Claes Oldenburg exhibition was on, *Young Photographers 1966* was being presented, in association with the Friends of Fotografiska Museet, and Picasso's sculpture group *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* was ready to be unveiled. The Museum visited both Skövde and Oslo that autumn, but most importantly, perhaps, was what preceded Claes Oldenburg's exhibition, an event that Pontus Hultén was more involved in, namely the exhibition *She – A Cathedral*.

Pontus Hultén participated equally in the museum's administration activities and in the planning and actual implementation of exhibitions. Robert Rauschenberg's description of Hultén as an atypical museum director, who climbed ladders to change light bulbs, is interesting in view of how few people were working at Moderna Museet.⁹⁶ The DIY method was probably due both to his nature and to necessity. Much of the activities that took place in the form of catalogue work, programming and communication, and which addressed various visitor groups and interested parties, had already been established at the Nationalmuseum. The task of educating the public was also inherent in the production and sales of art, such as prints and multiples of various kinds (even if sales fluctuated), in addition to the catalogues, for which more resources were gradually allocated, to improve both contents and design.

The friendship between Sam Francis and Pontus Hultén is not so evident in the correspondence in the exhibition documents, but is revealed mainly in the material compiled by Hultén himself in his archive, library and art collection. His relationship to Claes Oldenburg on the other hand is visible both in the exhibition documents and in Hultén's own archive and collection. The significance of Hultén's friendships with Francis and Oldenburg respectively for each of them is not possible to determine on the basis of this study. The overall impression given by the source material, however, is that they appreciated each other's company, visited in each other at home, and even took part on a more private level in each other's family lives. Pontus Hultén maintained contacts with Sam Francis and Claes Oldenburg all his life. This kind of personal friendship characterised Hultén's more professional assignments throughout his museum career. The contents of Hultén's archives, along with the number of books and works of art relating to Francis and Oldenburg in his collections, further corroborate this. With them, he was not just a museum director, but a friend and peer. Over the years, they gave each other opportunities for more exposure on the international art scene, by virtue of their respective positions as artists and museum director.

1. See *Art in Transfer in the Era of Pop. Curatorial Practices and Transnational Strategies*, ed. Annika Öhrner, Södertörn Studies in Art History and Aesthetic, Huddinge: Södertörn University, 2017.
2. The correspondence surrounding the Sam Francis exhibition includes a letter where the U.S. Information Service asks for poster, images and press cuttings for its "Art News Bulletin". Letter from Stefan P. Munsing, Cultural Affairs Officer, American Embassy, London, to K.G. Hultén, 21 October, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
3. Notes on matters presented to the Director in August, 1959, § 1, "The Director granted curator Hultén leave of absence with a B deduction for the period 31 August–21 October, to travel to Germany, Brazil, and the USA to study certain museums and art collections in said countries, and to organise the Swedish section at the fifth art biennial in São Paulo on behalf of the Swedish Institute". NMA MA A 2:77. See also Marianne Hultman, "Our Man in New York. An Interview with Billy Klüver on His Collaboration with Moderna Museet", *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, eds. Anna Tellgren and Martin Sundberg, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Göttingen: Steidl, 2008, p. 238.
4. Letter from K.G. Hultén to E. Kornfeld, 19 June, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
5. Letter from K.G. Hultén to Franz Meyer, 20 May, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
6. Letter from K.G. Hultén to Jacques Dubourg, 20 May, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
7. Letter from K.G. Hultén to Jacques Dubourg, 29 May, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
8. Letter from K.G. Hultén to E. Kornfeld, 19 June, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
9. Letter from K.G. Hultén to E. Kornfeld, 29 June, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
10. Notes on matters presented to the Director on the dates below in July 1960, § 12, "The Director decided that curator Hultén should receive SEK 1,000 from the King's Fund in travel subsidies while on vacation, to visit the Venice Biennial and to follow negotiations relating to exhibitions with Sam Francis and Paul Klee". NMA MA A 2:77.
11. On 3 July, Kornfeld invited Hultén to Bern to make a selection together. Letter from Eberhard W. Kornfeld to K.G. Hultén, 3 July, 1960. On 7 July, Hultén write to Kornfeld that he hopes to arrive before 17 July. Letter from K.G. Hultén to W. Kornfeld, 7 July, 1960. Francis replies that he will be in Bern for the dismantling between 14 and 17 July. Handwritten letter from Sam Francis to Pontus Hultén, 14 July, 1960. On 27 July, Hultén thanks Kornfeld for his visit to Bern. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Eberhard (Ebi) Kornfeld, 27 July, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
12. The material includes references to loans from Theodor Ahrenberg, among others, undated source, and from Hermann Igell, art dealer, 17 August, 1960. MMA PHA F1a:9.
13. Letter from Sinclair Beiles to Pontus Hultén, 28 July, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
14. Letter from Yoshiaka Tono to Moderna Museet, 13 August, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
15. Remaining bills for Sam Francis. MMA MA F1a:9.

16. Letter from Karin Bergqvist Lindegren to Erhard Göpel, 16 November, 1960. The print was sold for SEK 260.50. In a bill to Moderna Museet for payment to Sam Francis the cost is specified to be SEK 250. See also a bill from the printer Emil Matthieu, Graphische Kunstwerkstätte, Zurich. MMA MA F1a:9.
17. NM MM, Ledger on guided tours, 1959–1960, the Nationalmuseum and Moderna Museet 1960, 22 September–8 March, 1961, ledger on guided tours. NMA MA D7 EB:2.
18. *Statens Konstsamlingars tillväxt och förvaltning 1960*, Meddelande från Nationalmuseum no. 85, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1961, p. 60. Ellen Johnson was a professor of modern art at Oberlin College, Ohio, and had studied at Uppsala University.
19. Letter from Pontus Hultén to J.P. Cochrane, 11 November, 1960. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Jacques Dubourg, 31 October, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9. The visitor numbers for Moderna Museet were 7,689 (September) and 15,009 (October), according to data in *Statens Konstsamlingars tillväxt och förvaltning 1960*, Meddelande från Nationalmuseum no. 85, Stockholm: the Nationalmuseum, 1961, p. 70.
20. Budget for the Sam Francis exhibition, September to October, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9.
21. Törnbloms, Invoice no. 2857, 18 November, 1960, *Dagens Nyheter* (four times), *Svenska Dagbladet* (three times) and *Stockholms-Tidningen* (four times). MMA MA F1a:9.
22. Letter from Carlo Derkert to the Police Authority, 2 September, 1960. MMA MA F1a:9. The archives contain no information on whether the PR campaign was implemented or not.
23. Letter from Franz Meyer to Pontus Hultén, 1 November, 1960. In his letter, Meyer writes how happy he is to work on a future exhibition with Jean Tinguely. MMA MA F1a:9.
24. Bill to Moderna Museet. MMA MA F1a:9. *Statens Konstsamlingars tillväxt och förvaltning 1961*, Meddelande från Nationalmuseum no. 86, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1962, p. 27. Work: Sam Francis, *Over Yellow II*, 1958–60, oil on canvas, Moderna Museet, NM 5580.
25. *Extraits des interviews* 1953–1974, circa 30 min. MMA PHA 5.5 VHS 25.
26. The Sam Francis exhibition was the twelfth exhibition since the opening in 1958. The year before featured the Roberto Matta exhibition *Sebastián Matta. 15 Forms of Doubt*, which included monumental paintings.
27. *Sam Francis*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 12, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1960, n.p.
28. For example, see Lars Widding, “Kolossal tavlor här för 1 666:66 kr kvadratmetern”, *Expressen*, 6 September, 1960.
29. Ulf Linde, “Sweet beat”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 September, 1960.
30. Carl Nordenfalk, “Moderna Museets utställningar”, *Statens Konstsamlingars tillväxt och förvaltning 1960*, Meddelande från Nationalmuseum no. 85, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1961, p. 10.
31. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Götz, 24 February, 1994. MMA PHA 2.15.
32. Pontus Hultén, *Sam Francis*, Berlin: Edition Cantz, 1993, p. 15.

33. See also an undated letter from Pontus Hultén to Sam Francis. MMA PHA 5.1.14.
34. See Marianne Hultman, *The History Book*, 2008, pp. 233–251.
35. Annika Öhrner, *Barbro Östlihn & New York. Konstens rum och möjligheter* (diss.), Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam Förlag, 2010, pp. 133, 179, 229.
36. Work: Claes Oldenburg, *Ping-Pong Table*, 1964, latex on plywood, plaster, metal, plastic fabric, Moderna Museet, NMSK 1850.
37. Unsigned letter, probably from Pontus Hultén, to Sidney Janis, 3 March, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
38. Letter from Claes Oldenburg to Pontus Hultén, 22 March, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
39. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Claes Oldenburg, 22 March, 1966. In a telegram sent from Leros, Hultén writes: “HON can be taken out in three days”. Telegram from Pontus Hultén to Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, 16 August, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
40. Letter from Claes Oldenburg to Pontus Hultén, 28 March, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
41. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Claes Oldenburg, 22 March, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
42. Unsigned letter, probably from Pontus Hultén, to Kasper König, 18 April, 1966. According to another letter: “I am coming to New York around the 28th of September. The Museum of Modern Art people want to talk about a show that they eventually want to do next year”. Unsigned letter, probably from Pontus Hultén, to Kasper König, 21 September, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
43. NM Museiprotokoll, Statens Konstmuseer med föregångare, Nationalmusei Centrala Kansli (NMCK), in: notes on administrative matters presented to the Director on 20 september, 1966, 2§, “the museum director Hultén was granted paid leave of absence to study kinetic art at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, from 23 September to 21 October, 1966”. NMA MA A 2:79. See also Marianne Hultman, *The History Book*, 2008, p. 253, footnote 40, and Utställningar, *The Machine*. MMA PHA 4.2.52–58. Further information is available under Press Archives: <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2776> (3 September, 2016).
44. Letter from Kasper König to Pontus Hultén, 29 March, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33. König mentions that he has seen a young sculptor called Walter de Maria, and asks Hultén to send him the catalogue from Hultén’s latest exhibition, which should have been *The Inner and the Outer Space* (1965).
45. Unsigned letter, probably from Pontus Hultén, to Kasper König, 18 April, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
46. Letter from Kasper König to Pontus Hultén, 5 May, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
47. Unsigned letter, probably from Pontus Hultén, to Kasper König, 11 May, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
48. Letter from Kasper König to Pontus Hultén, 29 May, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.
49. Unsigned letter, probably from Pontus Hultén, to Kasper König, 18

April, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

50. Letter from Kasper König to Hultén, 5 May, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33. The Stedelijk Museum would not show an exhibition with Claes Oldenburg until 1970.

51. Undated telegram from Maurice Tuchman, and Claes Oldenburg's reply to Maurice Tuchman, 12 September, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

52. Letter from Karin Bergqvist Lindegren to Fredrik Matheson, 19 July, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

53. Unsigned letter, probably from Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, to Claes Oldenburg, 1 November, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33. The works that had been sold or donated to other institutions are mentioned in the letter.

54. Letter from Sidney Janis to Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, 17 October, 1966. Unsigned letter, probably from Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, to Claes Oldenburg, 1 November, 1966. Letter from Ulla Setterholm to "Gentlemen", probably the Sidney Janis Gallery, 15 November, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33. Moderna Museet, for instance, made the final payment on *Canal Street Monument*, the work that Kasper König bought from Claes Oldenburg.

55. Letter from Claes Oldenburg to Pontus Hultén, 28 March, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

56. Letter from Claes Oldenburg to Pontus Hultén, 6 August, 1964. MMA PHA, 5.1.28.

57. Printed card with information on Oldenburg's exhibition. MMA MA F1a:33.

58. Letter from Claes Oldenburg to Pontus Hultén, 28 March, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

59. Letter from Sidney Janis to Hultén, 2 August, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

60. See: <http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/artwork.php?mkey=996> (5 October, 2016).

61. *Massage*, programme. MMA MA F1a:33. The rehearsal took place on 3 October, 1966. See also: Magnus af Petersens and Martin Sundberg, "Art on Stage. Happenings and Moving Images at Moderna Museet", *The History Book*, 2008, pp. 102–103.

62. Claes Oldenburg, *Raw Notes. Documents and Scripts of the performances Stars, Moneyhouse, Massage, The Typewriter, with annotations by the author*, ed. Kasper König, Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1973, pp. 89–152.

63. Letter from Claes Oldenburg, probably to Billy Klüver, 11 May, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

64. *Massage*, programme. MMA MA F1a:33. Participants included István Almay (bear), Gabrielle Björnstrand (mushroom), Olle Granath (masseur), Six Maix (bear), Pat Oldenburg (sleeper), Claes Oldenburg (postman), Mette Prawitz (nurse), and Rico Weber (bear).

65. Letter from Secretary to the Logistics Warehouse, 29 September, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

66. See for example: Fru Johansson, "Fru Johansson: Stillsam Happening", *Dagens Nyheter*, 4 October, 1966; Unsigned, "Säng-konst", *Expressen*, 4 Octo-

ber, 1966; Gudrun Manell, "En happening", *Nya Norrland*, 28 October, 1966. The article by Gudrun Manell from Sollefteå mentions the artist Siri Derkert, who "wore her gauze bandage like a knot in her hair", and the art critic Leif Nylén, who "looked grim. Perhaps he was seeing the performance from a technical perspective."

67. Letter from Claes Oldenburg to Pontus Hultén, 28 March, 1966. Letter from Claes Oldenburg to Johnny (John) Melin, 5 June, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

68. Unsigned letter, probably from Pontus Hultén, to Claes Oldenburg, 18 April, 1966. Letter from Kasper König to Pontus Hultén, 5 May, 1966. Unsigned letter, probably from Pontus Hultén, to Kasper König, 11 May, 1966. Unsigned letter, probably from Pontus Hultén, to Richard (Dick) Bellamy, 12 May, 1966. Letter from Kasper König to Pontus Hultén, 19 May, 1966. Letter from Claes Oldenburg to John Melin, 30 June, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

69. Letter from Claes Oldenburg to Pontus Hultén, 28 March, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

70. Ibid.

71. *Claes Oldenburg. Skulpturer och teckningar*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 56 (the catalogue says 55, which is a misprint), Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1966, n. p.

72. Donald Judd, Corinth, Vermont 05039, 21 July, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

73. Letter from Karin Bergqvist Lindegren to Donald Judd, 3 October, 1966. See also: "Catalogue going to printer stop do you have essay stop hope so." Telegram from Claes Oldenburg to Donald Judd, 1 August, 1966, and telegram from Donald Judd to Claes Oldenburg Director Care Pontus Hultén, undated, "Sending essay Saturday morning special delivery". MMA MA F1a:33. The text is included in Donald Judd, *Complete Writings 1959–1975. Gallery Reviews, Book Reviews, Articles, Letters to the Editor, Reports, Statements, Complaints*, Nova Scotia, New York: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 2005.

74. Letter from I. Klaus to Dear Sirs, 5 October, 1966. Letter from Lawrence Alloway to Pontus Hultén, 30 August, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

75. Moderna Museet Press Cuttings, 1961–1969. MMA MA Ö1:1. Press Cuttings, 1966, Oldenburg. MMA MA Ö1:13. Unsigned, "Linde visar Oldenburg", *Dagens Nyheter*, 28 August, 1966.

76. Crisp bread made of iron, undated manuscript. MMA MA F1a:33.

77. Letter from Jennifer Licht to Märta Sahlberg, 7 October, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33. A crisp bread cost USD 10.

78. Budget for the Claes Oldenburg exhibition. MMA MA F1a:33.

79. *Statens Konstsamlingars tillväxt och förvaltning 1966*, Meddelande från Nationalmuseum no. 91, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1967, p. 76. Visitor numbers for Moderna Museet, 1966, September: 13,000; October: 21,871.

80. See, for example: Beate Sydhoff, "Konsumerad Pop-Konst", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 22 September, 1966; Tord Bäckström, "Oldenburgs fetisch", *Göteborgs Handels Tidning*, 21 September, 1966; Ulf Linde, "En pajs tillstånd", *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 September, 1966.

81. On the background to Oldenburg's suggestions for sculptures for Stock-

holm, European Capital of Culture, 1998, see: Claes Oldenburg, *Vitbok om Konstakademien och Claes Oldenburgs skulpturprojekt*, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, 18 January, 1999. Oldenburg writes: "Here is a photo of 'Caught and Set Free', just in case there is a lake big enough near your Museum, and Vandals daring enough to build it." Letter from Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen to Pontus Hultén, 24 July, 1999. MMA PHA 5.1.28.

82. Unsigned, "Rita en staty", *Kamratposten*, no. 9, 1967. MMA MA F1a:33.

83. Unsigned, "Glasstrutar, strykbräden, skrivmaskiner, bilmotorer (och mycket, mycket annat)", *Kamratposten*, January, 1967. Press Cuttings, 1966, Oldenburg. MMA MA Ö1:13.

84. *Pontus Hulténs samling...*, ed. Iris Müller-Westermann, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 321, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Göttingen: Steidl, 2004, pp. 154, 424. See Torgny Wärn, "Boxare, museidirektör och konstnärlig anarkist ... med rätt att köpa konst för 5 milj", *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning*, 14 November, 1964.

85. Malin Philipson, "Lek med motsatser. Humorn är en viktig kraft hos Oldenburg", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 25 February, 1995.

86. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen, 23 March, 1998. MMA PHA 5.1.28.

87. Letter from Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen to Pontus Hultén, 3 April, 1998. MMA PHA 5.1.28.

88. Ibid. Dr Seuss is the pseudonym used by the children's books author and illustrator Theodor Seuss Geisel.

89. Peter Cornell, "Med barnets ögon", *Expressen*, 1 April, 2001.

90. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Barbro Schultz, 27 September, 2001. MMA PHA 2.13.

91. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen, 1 June, 1999. MMA PHA 5.1.28. Richard Koshalek was the director of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles.

92. Letter from Karin Bergqvist Lindegren to Kasper König, 14 June, 1966. MMA MA F1a:33.

93. Since both exhibitions are being planned during the summer months, several names are mentioned in the correspondence, both permanent staff and summer extras, when they have had to cover for someone in the day-to-day activities.

94. NM Museiprotokoll, Statens Konstmuseer med föregångare, Nationalmusei Centrala Kansli (NMCK). NMA MA A 2:76–83. On *The Museum of our Wishes* (1963–64), see Maria Görts, "Routine and Selection. The Genesis of the Moderna Museet Collection", *The History Book*, 2008, pp. 14–15.

95. NM Museiprotokoll, Statens Konstmuseer med föregångare, Nationalmusei Centrala Kansli (NMCK). Notes presented for the Director on 12 September, 1949. NMA MA A2:76.

96. Billy Klüver and Robert Rauschenberg, "Art in Motion. A Combined Memory", *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 76, issues 1–2, 2007, p. 116. Barbro Schultz Lundestam, *Amerikanarna och Pontus Hultén. Moderna Museets 60-tal*, Swedish Television, 1998.

The 1960s have been described as the happy decade, when the Museum, according to Pontus Hultén, was “totally unbureaucratic and imagination-driven”.¹ The pedagogy during this period has been scrutinised in various contexts before.² This study takes three exhibitions as its point of departure: *Egyptian Youths Weave* (1960), *Movement in Art* (1961), and *Vincent van Gogh* (1965). Together, they represent the span of the Museum's exhibition activities: one presentation of young people's weaving and the pedagogy behind it, one extensive, experimental exhibition featuring mainly contemporary art, and one monographic exposition of one of the great classics in modern art history. The term *mediation* is used here in its wider meaning, to include the design of the exhibition space, various pedagogical tools (such as wall texts and catalogue essays), guided tours and events (lectures, talks, film screenings).³

We do not know for a fact whether Pontus Hultén took an interest in pedagogy. The books that were donated to the Museum together with his art collection and archive do not include works by the prominent writers on pedagogy at the time.⁴ Hultén was eager, however, to attract a wide audience to the Museum, and even though he rarely held guided tours, an article in *Dagens Nyheter* in 1963 claims that his introductory talks at the Museum's film screenings were appreciated.⁵

The exhibition programme in Moderna Museet's early years included both monographic presentations and experimental idea-based exhibitions. Established artists such as Siri Derkert (1960), Paul Klee (1960) and Vincent van Gogh (1965) alternated with ideas and artists that were new to the public, such as *Movement in Art* (1961), *4 Americans* (1962), and *The Inner and the Outer Space* (1965). Pontus Hultén had no fears that visitors would be discouraged if the Museum focused on new tendencies. The audience will come if the quality is high, he claimed, and quality included generous opening hours, good lighting, a restaurant and a children's workshop.⁶

The visitor programme featured not only art exhibitions, but also readings, guided tours, film series, lectures and discussions. This broad programme was made possible by collaborations with other

organisations, such as Fylkingen and the Swedish Film Institute.⁷ The Museum could also operate outreach activities to attract visitors, for instance, at the Nalen nightclub: “From the stage, to the hard accompaniment of a saxophone and dancing feet, the curator Carlo Derkert showed a painting and invited us to a jazz concert at Moderna Museet on Monday.”⁸ For children, a film club was started in 1959. Initially, it was run by Louise O’Konor, and later by Anna-Lena Wibom.⁹ In 1966, Pontus Hultén described it in the following words:

For seven winters, we have shown films for children every Saturday afternoon, 300-400 children and adults have watched Chaplin farces, abstract films, animal movies, Buster Keaton, Harold Lloyd etc. and Carlo Derkert has ended the shows with a 15-minute talk about a few art works in the Museum’s collection or part of an exhibition.¹⁰

In effect, Moderna Museet grew into a place for all sorts of artistic activities under Hultén’s directorship. One of the ideas behind this interdisciplinary and broad range was to open the Museum to citizens regardless of social class, which was in line with the Swedish welfare state’s agenda.¹¹ The new TV medium was utilised effectively to launch the Museum as an exciting and experimental house for all kinds of activity.¹² From the mid-1950s, the Museum’s development was covered by TV, which often reported on the exhibitions, with various perspectives on the Museum and the art.

Carlo Derkert became a curator at the Museum in 1958, and was joined in 1961 by Karin Bergqvist Lindegren.¹³ His responsibilities included guided exhibition tours. The fact that Derkert, who had been a teacher at the Nationalmuseum since 1945, was offered a post at Moderna Museet indicates that Pontus Hultén could see the importance of having a good pedagogue by his side.¹⁴ Derkert had studied art history at Stockholm University and written his Licentiate thesis on Vincent van Gogh. Although he had no special training in pedagogy, he was deeply interested in both educational issues and children and children’s images.¹⁵ In the 1940s, he had met Jan Thomæus, who had launched a furious debate at the time about art education in schools.¹⁶ Derkert had also come across the ideas of Herbert Read.¹⁷ As he himself recalled: “If I were to mention a few names, Herbert Read is one of those who has given me ideas or helped me formulate what I believe is important in museum pedagogy.”¹⁸ Read claimed that all people have an inborn ability to express

themselves in images and that creative activities are a basic requirement for one's personality to blossom.¹⁹

Carlo Derkert wanted to make the Museum into a place for meetings and dialogues. To lighten up the visitors' presumed respect for the museum, he would, for instance, pretend to trip in the Nationalmuseum's grand staircase.²⁰ Tricks such as this put him on a level with his audience – everyone was just as insignificant in relation to the imposing architecture. Moderna Museet, however, had no monumental staircases or foyers. Visitors walked right into the art. Since modern art had not yet accrued as much historic baggage, it was easier to talk about than art from more distant periods, Derkert said.²¹ He saw pedagogues and visitors as being more like equals when faced with modern works. Showing art, he believed, was about discovering the works together with the audience. Kristoffer Arvidsson writes in his essay about Derkert that he performed his interpretations so that the listeners felt that they had discovered the images themselves, and in this way he made people feel competent.²² He himself once said, "Don't think that I underestimate knowledge – I just don't believe in knowledge for its own sake. To live, that is my definition, is a voyage of discovery. To visit a museum involves discovering oneself in the pictures – through them, we can formulate all kinds of experience."²³

Mette Prawitz was employed at the Board of Education. She worked for Moderna Museet in 1964 to 1967, with compulsory guided tours for all 4th-grade children in Stockholm. Carlo Derkert was responsible for all other tours, such as the well-frequented open guided tours on Sundays. Eventually, Prawitz also organised tours for other groups, including adults and children, and also helped out in other activities at the Museum.²⁴ Although she discussed pedagogical issues constantly with Derkert, she does not recall ever having talked about pedagogy with Hultén.²⁵ The American-inspired idea of dedicating a room in the Museum to practical creative activities for children had been around since 1963.²⁶ It was not implemented until 1967, however, after Prawitz read in the newspaper that another Swedish museum had created a special room for children. She recalls telling Pontus Hultén about this and pointing out that Moderna Museet ought to spearhead this field and immediately establish a space for the youngest visitors to the Museum. Within a few days, Hultén had made sure walls were erected and a separate space had been created for what became Barnens Museum (the Children's Museum).²⁷ Not until the refurbishment of the Museum in 1975, when the Workshop



Låt oss vara nylikna när vi ser på konst, glädjas över de överraskningar vi ställs inför, råder C. D.

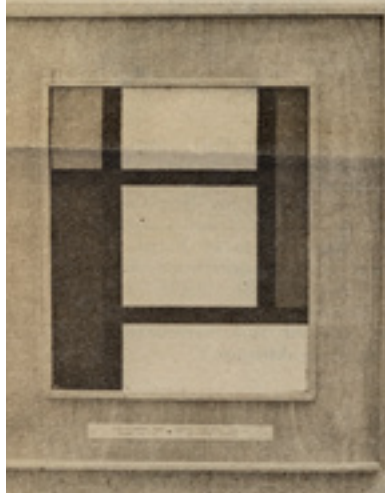
Konstverkets rytm skall inte tänkas med knoppen...

... den skall kännas kroppen, brukar Derkert säga till de grupper av skolbarn han vägleder.

På Fritid, nr 4 1959

VÄGAR TILL KONSTEN

Med Carlo Derkert som ciceron i Moderna museet



Det väsentliga:

Det väsentliga när det gäller konst är den personliga upplevelsen. Konstupplysaren kan meddela fakta om olika stilar och konstnärliga målsättningar men dessa kunskaper får aldrig bli självändamål. Konstverk är levande väsen, vad de begär av oss är öppna sinnen och personligt engagemang.

Carlo Derkert

Två motpoler inom det moderna måleriet: t. v. sträng klassicism, starkt formbunden konst med färgerna — känslornas uttryck — bakom galler, instängda (konstnär Theo van Doesburg, Holland, omkr. 1927). Nedan dess motsats, en känslöxplosion, ohämmad romantik (ett centralt avsnitt av en tavla av konst-

Detail from Sven Sjöberg's article

"Vägar till konsten", published in *På fritid*, no. 4, 1959

moved to new premises with large windows overlooking the greenery, did it become a proper creative studio for all sorts of activities.²⁸

Children from Egypt Weave

Egyptiska ungdomar väver (Children from Egypt Weave, 2 December, 1960–22 January, 1961) was the first of three exhibitions at Moderna Museet featuring woven works from the Egyptian village of Harrania.²⁹ Carlo Derkert curated the exhibition, but the initiative came from the journalist Anne Gyllenspetz, who brokered contacts between the architect Ramses Wissa Wassef and Moderna Museet.³⁰ Together with his wife, Sophie, Wissa Wassef had started an innovative weaving school in Harrania in 1951. A number of woven works were presented in Moderna Museet's exhibition halls on white walls, with large spaces in between each work. An archive photograph shows screens set at right angles from the walls to achieve more display surfaces. The exhibition appears to have been hung in a non-didactic way, that is, without any specific beginning or end, and without any text in the exhibition room.³¹ Nor do pictures of the exhibition show any visible name signs by the works.

One of the intentions of *Egyptiska ungdomar väver* was to introduce a new pedagogy for visitors:

We took it not just for its beautiful textiles. We also wanted – as we did in the catalogue – to make propaganda for Wissa Wassef's pedagogy: His interesting and radical approach to getting children and youths to work with tapestry. One of his secrets was that they always worked without cartoons or other patterns. This idea was soon adopted by the Konstfack University College of Arts, Crafts and Design, as an alternative method in the textile department.³²

In a radio programme from 1969, Carlo Derkert also extolled the exhibitions *Anna Casparsson* (1960) and *Egyptiska ungdomar väver* as an example of a new pedagogy that the Museum was adopting:

I would say that these exhibitions demonstrate, among other things, that all of us, the very old and the very young, are creative, naturally creative, if only we are left free of pointers and prejudices. What we have here is a new pedagogy, and a new society, with new values, that Moderna Museet wants to fight for.³³

This pedagogical position seems to have a great deal in common with Herbert Read's ideas. According to Read, art is a means of bringing individuals together, and practising art, that is, personal creativity, is a road to perfecting one's personality: "Art, we might say, can make us completely human."³⁴

The Museum, thus, had a clear objective with *Egyptiska ungdomar väver*: to promote a pedagogy "free of pointers and prejudices", as Carlo Derkert puts it above. The exhibition catalogue was vital to spreading this pedagogy: "People don't understand the immense importance of the material, either artistically or pedagogically, unless you tell them about it."³⁵ This may seem contradictory, this desire to point at the importance of not pointing, to authoritatively preach anti-authoritarianism. Derkert would probably have explained this paradox by saying that people sometimes need help to see:

In a society where art is a part of society, say, the middle ages, an art guide would be rather superfluous – or in an African culture. I have politically radical friends ... who look with scepticism at our collection of art and regard museum guides as something weird. Is it reasonable, Carlo, they ask, that if we come to the museum with a couple of friends from work, that someone like you has to be there for us to understand how to experience Brancusi's sculpture "The Newborn"? Yeees – it is reasonable, I reply, as long as there are people who don't understand his language... the result of a reduction in many, many phases, of what originally was a fairly realistic depiction of a face.³⁶

There is no data in the Museum's archives on any programmed activities in the form of lectures or concerts, for instance, relating to *Egyptiska ungdomar väver*. Anyone wanting to know more about the works in the exhibition and the weaving school in Harrania would, it seems, have been referred to guided tours and the catalogue, which consisted of a folding poster with a large picture of a tapestry and a text about the curriculum at the weaving school, written by Ramses Wissa Wassef.

Derkert recommended his colleagues at the County Museum in Umeå, which was also showing the exhibition, to talk to the newspapers and provide them with informative articles, and to send information sheets to all the schools, with information about the exhibition and visiting hours. These measures were needed, he claimed,



to attract visitors.³⁷ *Egyptiska ungdomar väver* was seen by 15,000 in Stockholm.³⁸ It was reviewed in the press, and several critics remarked on the extraordinary creative energy that the tapestries conveyed, noting that the exhibition should indeed be seen as a contribution to the debate on art pedagogy, exemplifying the importance of allowing children to create freely and without matrixes.³⁹

Movement in Art

Rörelse i konsten (Movement in Art) drew more than 70,000 people in Stockholm, and provoked strong reactions.⁴⁰ The debate was furious in the daily press. In a radio interview in 1969, Hultén reminisced that many visitors appreciated *Rörelse i konsten* while others were indignant and wanted the Museum closed.⁴¹

The exhibition itself had no definite beginning or proper end. The works were installed in an open architecture through which viewers could move freely. Several works invited interaction with the beholder. One review, for instance, mentions that, “There are no signs saying ‘Do not touch’ at Moderna Museet this summer. Visitors are welcome to explore Japanese artist Kobashi’s wooden sausages ... and can move freely in Alexander Calder’s ‘leafy forest’ of cut and welded sheets of iron.”⁴² However, the alleged absence of “Do not touch” signs in the exhibition is contradicted by the actual signs preserved in the archive.⁴³ But even if physical interaction was only allowed with some of the works, the atmosphere at the Museum was obviously perceived as permissive.

A catalogue was produced for the exhibition in a very special, oblong format. Its first part includes quotes from manifestoes and other texts by artists and philosophers such as Ludwig Wittgenstein, Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, and Jean-Paul Sartre. Although these passages can reasonably be assumed to have been rather abstruse to a reader without extensive previous knowledge, they are printed without explanatory comments. They are accompanied by an index of some artists who have worked with kinetic art, a list of the exhibited works, and, lastly, an essay by Hultén on the history of 20th-century kinetic art. Hultén writes: “The camera is the picture-making machine that is available to everyone. But there are other art machines, more independent, perhaps, which also speak to us and tell us who we are.”⁴⁴ Worth noting is the choice of words such as “us” and “we”, that make the visitors and the Museum and exhibition

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Psychiatrist, Robert M. Mueser, PhD, has been awarded the 2004 National Award for Distinguished Contributions to the Field of Mental Health by the American Psychological Association. Dr. Mueser is a professor of psychology and director of the Center for Health Systems Research and Analysis at the University of Washington. He is also a senior advisor at the National Institute of Mental Health. Dr. Mueser's research focuses on the development of evidence-based interventions for people with serious mental illness. He is currently co-directing the National Institute of Mental Health-funded National Mental Health Treatment Research Program, which is a multi-site study of the effectiveness of various treatments for people with serious mental illness. Dr. Mueser is also co-directing the National Institute of Mental Health-funded National Mental Health Treatment Research Program, which is a multi-site study of the effectiveness of various treatments for people with serious mental illness.

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Ministry
 The Department will use these grants to encourage all business to support business expansion, creating jobs and new products. The grants will be awarded to businesses that are expanding their production or services, or that are developing new products or services. The grants will be awarded to businesses that are expanding their production or services, or that are developing new products or services. The grants will be awarded to businesses that are expanding their production or services, or that are developing new products or services.

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and the 1990 and 1991 data were also based upon the 1990 survey. In addition, the 1990 survey data were used to estimate the 1991 survey data for the 1990 survey data.

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STUDY OBJECTIVE: To determine the effect of a 12-week, low-intensity, supervised walking program on the physical and psychological health of sedentary, obese, middle-aged women.

WORLDWIDE *Wendy Darling* (1999) *Wendy Darling* is a young girl who is kidnapped by a pirate and taken to a tropical island. She is rescued by a pirate ship and taken to a tropical island. She is rescued by a pirate ship and taken to a tropical island.

[illegible]

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Research suggests that there is a strong correlation between a person's ability to handle anger and their overall level of emotional health. This is because anger is a natural emotion that can be used to express feelings and needs. However, if anger is not managed properly, it can lead to a variety of problems, including stress, anxiety, and depression. Therefore, it is important to learn how to manage anger in a healthy way.

Wasser, Energie und Rohstoffe (Hrsg. von
Ulrich Gellert, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674,

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995

Die Ergebnisse des ersten und zweiten Teilbogens sind auf zwei Seiten des Fragebogens dargestellt. Es werden die Ergebnisse der ersten und zweiten Teilbogens dargestellt.

Wetmore, William Brewster, and the "Grouse" Law
 The 4-page article traces the "Grouse" law from its origin in Wetmore's 1904 statement to its passing into law in 1913. The author notes that the law was passed in response to the pressure of the sporting community and the conservation movement. The article is a detailed account of the political and social context of the law's passage.

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Highway
 100% available throughout the
 country. No waiting, no driving
 time.

Supervising
 Deputy Assistant Chief - Major and assistant to the chief of police.

Station House
 The central office of the police department where the chief of police and other senior officers work.

Fluoropolymer
polymerized by free-radical. The resulting
film was used as a coating.

STAFF

Wegen der
Informations- und Kommunikations-Technologie
sowie wegen der
Integration in die globale Wirtschaft

Movement in



curators equals, while the Museum's voice authoritatively declares what art does to us all.⁴⁵

In addition to the catalogue, visitors were offered an extensive programme of events linked to the exhibition, alternating concerts with films, shadow theatre and puppet shows.⁴⁶ To attract school pupils to the Museum, a presentation of the exhibition was sent to headmasters and teachers at elementary and upper secondary schools:

This is the world's first exhibition of its kind, and we hereby invite all school children to follow the artists' attempts to use movement as an artistic form of expression ... Mobile art illustrates our relationship to technology and its blessings, our joy, our hesitation, the irony of our relationship to machines. It helps us see ourselves and our situation. This is expected to be one of the most enjoyable exhibitions conceivable.⁴⁷

The tone of this mail shot is decidedly didactic – the Museum declares exactly what could be learned from the exhibition. Still, the wording *the artists' attempts* stresses that a process is involved, rather than something final. *Rörelse i konsten* presented experiments and attempts, and people could visit simply to have fun.

Dagens Nyheter printed a highbrow intellectual exchange in which the art historian Sven Sandström, the critics Folke Edwards and Ulf Linde, *Dagens Nyheter's* editor-in-chief Olof Lagercrantz, the author Lars Gyllensten, and others, discussed concepts such as meaning and meaninglessness, life and ennui.⁴⁸ Well-penned arguments, which, however, required a high level of knowledge in its readers.⁴⁹ This can be compared to the visitors' own reactions to the art, as presented in the weekly press. The cover of *Folket i Bild* shows two men laughing out loud in the exhibition, and the headline "Laughter at Moderna Museet – is junk art junk or art?"⁵⁰ The article relates audience reactions:

"A scandal," says one faithful museum visitor. "Fantastic," says the new wave of young people. "This year's PR coup," serious advertising execs assure us. "Fun," says the general public. "Not so fun," says young Bollnäs-based artist Mårten Andersson.. "Headless," comments (artist Sven) X:et (Erixson). Curator Carlo Derkert sides with the defence.⁵¹

The magazine *Vi* also highlighted the visitors, who seemed genuinely entertained, even if they admitted to not understanding one bit of



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 l o o k 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 Örtengren, *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 konstabok 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 Derogating 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.

How does one wish a museum for modern art to function?

Pontus Hultén

The manuscript below with the title “How does one wish a museum for modern art to function?” was attached to a letter Pontus Hultén sent to the Dutch art collector and professor Pieter Sanders on 4 December, 1962. Hultén had been proposed as the director of the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam after Willem Sandberg, and Sanders was promoting this; the text is a form of manifesto, in which Hultén outlines his views on art, society, and the role of modern art museums. Some parts may seem obsolete now, for instance his discussion on how so-called primitive cultures relate to the concept of development. Other parts are remarkably relevant even today. Hultén had a firm belief in art. Artistic freedom is described as an inalienable part of a healthy society, and the purpose of a modern art museum was to provide room for all artistic expressions. When we read this text today, it becomes clear how consistently Hultén championed the ideals formulated in it, and how they were to characterise his entire career.

In a museum for modern art one cannot, nor is it desired to show all modern art. There must be a choice. The determining factor of the activities of the museum and the function of the museum in the community become the base for this choice. In former times the museums stood traditionally on the side of the public and determining classes, watchful and suspicious against newly create art. The new art was first purchased after it became a museum specimen and it became a “museum specimen”, only when it was a question of whether the museum would purchase it. The museums were the guardians of good taste which sifted art and made sure that the many different interests of the determining classes were not infringed upon.

Of course this could not prevent new art from developing, but the history of modern art is full of examples of how so-called “good taste” adjusted itself to the relationship of art. One needs only for a moment to think of the life destinies, of for example, van Gogh, Gauguin or Cezanne.

Art stands in a direct relationship to the society in which it is created. When we have to do with a living artistic nature, art often

stands critically in relationship to society. When society wishes to completely dominate art the artists fight for their lives. Living art in our time does not permit itself to be directed. The official view of society on art has varied considerably during different periods. It is even today very different in separate parts of the world.

The so-called primitive societies are characterized by the fact that they are immobile, static. Generation follows generation without one noticing any large change. In such societies art is strongly bound to traditions, and development, to the degree it exists, goes much slower, all changes are considered as a threat to the existing. In societies where one often lives in spiritual and material half starvation, all attempts to renew something must be considered with fear, as an attack against the position which has been fought for and defended with great labour. One has one's nose just above the water and is frightened to move the least because one then risks sinking completely.

In Germany before the war one believed in an Empire of a Thousand Years and in the superiority of the white and especially Germanic race over all other people. One believed that there was to be found everlasting value enclosed with this race. From Nazi sources the attempt was made to bring about an art which was the bearer of these everlasting values.

In Russia it has been decided in official sources that the art which one believes is appreciated by the majority is the best.

In a dynamic society this transformation can be considered as a common denominator for that which takes place in the society, and the changed becomes the natural climate in the tradition of the new.

In the society we wish to live the fundamental idea is that confidence is placed in the individual possibilities of man. These fundamental values are associated with the fact that the existence of each individual is unique. One believes that man, individually, has the ability of creating a reasonable relationship to his fellow citizens, and to give a form to his existence. The art which wishes to express this fundamental idea, and which is created with this point of departure, can only be built on the sincerity of the artist towards himself. He cannot work after any rules which are decided upon in advance. Inasmuch as we change during our existence, we must constantly re-examine our viewpoints. The task of society thus becomes to give the artist an opportunity to develop his possibilities with the largest possible freedom. A modern museum, therefore, should stand on the side of the artists, not on the side of the public; observe with interest

and curiosity, not with misgivings, what the artist does. One must try in the first instance to understand, and only in the second to be critical.

At the turn of the century a revolution took place in art, similar to that in physics, philosophy etc. The world picture radically changed. "Modern art" came into being. That which is now being done belongs to a new tradition which was established at that time. 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.

The values which one works with in modern art are new, and new art has always worked in this way. The modern artist produces that which no one has seen, that which has not existed before.

But artists must clothe their works in a suit which causes the outworld to discover that it is an art work which is in question. Therefore he can borrow pieces of clothing from other artists. This does not need to mean that the body under the clothing have been taken from another. And besides it often happens that he uses trousers for a hat or vice versa, and that is also a difference. One takes over a form, but gives it new tasks and importance.

I believe that the values in art, this larger or smaller "quality" may be described as a larger or smaller versatility of the art work. How often has it not happened that two friends in discussing an art work, which is loved by both, have discovered that they admire it for entirely different reasons, almost like seeing two entirely different pieces of art. This is not directly connected with the form of the art work, its appearance. The more simple the form, the more complex the experience may be. I mean that the genial art work is as many sided as an infinite polygon, and inasmuch as time and spectators move they constantly discover new sides. We admire the Altamira-grotto paintings for other reasons than the contemporaries. We cannot see a Vermeer or Leonardo as one saw their works during the 16th or 17th century, they reflect now another light coming from another point of departure, but we can love them, nevertheless, from our viewpoint because they have this wonderful richness. The more versatile a art work, the larger is its "quality". And this is directly connected with the fact that one believes that the unique in the existence of each individual is a fundamental value. "Poetry must be done by all and not by only one", writes Lautreamont.

How is this fundamental attitude expressed when it concerns the choice of what the museum shows? How will this affect the activities of the museum, its function? The attempt is made to give an all-rounded and as current a picture as possible of that which occurs in art without consideration to the good tastes or preconceived opinions, but with as much devotion as possible. One will try to avoid, for example, impersonal and “official” interests of a chauvinistic character. Likewise snobbish interests must be avoided. One tries to avoid the pressure of art dealers. (At the same time as one is suspicious towards the commercial interests it must be remembered that it is completely legitimate for artists to sell their works and that this sale must be organised by someone). One will attempt to show that which is *original, personal, unknown*.

In the strongest possible way it is desired to show the classics of modern art, and the new creators of modern art, independent of all outside artistic considerations.

The boundaries between the different spheres of art become more and more mobile. It is not always this mobility is symbolised so obviously as when the same artists are engaged at the same time with, for example, painting and film or theatre or music, but this combination of forces is without a doubt a typical expression of the widening of the artistic perception that characterises this century. It thus becomes natural for a museum of modern art to show film, music, architecture, poetry, ballet etc. This also enriches the activities which is valuable because it draws a new public, persons who might not otherwise have approached the museum so soon.

When it concerns painting, sculpture, sketching, graphic etc. which are, of course, still the central points of the activities of the museum, there are two major functions for the organisation: to assemble and arrange exhibitions. There is no necessity to discuss that the museum should preserve.

On the other hand the extent to which the museum will arrange temporary exhibitions has been subject for considerable discussion. It belongs to the most necessary tasks of a museum to give information about what happens in the field of art throughout the world. The task cannot be left entirely to the management of art dealers. The attendance figures show that the public is interested in seeing modern art in temporary exhibitions, where it is presented in a concentrated surveyable way, in the form of separate exhibitions, or theme exhibitions, or group exhibitions. The purchase by the museum

of foreign art is not sufficient as a guide of what occurs in the sphere of art throughout the world. The combination of temporary exhibitions and permanent collections are the ideal forms for the central activities of a modern art museum.

Exhibitions in Moderna Museet 1956–1962

No 1. Picasso's *Guernica* 1956, the big painting and 62 sketches

2. Le Corbusier 1958, architecture, paintings, sculptures, tapestry drawings etc.

3. Otte Sköld, memorial exhibition 1959, paintings etc.

4. Handelsbankens konstförening 1944–1959, small exhibition to honour a good art-club in a big bank

5. Återblick 59, small exhibition of the best Swedish art shown in Stockholm during the past 10 months

6. Axel Salto 1959, Danish art and craft one-man show

7. Sebastian Matta, 15 former av tvivel 1959, paintings drawings etc.

8. Robert Jacobsens *Dockor* 1960, sculptures

9. Jacques Villon 1960, paintings and graphic work

10. Siri Derkert, *På väg* 1960, paintings, collages, engravings, drawings, sculptures etc.

11. Återblick 60, small exhibition of the best Swedish art shown in Stockholm during the past 10 months

12. Sam Francis 1960, paintings and watercolours

13. Anna Casparsson 1960, embroiderywork by a 100-year old Swedish woman

14. Architecture in Finland 1960, big architectural survey done in collaboration with the Finnish Architectural Museum

15. Tapestry done by Egyptian youth 1960

16. Paul Klee 1961, paintings, drawings, graphic work

17. Sonja Henie and Niels Onstads collection of modern international art 1961

18. "Bewogen Beweging" 1961

19. "Pioneers" from Stedelijk Museum 1961

20. Norwegian modern tapestry by Hannah Ryggen 1933-61

21. Grafiska förberedelser 1962, small exhibition of modern Swedish graphic works

22. 4 amerikanare, painting and sculpture by Alfred Leslie, Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz, 1962

23. Jean Arp, sculptures, paintings etc. 1962

Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. The formative Years

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