

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

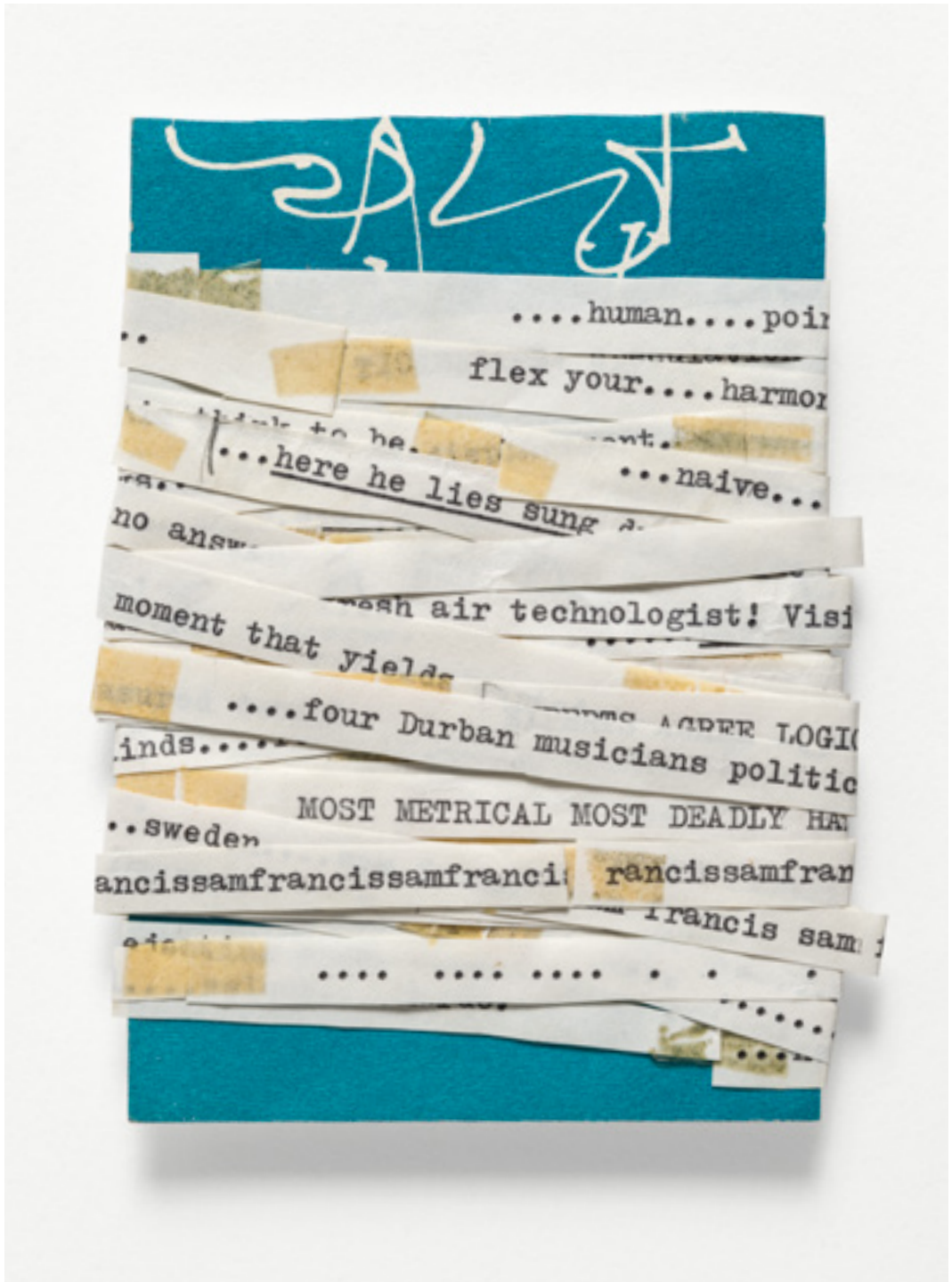
Pontus Hultén and Sam Francis were both in their mid-twenties when they met for the first time in Paris in the early 1950s. Francis already had a reputation as being one of the most requested American artists in both Europe and the USA.² Hultén was just embarking on his career after graduating from university. 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
Dn. 13/8 1960
Nr 121

The completely calculated ~~is~~ innocence.
The learn's 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 ~~and~~
~~the~~ resource of all the world, opening ~~his~~
blind eyes through the ~~very~~ sacred magical
windows, of Mother's, maybe. A Pogward Radigast
~~she~~ was listening to the luring echo, ~~at the~~
at the plays of Pacific. ~~and~~ ~~and~~ ~~and~~ ~~and~~
After that white ~~and~~ "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 Sonabend. 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.

Claes Oldenburg Raw Notes



Pontus!
Claes
O. 1979.

Documents and scripts
of the performances:

Stars

Moveyhouse

Massage

The Typewriter

with annotations

by the author

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.

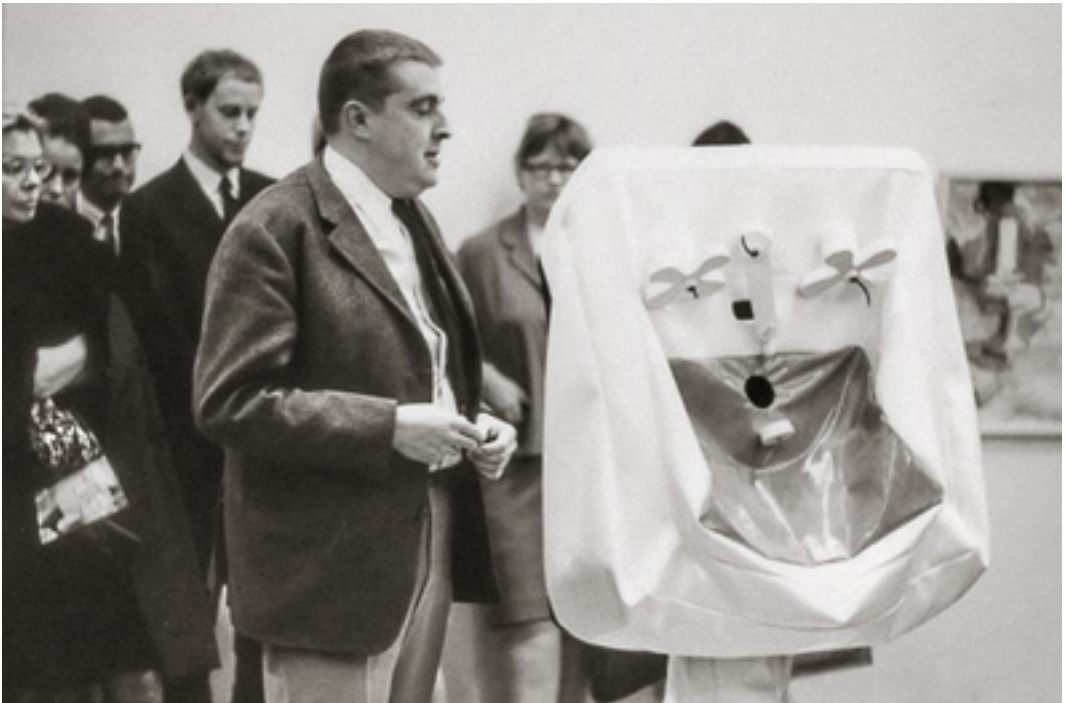
Donald Judd's text was not included, however. His typewritten six-page manuscript is in the archive.⁷² It starts with a short discussion on the anthropomorphism in art and the object's relationship to its reference, and ends with a comparison between Oldenburg's light switch and a woman's nipples. Karin 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 Gärdeskolan 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 Aqvavit".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 Rüdlinger. Rüdlinger 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, “Kolossaltavlor 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 fetischer”, *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.