



From the exhibition *Remembering She – A Cathedral*  
in the Pontus Hultén Study Gallery, Moderna Museet, 2018

Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet.  
Utopias and Visions

Anna Tellgren

The research project *Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet – Research and Learning Based on an Art Collection, an Archive and a Library* has been in progress since autumn 2015. Over the years, the project has changed and developed and now comprises several different parts.<sup>1</sup> The first part is the book *Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. The Formative Years* (2017), which focuses on the period from 1956 to the mid-1960s. It includes a longer introduction, five essays and a previously unpublished text by Pontus Hultén from 1962. The second part of the project is linked to the symposium *Lose Yourself! A Symposium on Labyrinthian Exhibitions as Curatorial Model* held in February 2017 at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> Based on the exhibitions *Dylaby* (1962) at the Stedelijk and *She – A Cathedral* (1966) at Moderna Museet, it discusses a type of large-scale, collectively created and “labyrinthine” exhibitions. Some of the contributions to the symposium have been edited and published in the web-based magazine *Stedelijk Studies*.<sup>3</sup> The book at hand is the third and final part of this research effort spanning several years, and it deals with a few aspects of Pontus Hultén’s later years at Moderna Museet, from the mid-1960s to 1973, when he left Stockholm for Paris. We also take a closer look at some of the projects he worked on after Moderna Museet, which are richly represented in the Pontus Hultén archive.

Alongside producing essays, the project has been mediated in exhibitions and events of various kinds. In the summer of 2018, the exhibition *Remembering She – A Cathedral* was installed in the Pontus Hultén Study Gallery.<sup>4</sup> The exhibition featured the preserved head of the monumental *She* sculpture, together with Hans Hammar-skiöld’s photographs of the exhibition and a film documentation by Magnus Wibom of the three artists Niki de Saint Phalle, Jean Tinguely and Per Olof Ultvedt building *She* (MOM/2013/148). It also included the model of *She* from 1966, archive material and drawings by the artists. The Study Gallery already had a presentation of material from the archive, films and artworks from the exhibitions *Movement in Art* (1961), *Andy Warhol* (1968), *Ararat. Alternative Research in*

*Architecture, Resources, Art and Technology* (1976), *Vanishing Points* (1984) and *Implosion. A Postmodern Perspective* (1987). The idea was to give visitors an opportunity to learn more about the museum's history and activities. The material in the Study Gallery has also been activated through guided tours, lectures and seminars.<sup>5</sup> Another collaboration linked to the research project was the master's course "Art and Display" in spring 2019 at Södertörn University, with Moderna Museet, Nationalmuseum and the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.<sup>6</sup> Curators from each respective museum held in-depth lectures for the students, who were given access to archives and the Art Library and opportunities to visit the collections. All these activities are in line with the fundamental principle of research at Moderna Museet, which is based on various collaborative projects, focusing on the Museum's exhibitions, history or collection, and utilising its inhouse expertise in curating, conservation, technology and learning.

The field of museum and exhibition studies has expanded and in recent years generated a number of publications and new research projects. How the field had developed since 2008, when we published *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, was something we had reflected on already when working on our first book in 2017. The series *Exhibition Histories*, published by Afterall Books since 2010, has been significant, with its fundamental theme that exhibitions are key study objects since this is where the audience meets art. From a Nordic perspective, several projects have been initiated to highlight examples of seminal exhibitions and players in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.<sup>7</sup> The interest in the 1960s, with its experimental exhibitions, building the modern art museum and the conditions for art in the post-war era seems to be a strong trend. Several books have recently been published on Pontus Hultén alone and his activities. In connection with its 40th anniversary in 2017, the Centre Pompidou held a panel discussion and published a special edition of *Les Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne* about Pontus Hultén.<sup>8</sup> The project *Levande arkiv. Pontus Hultén på Moderna Museet och på Centre Pompidou 1957–81* at Södertörn University has resulted in two publications so far.<sup>9</sup> In 2021, Centre Pompidou-Metz produced the exhibition *Face à Arcimboldo*, with inspiration from Pontus Hultén's exhibition *Effetto Arcimboldo/The Arcimboldo Effect* in 1987 at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice.<sup>10</sup> One of the most recent contributions to the literature on this famous museum director is the book *Pontus Hultén. Den moderna konstens anförare. En biografi* (2022) by

the journalist Claes Britton, based on some one hundred interviews, chronicling his life and career to the very end, not merely the legendary formative years that are the focus of many previous studies.

The point of departure for the current project on Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet has been the ambition to search Moderna Museet's archives, especially Pontus Hultén's own archive (MMA PHA) and the Myndighetsarkivet (the public archive, MMA MA), to highlight topics, events and people that were perhaps not the most visible or obvious. The archives still receive the most requests for documents pertaining to a very small number of early exhibitions, but the Museum's past contains so much more. The work process we have implemented in several of the research projects initiated by the Museum includes both internal and external researchers. This approach expands the museum staff's knowledge and experience with questions and analyses from outside.<sup>11</sup> There is strong criticism against museums and research for focusing excessively on the major male artists, curators and networks. Still, few studies exist on influential female curators in art history.<sup>12</sup> The story of Pontus Hultén, whose early contacts in Paris enabled him to introduce modern art in Stockholm, has been repeated many times over, but the narrative has also been challenged by more recent research that, for instance, identifies the gallery owner Denise René as being a pivotal figure.<sup>13</sup> Swedish exhibition history's strong focus on the major museums and institutions in Stockholm will also change in future research.<sup>14</sup>

In our first book, we noted that one definite result of the five studies on the formative years was that they pointed ahead to another of Pontus Hultén's most famous exhibition, namely the above-mentioned *She – A Cathedral*, shown in summer 1966. In this second book, Ylva Hillström highlights esoteric references in the exhibition and explores it from the perspective of learning. She notes the large number of interpretations of this outstanding project, and the fact that this exhibition is still one of the most renowned in the history of Moderna Museet. Another sign of its popularity is the constant requests to borrow the work *Model for She* from 1966 (MOMSK 266). Exhibitions featuring the model include *Wack! Art and the Feminist Revolution* in 2007 at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles, *Niki de Saint Phalle* at Grand Palais in Paris in 2014, *Jean Tinguely. Machine Spectacle* at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam 2016 and one of the latest exhibitions at the Menil Collection in Houston in 2021, *Niki de Saint Phalle in the 1960s*.<sup>15</sup> In line with



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many of Hultén's exhibition projects, *She – A Cathedral* had an open, audience-friendly, fairground-like side, along with the deeper underlying and more complex elements for those with more knowledge and experience of art history.

Lars Bang Larsen analyses the exhibition *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age*, which Pontus Hultén produced for the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, where it opened on 25 November, 1968. This was a prestigious assignment for Hultén, leading to speculation and rumours that he was being considered or had applied for the job as director of MoMA. The exhibition lives on mainly through the brilliantly designed catalogue with a hard metal cover.<sup>16</sup> Lars Bang Larsen highlights a few other projects at the time and draws comparisons with another giant in post-war art, the Swiss curator, artist and art historian Harald Szeemann, and his exhibition *Junggesellenmaschinen/Les Machines célibataires* in 1975 for Kunsthalle Bern. The study ends with a reflection on the exhibition *Mud Muses. A Rant About Technology*, shown at Moderna Museet in 2019, and how the 1960s ideas on art and technology have been handled at the Museum. The rebellious year of 1968 stands out among Moderna Museet's exhibitions in Stockholm and in Pontus Hultén's biography. An exhibition of the American artist Andy Warhol opened already in early spring. This was followed in summer by an exhibition of the Russian artist Vladimir Tatlin, and the autumn show was *The Model. A Model for a Qualitative Society*; nine other exhibitions were presented in the course of the year.

Pontus Hultén's donation to the Museum in 2005 included his library of some 7,000 volumes. In her essay, Annika Gunnarsson reviews and analyses the contents of the library and highlights a few movements and strong sources of inspiration in Hultén's early and subsequent career. Again, Hultén's background and education as a staff member at Nationalmuseum in the 1950s underpins his collecting and his attitude to knowledge. The literature in his library reflects his interest in the new and the artists he was following, but also a more traditional side, with books on general art history and handbooks on art, architecture and film. Several studies have been performed on Hultén's radical way of producing and using exhibition catalogues, and some of his catalogues are collectibles today. Gunnarsson's study clearly reveals how he adopted ideas from Dada, Surrealism, Fluxus and Concrete Poetry, and from people he admired, including Marcel Duchamp and Alfred H. Barr at MoMA.

The concluding essay, by Anna Lundström, is about the art college, or institute of higher art studies, the Institut des Hautes Études en Arts Plastiques (IHEAP) in Paris, which existed from 1988 to 1995. Together with his friends and colleagues Daniel Buren, Serge Fauchereau and Sarkis, Pontus Hultén created a new, radical form of teaching, based mainly on long and initiated discussions between students and guest lecturers. Lundström notes that although this activity was distinctly separate from producing exhibitions, Hultén used the experience, networks and knowledge he had gained through nearly four decades in the service of art.

We are also including an interview with Pontus Hultén from 1971 from the French art magazine *Opus International*, in which he reflects on the museum of the future.<sup>17</sup> It relates to Pontus Hultén's own 1962 essay outlining his ideas on how a modern art museum should be run, which was published in our first book.<sup>18</sup> The text has an introduction by the critic Yann Pavié and is followed by the interview, consisting of ten or so questions on the role and function of the museum in modern society. There is also a short biography on Hultén and an outline of Moderna Museet's history, major exhibitions and acquisitions, and three graphs showing the number of visitors and guided tours from 1958 to 1969. The text is illustrated with a picture of four overlapping circles. This is a model for future activities and different types of information that Moderna Museet was to encompass. The interview was conducted in Paris, where Hultén was in charge of the group exhibition *Alternative Suédoise/Svenskt Alternativ*, a collaboration with Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, which had been shown the year before, in 1970, at Moderna Museet in Stockholm.

After *She – A Cathedral*, eight other exhibitions were produced in autumn 1966, including *Claes Oldenburg. Sculptures and Drawings*, *Young Photographers 1966* and *Peggy Guggenheim's Collection from Venice*. The year after, a retrospective of the Cuban artist Wifredo Lam was featured. Contacts went through Lam's Swedish-born wife, Lou Laurin-Lam.<sup>19</sup> This exhibition was the result of Pontus Hultén's network, and yet another example of how he engaged the Swedish diaspora for his international projects. The engineer Billy Klüver, whom Hultén met when he was still a student, was his most important Swedish contact throughout the rest of his career.<sup>20</sup> Other examples of artists who were presented in solo shows during the second half of Hultén's directorship are Alvar Aalto (1969), Eva Aeppli





From the exhibition *The Model. A Model  
for a Qualitative Society*, Moderna Museet, 1968



(1968), Vlassis Caniaris (1971), Max Ernst (1969), Lucio Fontana (1967), Bror Hjorth (1967), Piotr Kowalski (1970), Björn Lövin (1971), Meret Oppenheim (1967), Anders Petersen (1970), Paul Thek (1971) and Jean Tinguely (1972).

The exhibition *The Model. A Model for a Qualitative Society* ran for three intense weeks in October 1968. The project has become famous mainly through the fantastic photographic documentation in colour and black-and-white, showing kids of all ages building, playing, painting and jumping around in foam on the floor of the main gallery in Moderna Museet's original building. The visitors to the exhibition included Sweden's then minister of education, Olof Palme, and his sons. This was no finished exhibition; instead, the audience of children created freely in the large wood structure that had been erected. Outside the Museum, more material was available in the form of sand, water, boards and paint. In Moderna Museet's history, *The Model* is often referred to as part of the educational activities and as the origin of the Workshop.<sup>21</sup> The project was in line with the times and was actually a result of a larger discussion on children, pedagogics, learning and schools, and ultimately about how people should live and what their homes should be like, in a modern society. One of the initiators was the Danish artist, architect and teacher Palle Nielsen, who engaged in various activist projects around 1967 to improve urban environments for children. He came in contact with a group in Stockholm that called itself "Aktion Samtal", and their collaboration evolved into the exhibition project *The Model*, which Nielsen subsequently recreated and lectured on in many different contexts.<sup>22</sup> In later years, other members of this collective project have been acknowledged, especially the journalist Gunilla Lundahl, and more nuance has been added to the work process and initiative.<sup>23</sup> *The Model* was clearly one of several examples of alternative, creative activities and environments for children in Stockholm, Copenhagen and other locations. Pontus Hultén wrote a few concluding words in the accompanying publication.<sup>24</sup> According to Lundahl, however, it was Carlo Derkert, senior curator at Moderna Museet at the time, who invited the team to carry out the project. Derkert is described as more open and approachable. According to a report in the archives 33,576 people visited, which can only be regarded as sensational, in view of the short exhibition period.<sup>25</sup> *The Model* was not really followed up in the exhibition programme. There is several examples, however, of another type of thematical

exhibitions or projects at the Museum during this period, based on ideas, audience participation, experiments and utopias, and we will return to this further on.

### Andy Warhol

One exhibition that is always mentioned in presentations of Moderna Museet and its history is *Andy Warhol*, which opened on 10 February, 1968, and was the artist's first museum exhibition in Europe.<sup>26</sup> The full title was *Andy Warhol Screens, Films, Boxes, Clouds and a Book 1968*, which simply describes the exhibition's contents – an aspect that is somewhat overlooked in the historical narrative.<sup>27</sup> The exhibition lives on in memory for its innovative catalogue and the seven terse posters with a few of Andy Warhol's poignant statements and short quotations in black against a white background. Since then, the Museum has had a close relationship to this artist, and several key works by Warhol were acquired for the collection at an early date. The first was *Marilyn Monroe in Black and White* (1962), featured in the exhibition *American Pop Art. 106 Forms of Love and Despair* (1964) at Moderna Museet and purchased in 1965 from Warhol's gallerist in Paris, Ileana Sonnabend.<sup>28</sup> She attended the preview on 9 February, 1968, in Stockholm, accompanied by her husband, Michael Sonnabend.<sup>29</sup>

In connection with the exhibition *Andy Warhol. Other Voices, Other Rooms* (2008), Olle Granath wrote about his experiences of working on the exhibition forty years earlier, and Kasper König was interviewed.<sup>30</sup> Kasper König had been consulted by the Museum in connection with the Claes Oldenburg exhibition, and he continued to work for the Museum when he was based in New York in 1967 and 1968. There are ten or so handwritten letters from König on thin airmail paper that reveal the process and ideas behind the exhibition and catalogue. For instance, König reported in one of his letters that Warhol wanted to bring the Velvet Underground and asked if Hultén could make a "deal" with Swedish Television.<sup>31</sup> Hultén replied in a letter to Warhol that it would be very expensive for the whole band to come to Stockholm and suggested that he could work with a Swedish band as "stand-in for the 'Velvets'".<sup>32</sup> However, Olle Granath and the secretary Märta Sahlberg handled most of the correspondence with colleagues at other museums, gallery owners, suppliers and the artist. This year was pivotal for Andy Warhol;





Invitation to the *Andy Warhol* exhibition,  
Moderna Museet, 1968



on 3 June, 1968, a few months after the exhibition in Stockholm, he was shot by Valerie Solanas, but the Museum's correspondence with Warhol continued for several years due to the touring exhibition and other issues relating to his works.<sup>33</sup> As the director, Pontus Hultén obviously depended on his staff, and he was also planning the exhibition *The Machine* at this time, as mentioned in some of his letters to König.<sup>34</sup>

In recent years, the interest in contacts between Hultén and Warhol has been overshadowed by the Brillo box affair.<sup>35</sup> Facts and memories differ, and the whole matter has been compared to Pontus Hultén's practice of creating replicas of Marcel Duchamp's works, which started with *Movement in Art* (1961), or the building of Tatlin's Tower, formally called *Model for Monument to the Third International* (1919–20), in connection with *Vladimir Tatlin* (1968), yet another exhibition that Pontus Hultén produced in the eventful year of 1968.<sup>36</sup>

A review of the archive material from the Warhol exhibition uncovers a few distinct themes. Financing was a constant worry for the Museum, and there are countless letters from Pontus Hultén and his colleagues asking for financial support and advance funding, and proposals for sharing costs. Another theme is the film *Chelsea Girls* (1966), which was featured in the exhibition in 1968 and was acquired for the Moderna Museet collection (MOMFi 57). One major problem prior to the exhibition opening was getting hold of a copy of the film, and the archive material reveals that the Stockholm end was getting increasingly desperate:

About *Chelsea Girls*, it is absolutely necessary that it is shown in the exhibition, it is what all people are asking about. ... If you have no chance to send it, take it with you.<sup>37</sup>

After the screening in Stockholm, Moderna Museet was inundated with requests from museums, galleries and film clubs all over Europe who wanted to show the film. Some of these were granted, resulting in a tour to 14 venues, including the Filmmuseum in Vienna, the Independent Film Center in Munich, Staatliche Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf, Uppsala Studenters Filmstudio, Cinémathèque Royale de Belgique in Brussels, Odense Bys Museer, Oslo Filmklubb, Norsk Filminstitutt in Oslo and Finlands Filmarkiv in Helsinki.<sup>38</sup> The Museum charged SEK 500 (USD 100) for loans, and it is fascinating

to think that this sole copy of a 16 mm film was sent back and forth across Europe – compared to the digital situation today.

There are several letters to and from Andy Warhol's gallery, Leo Castelli in New York. They show that it was far from certain that the two paintings *Ten-Foot-Flowers* (1967) and *Electric Chair* (1967) would remain in Stockholm and the Moderna Museet collection after the exhibition ended.<sup>39</sup> According to Hultén, the agreement with Warhol was that the Museum would fund production of the paintings and that a few works would be left at the Museum. Leo Castelli was not happy at all that Hultén had contacted the artist directly, and neither he nor the artist were aware of having agreed to this.<sup>40</sup> The preserved archive material indicates that there were difficulties getting the works to Stockholm and several copyright issues had emerged. There are also many letters from museums that wanted to feature the exhibition. It eventually toured first to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, in spring, before half of it went on to Kunsthalle Bern and the other to Kassel, so that Andy Warhol could be presented as part of Documenta 5.<sup>41</sup> The works were then gathered up and shown at Kunsternes Hus in Oslo in November and December 1968, before the exhibition was dispersed.<sup>42</sup> Plans to include the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) in London and even institutions in Berlin in the tour are mentioned in the correspondence.

Not many people visited the exhibition in Stockholm. The archive mentions 24,633 visitors, and this could be due to the unusually cold weather during the exhibition period, 10 February to 17 March.<sup>43</sup> The catalogue, on the other hand, eventually became a bestseller; several editions were printed and it is now highly sought-after.<sup>44</sup> The correspondence about the catalogue is profuse and includes letters from Gösta Svensson and the company Stig Arbmán AB in Malmö, discussing proofs and new editions. There are also letters to booksellers and museums and other contacts, about advance purchases and contributions to cover the cost of printing the catalogue. It was designed by John Melin, a legendary graphic designer and advertising executive, who created Moderna Museet's new graphic profile during Hultén's directorship.<sup>45</sup> The catalogue consists of several introductory quotes by Warhol in English and Swedish, followed by a few hundred black-and-white photographs. The archive contains a letter in which Hultén describes the catalogue texts:



Above: Paul Morrissey, Viva and Andy Warhol at the *Andy Warhol* exhibition, Moderna Museet, 1968. Below: Sonja Martinsson (standing) and unknown staff member at the *Andy Warhol* exhibition, 1968



Above: Andy Warhol, *Photo Album*, volumes 1–2, 1968.

Below: Andy Warhol, spread of *Photo Album*, volume 1, 1968

The texts at the beginning are going to be only Andy's own statements, we tried to use some of the other texts but the spirit in them is so different that it really broke the unity of the book. With only Andy's statements everything is on the same level which is very important in this case, I think.<sup>46</sup>

The visual material in the catalogue is in three sections. The first documents Andy Warhol's works, photographed by Rudolph Burckhardt, Eric Pollitzer and John D. Schiff. These three photographers seem to have been at the Factory sporadically. The second part is "Factory photos" by Billy Name, and the third is photographs by a young Stephen Shore, also from life in and around the Factory. In a letter, König writes:

I am working with two good photographers for catalogue. Stephen Shore is very good and is going to print 200–300 prints out of 2,000 for Stockholm. And Billy Linnik [sic!] associate of Factory.<sup>47</sup>

For Stephen Shore, the assignment to photograph at Andy Warhol's Factory was one of his first major jobs. Billy Name was a permanent member of the Factory from 1964, with assignments that included sound and lighting for films and also photography. Among his first images in the catalogue is a series of Pontus Hultén and Billy Klüver and some others visiting Warhol in New York in 1967. They are on a rooftop, testing the buoyancy of an oblong, silver helium balloon. The second and third editions also have a concluding section with photographs of the exhibition installation and the preview at Moderna Museet, taken by the Swedish photographers Nils-Göran Hökby, Bror H. Gustavsson and Peter Gullers. All three had previously worked for Moderna Museet.

The cover shows Warhol's emblematic flowers in pink, orange and lion yellow against a grass-like background in green and black. Different cover ideas were discussed up to the last minute. One of Warhol's ideas was to have a train ticket on the cover and also as a poster design. König asked Hultén to send him a train ticket for Paris–Stockholm or Stockholm–Gothenburg, whatever he deemed suitable.<sup>48</sup> Two air tickets for Andy Warhol with SAS exist, printed on 7 December, 1967, for a trip on 6 January, 1968, to Stockholm, with an open return to New York. These tickets are obviously fake, maculated tickets that someone at the Museum persuaded SAS to print.



Warhol arrived in Stockholm later, just before the exhibition opened. The collection includes a poster in lion yellow of this ticket with black leaves and circles added on top. The work (MOM/2008/12) is a colour silkscreen from 1968 by Stig Arbmán AB in Malmö in an edition of 250, which Warhol signed in Stockholm. The catalogue was printed by *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* on thin, lightly-coated newsprint and is reminiscent of a magazine, albeit a bit thicker. It served as part of the exhibition, was sold for SEK 12 (USD 2) and was in keeping with Warhol's ideas on repetition and commercialisation.

A bibliophile edition of the catalogue was also published, on the initiative of Hultén, according to Granath, on account of its popularity.<sup>49</sup> The 100 copies in this second edition from 1969 have gilded book edges and a black acrylic glass case. They were signed by Warhol on his visit to Stockholm in spring 1976. Moderna Museet also has two large photo albums in its photography collection (FM 1968 004 001–002). The two volumes (with more than 500 black-and-white gelatin silver prints) correspond with the contents in the exhibition catalogue, apart from a few prints that are missing. They are mounted on matte black album paper and are in the same order as in the catalogue.<sup>50</sup> The acrylic glass is also used for the protective felt-lined boxes for the black leather albums. Several letters in the archive include data on the catalogue's photographs. They state that they were also used for the press and that a selection was circulated to the institutions that hosted the exhibition.<sup>51</sup> When the tour was over, the photographs were collected and mounted in the two albums, resulting in a unique documentation and object from the exhibition in Stockholm.

### Joseph Beuys and Günther Uecker

In the second half of the 1960s, we can discern a few different themes in the Museum's programmes and activities, and in Pontus Hultén's practice. The interest in young American art, which was manifested in exhibitions such as *Four Americans* (1962) and *American Pop Art. 106 Forms of Love and Despair* (1964) subsided after Andy Warhol. This has been interpreted as an attempt to sidestep criticism against the USA in connection with the Vietnam War.<sup>52</sup> The last major show, where Hultén collaborated with his old friend and partner in crime, Billy Klüver, was the exhibition *New York Collection for Stockholm* (1973).<sup>53</sup> In an unpublished manuscript, Hultén wrote the following summary of the first years of activities:



Brillo boxes installed in the *Andy Warhol* exhibition,  
Moderna Museet, 1968

While I am now, as so many times before, expressing our delight in the Museum's exhibition activities, I must also admit that even this short list suggests a certain deficiency. Deficiency may be too strong a word. Let us call it a lack of balance. I am referring to the fact that modern German art has perhaps not been acknowledged sufficiently and according to merit.<sup>54</sup>

The text was written as a foreword for a catalogue for a double exhibition of the German artists Joseph Beuys and Günther Uecker. But this turned into two solo exhibitions, each with its own catalogue, which were shown simultaneously on 16 January to 28 February, 1971.<sup>55</sup> Hultén pointed out that we could now expect "art to decentralise" and that German art had an important place. The two featured artists were among the best, and they held an absolutely dominant position on the German scene, according to Hultén. The text alludes to difficulties of various kinds in the process, and the fact that there were two separate exhibitions instead of one is probably a result of this. Uecker was not entirely new to the Swedish public, since he had participated in the exhibition *Inner and Outer Space* (1965) with one of his nail pieces.<sup>56</sup> Joseph Beuys, on the other hand, had never before been shown in Sweden. The exhibition presented several objects, including *Hasengrab I–IV* (Hare Grave I–IV), but more importantly drawings from the collection of Franz Joseph and Hans van der Grinten. The Moderna Museet collection contains a collage, *The Daughter of Genghis Khan* (1960), shown in the exhibition and donated by the van der Grinten brothers, who are thanked explicitly by Hultén in the foreword to the catalogue.<sup>57</sup> The exhibition is richly documented, with photographs of Joseph Beuys in his characteristic hat and fur coat working on the Museum premises in Stockholm.

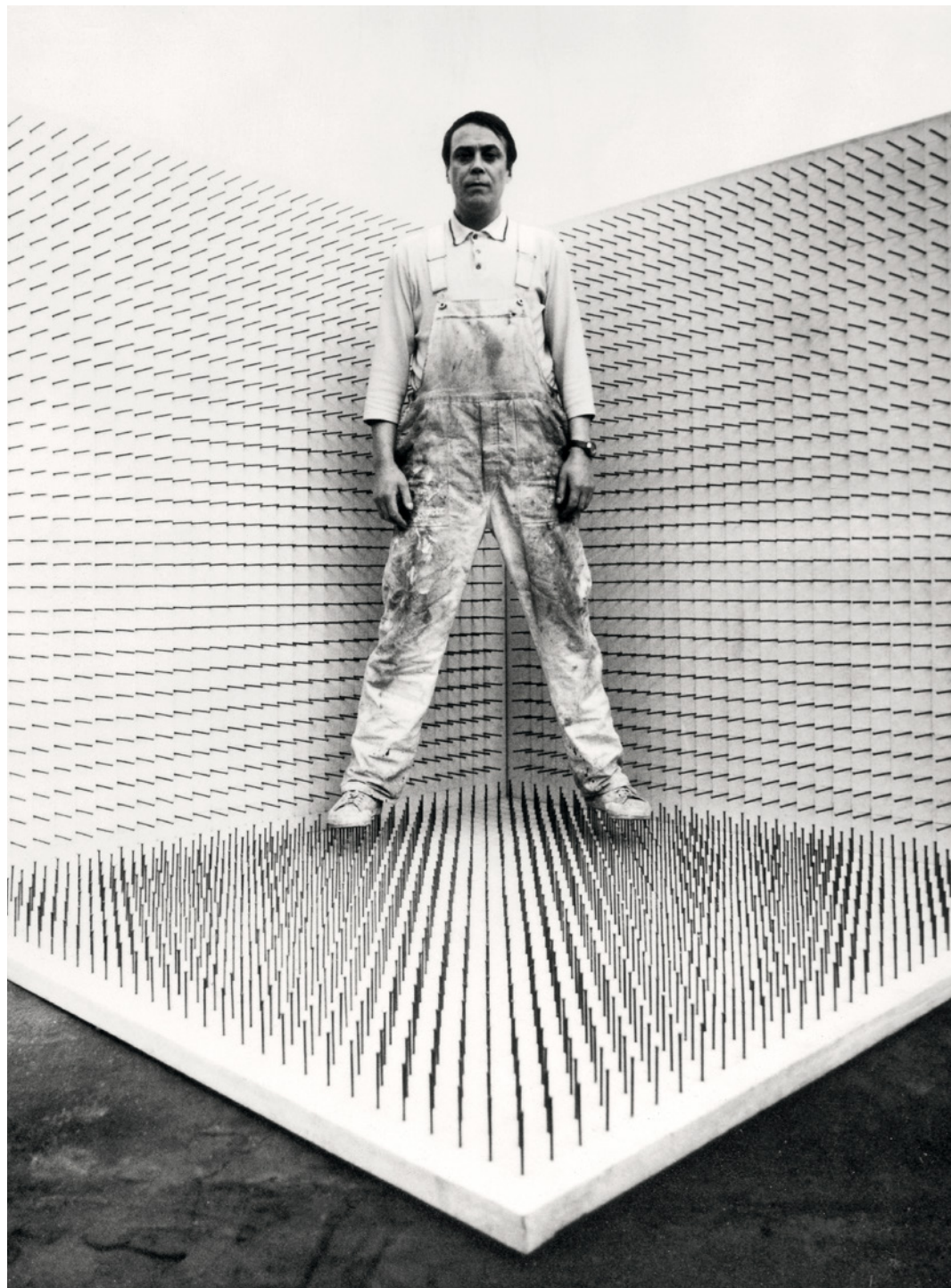
#### Bernd and Hilla Becher

The year before, in November 1970, Moderna Museet presented an exhibition of the German photographers Bernd and Hilla Becher, titled *Form genom funktion. Fotografisk dokumentation av industribyggnader* (Form Through Function. Photographic Documentation of Industrial Buildings). This was a joint project with the Friends of Fotografiska Museet (FMV). More than 200 black-and-white photographs of the Bechers' typical motifs were featured: gasometers,



Joseph Beuys at the installation of his exhibition  
*Actions/Aktionen*, Moderna Museet, 1971





Günther Uecker in his nail corner, 1968, from the exhibition catalogue *Günther Uecker. Bildobjekt 1957–1970* / *Bild-Objekt 1957–1970*, Moderna Museet, 1971



blast furnaces, mining hoists, cooling towers, lime furnaces, silos and water towers. The exhibition was installed in the upper galleries, where the ceiling was fairly low, and the photographs hung close together, according to the Bechers' type categories. There were also prints arranged on tables and screens standing on the floor. The catalogue is folded and becomes a poster when opened up. An effective design that was used for several other photo exhibitions around that time.<sup>58</sup> In all these exhibition projects with German artists, Karin Bergqvist Lindegren played a prominent part as curator, catalogue editor and translator. We have previously noted that she often stepped in and replaced Hultén when he was travelling or on leave of absence.<sup>59</sup> In a conversation between her, Carlo Derkert, Ingela Lind and Katja Waldén, she describes her way to the Museum.<sup>60</sup> She was an art historian from Lund and began working at Nationalmuseum before getting a permanent position at Moderna Museet in 1961, so she was not one of Hultén's old cronies from university. She was the director of Moderna Museet from 1977 to 1979 – the first and only female director of Moderna Museet until Gitte Ørskou was appointed in 2019.

The Becher show was just one of many photography exhibitions at Moderna Museet in the 1960s and early 1970s. The first was *Svenskarna sedda av 11 fotografer* (Swedes as Seen by 11 Photographers), which opened on 26 December, 1962, and closed on 10 February, 1963.<sup>61</sup> This exhibition featured nearly three hundred black-and-white photographs by a few of Sweden's most established photographers at the time.<sup>62</sup> The exhibition committee consisted of Kurt Bergengren, Stig Claesson, Carlo Derkert and Pontus Hultén, along with the eleven photographers. In spring 1965, *Fotografiska Världsutställningen* (The Photographic World Exhibition) was shown in collaboration with and at Liljevalchs Konsthall. The famous French photographer Édouard Boubat had his first major retrospective abroad in 1967 at Moderna Museet, thanks to his friend and fellow photographer Rune Hassner.<sup>63</sup> Most photography exhibitions at Moderna Museet were then produced in association with the Friends of Fotografiska Museet.<sup>64</sup> The first exhibition organised by the department of photography that was established at Moderna Museet in 1971, known as Fotografiska Museet until the restructuring in 1998, was *André Kertész. Fotografier 1913–1971* (1971).<sup>65</sup> This was the last joint exhibition with the Friends of Fotografiska Museet, but the Friends continued to exist until the end of the 1990s, when it merged with the Friends of Moderna Museet.



From the exhibition *Bernd and Hilla Becher: Form Through Function. Photographic Documentation of Industrial Buildings*, Moderna Museet, 1970

Pontus Hultén was eager to incorporate photography in Moderna Museet's activities, and, according to Olle Granath, this was entirely in line with his ambition that Moderna Museet's collection should cover the same range as the collections of its role model, MoMA in New York.<sup>66</sup>

It is also interesting to note how photographic images were introduced as part of several thematic exhibitions, or as scenography. One facet of this open and broad interest in images is the exhibition *Synligt och osynligt. Vetenskapens nya bilder* (Visible and Invisible. New Images in Science), produced in 1973 for Moderna Museet jointly with Fotografiska Museet.<sup>67</sup> The exhibition was based on a fundamental idea and arranged according to a time scale, a spatial scale and a spectral scale, with photographs of different sizes hung in the first room together with electronic microscopes and other instruments. Pictures of the microcosm (close-ups) and macrocosm (stars and planets) and computer images were also shown. Lennart Nilsson's photographs of human reproduction were presented separately in the Museum's cinema.<sup>68</sup> A basic premise was a belief in the educational potential of images and exhibitions to describe complicated scientific methods and results. Hultén later produced the exhibition *Cartes et figures de la terre* (1980) for Centre Pompidou, about the history of maps.<sup>69</sup> In these projects, Hultén cooperated with the scientific journalists Annagreta and Eric Dyring on their concept and contents.

### Utopias and Visions

Moderna Museet's major summer exhibition in 1971 was *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981*, shown outdoors at the old rifle range behind the navy prison on Skeppsholmen. Based on a number of utopian situations, beginning with the Paris Commune in 1871, the exhibition presented material relating to everyday life in this Commune, Buckminster Fuller's World Game, and future communication issues. The exhibition is best remembered for its geodesic dome, where the artist Moki Cherry and the jazz musician Don Cherry presented music, decor, clothes and performances throughout the summer.<sup>70</sup> A few years later, in 1974, Hultén invited them to Paris to create a temporary "Atelier des enfants" prior to the completion of Centre Pompidou.

As an art exhibition, *Utopias and Visions* was both different and typical of the times. Different in that it did not claim to be showing art.

On the contrary, it was a kind of “future research”, with advanced technology, audience participation and music as key components. After a historic summary of the Paris Commune, the audience visited a number of stations that all showed different aspects of the world that could materialise already in 1981, if we all chipped in. But this exhibition was also typical of the times. In the early 1970s, Sweden and the West had a politicised social climate. The arts became an arena for (left-wing) political involvement, and art was seen as an instrument for political change. After 1968, Moderna Museet’s previously playful, not to say carefree exhibition programme shifted towards a more targeted political agenda. Exhibition such as *Revolutionens språk* (The Language of Revolution) and *Poesin måste göras av alla! Förändra världen!* (Poetry Must be Made by All! Change the World!) (1968–69), visits by the Black Panther Party in 1970, and a book café organised by the socialist bookstore Gamma (1970) are a few of the activities that prompted the parliamentary auditors to describe the Museum’s activities as “fiercely agitational” in the report they submitted the same year as *Utopias and Visions* took place.<sup>71</sup> As a whole, the exhibition was also a visionary presentation of what a modern art museum could be. Through its different sections, illustrated on the catalogue cover, a gradual condensation of information and experiences evolves. In the interview published in *OPUS International* the same year, Pontus Hultén describes how the museum could one day serve as a meeting and communication hub, where flows between artists, audiences and society intersect. *Utopias and Visions* can be regarded as an attempt to implement this form of museum.

Another experiment during Pontus Hultén’s last years as the director of Moderna Museet was Filialen (The Annex), operated from March 1971 to July 1973, mainly by Pär Stolpe.<sup>72</sup> When Kasern III, the former naval canteen, became available, this gave the Museum more space to work with music, dance, theatre, new visual media, debates, meetings and parties, and to offer yet another forum for its audiences.<sup>73</sup> The activities at Filialen met with criticism and strong opinions and tensions arose between different camps. There were discussions around this time about moving Moderna Museet to Kulturhuset in central Stockholm.<sup>74</sup> The plans for this were engendered by the fundamental concept of the modern art museum that Hultén brought with him and elaborated on during his years at Musée d’art moderne at Centre Pompidou in Paris.<sup>75</sup>



Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome with Don Cherry performing, at the exhibition *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981*, Moderna Museet, 1971



The museum director Pontus Hultén and his era continue to fascinate, inspire and influence not only the activities today at Moderna Museet, but also art historians, curators and artists internationally. Recent research in exhibition history, which we refer to and apply in this project, has proposed alternative histories and interpretations, and has also highlighted other significant players. In our studies and explorations of particular events in Moderna Museet's early days, some themes stand out, and one of these is the impact of Pontus Hultén's contacts with and educational experiences at Nationalmuseum.<sup>76</sup> What would have happened if Otte Sköld had not died in 1958, only a year after becoming the director of Moderna Museet? Much of what the young Pontus Hultén implemented already existed as ideas and discussions on the mother ship, Nationalmuseum, but we can also confirm that Hultén, with his interests and early travels, was well-prepared and saw the potential. He was simply the right man in the right place at the right time. He also had a remarkable ability to attract talented and loyal staff members, as a deep look into the archives and the interviews with some of his old friends and colleagues will reveal. Another theme is how Pontus Hultén intentionally built and employed networks throughout his career. Collaborations with his Nordic colleagues at Louisiana Museum of Modern Art in Humlebæk outside Copenhagen and Henie Onstad Kunstsenter at Høvikodden outside Oslo are particularly interesting, along with the other museums and art institutions of the same size as Moderna Museet in its early days.<sup>77</sup> The visions of the modern art museum formulated in the 1960s resound in public debate to this day, but the conditions have, of course, changed. Knowledge and analysis of history gives us the potential to relate to and pass on the legacy of this era to the future. This book follows Pontus Hultén and his activities from his hometown, Stockholm, via New York, and back to his second hometown, Paris.

1. For more on the research project, Pontus Hultén's donation in 2005, the collection, the archive, the library and the Study Gallery, and for a biography of Pontus Hultén (1924–2006), see Anna Tellgren, "Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. Research and learning based on an art collection, an archive and a library", *Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. The Formative Years*, eds. Anna Tellgren and Anna Lundström, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and London: Koenig Books, 2017, pp. 15–35. The project was financed for two years (2015–16) by the Swedish Arts Council's funding for research at Central Museums.

2. The symposium was on 2–4 February, 2017, and was co-organised by Moderna Museet in Stockholm, Museum Tinguely in Basel, the Stedelijk Museum and the Dutch Postgraduate School for Art History (OSK) Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. The organisational team included Angela Bartholomew, Dorine de Bruijne, Annika Gunnarsson, Ylva Hillström, Katja Kwastek, Anna Lundström, Andres Pardey, Margriet Schavemaker and Anna Tellgren.

3. See "Lose Yourself! On Labyrinthine Exhibitions as Curatorial Model", *Stedelijk Studies*, issue no. 7, 2018. <https://stedelijkstudies.com/journal-archive/issue-7-lose-yourself/> (23 August, 2022).

4. The exhibition ran from 3 June, 2018 to 3 February, 2019. It was curated by Anna Tellgren. See <https://www.modernamuseet.se/stockholm/sv/utstallningar/att-minnas-hon-en-katedral/> (23 August, 2022).

5. The research project was communicated to the public through three lectures at the Tuesday Club (8 November, 2016, 21 November, 2017, and 23 October, 2018), organised by the Friends of Moderna Museet (MMV). See also Anna Tellgren, "Forskning pågår Pontus Hultén & Moderna Museet", *Bulletinen Moderna Museets Vänner*, no. 2, 2016, p. 15, and Annika Gunnarsson, "Fest, fantastiskt och forskning", *Bulletinen Moderna Museets Vänner*, no. 3, 2017, p. 18. The seminar series *Om utställningar* (On Exhibitions) took place on three occasions in 2017: on *Dylaby* and *Hon* (10 February), a conversation between Olle Granath, Jens Hoffmann and Maria Lind (11 April), and on *Implosion* with Lars Nittve interviewed by Lars Bang Larsen (21 November). The series of talks *Sex till åtta* (Six to Eight) was held in conjunction with the exhibition *Warhol 1968* on three occasions in autumn 2018 and was co-organised with Södertörn University.

6. The course "Exponeringens effekter: Utställningsmediets formering i 1960-talets nationella museer" (1011KV) was held at second-cycle and postgraduate level (7.5 credits) and was co-organised by Södertörn University, Moderna Museet, Nationalmuseum and the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. It was planned by Annika Öhrner, associate professor and senior lecturer in art history at Södertörn University, together with the curator Anna Tellgren, head of research at Moderna Museet.

7. See Anne Gregersen, Kristian Handberg and Michael Kjær, "Udstillingen som forskningsobjekt. Skandinaviske Exhibition Histories", *Periskop. Forum for kunsthistorisk debat*, no. 20, 2018, pp. 5–11. Another example of this from a Nordic perspective is the art historian conference NORDIK XII

(organised by the Nordic Association for Art Historians) in Copenhagen in autumn 2018, with two sessions on exhibition history: *Remembering – Art History and Curatorial Practices in Nordic Post-War Exhibition Studies* (led by Anna Lundström and Anna Tellgren) and *Futures from the Past? Nordic Exhibition Histories* (led by Anne Gregersen, Kristian Handberg and Michael Kjær).

8. *Hommage à Pontus Hultén* was organised at Centre Pompidou in Paris on 24 November, 2017. The panel consisted of Daniel Birnbaum, Bernard Blistène, Daniel Buren and Serge Fauchereau. The special issue of *Les Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne*, Paris: Éditions du Centre George Pompidou, no. 141, autumn 2017, was followed by a special issue on the exhibition *Paris–Moscou 1900–1930* (1979), one of the so-called city exhibitions that Pontus Hultén produced at Centre Pompidou: “*Paris–Moscou*” 40 ans après, *Les Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne*, Paris: Éditions du Centre George Pompidou, hors-série 2019.

9. The project team consisted of Charlotte Bydler, Andreas Gedin and Sinziana Ravini. The publications published within the project are: Andreas Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, She, a Cathedral & Moderna Museet*, London: Koenig Books, 2020, and *Pontus Hultén på Moderna Museet. Vittneseminarium, Södertörns högskola, 26 april 2017*, eds. Charlotte Bydler, Andreas Gedin and Johanna Ringarp, *Samtidshistoriska frågor* 38, Huddinge: Södertörn University, 2018.

10. See Anne Horvath, “L’effet Pontus Hultén”, *Face à Arcimboldo* (exh. cat.), eds. Chiara Parisi and Anne Horvath, Metz: Édition du Centre Pompidou-Metz, 2021, pp. 385–391.

11. See also *Forskning vid museer*, ed. Fredrik Svanberg, The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm Studies 19, Stockholm: Historiska Museet and Stockholm: Swedish Arts Council, 2011.

12. Hans Ulrich Obrist includes two women, Anne d’Harnoncourt and Lucy Lippard, among the eleven curators he interviewed and mentions in his book *A Brief History of Curating*, Zürich: JRP Ringier, 2008. See also *From Conceptualism to Feminism. Lucy Lippard’s Numbers Shows 1969–74*, Exhibition Histories, London: Afterall Books and London: Koenig Books, 2012.

13. See also Marta Edling, “From Margin to Margin? The Stockholm Paris Axis 1944–1953”, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 88, no. 1, 2019, pp. 1–16.

14. See, for instance, Katarina Wadstein MacLeod, *From Flux to Festivity. International Art in Lunds konsthall 1965–67*, eds. Elin Aspeklev, Anders Kreuger, Åsa Nackning and Emil Nilsson, *Södertörn Studies in Art History and Aesthetics* 6, Lund: Lunds konsthall and Huddinge: Södertörn University, 2022.

15. More than 20 loan requests have been granted since 2000, and the work has travelled to several major art museums in Europe and the USA, in addition to being shown for long periods in the collection at Moderna Museet in Stockholm (2004 and 2007) and in the exhibition *Niki de Saint Phalle. The Girl, the Monster and the Goddess* at Moderna Museet Malmö

in 2012 and in Stockholm in 2013, and in the Pontus Hultén Study Gallery in 2018. See the catalogues: *Wack! Art and the Feminist Revolution* (exh. cat.), ed. Lisa Gabrielle Mark, Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 2007, p. 180; *Niki de Saint Phalle 1930–2002* (exh. cat.), ed. Camille Morineau, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux – Grand Palais, 2014, p. 85; *Jean Tinguely*, Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam catalog number 927, eds. Margriet Schavemaker, Barbara Til and Beat Wismer, Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum and Cologne: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 2016, p. 136; *Niki de Saint Phalle in the 1960s* (exh. cat.), eds. Jill Dawsey and Michelle White, Houston: The Menil Collection and San Diego: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2021, p. 186.

16. *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age* (exh. cat.), ed. K. G. Pontus Hultén, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1968. There is plenty of archive material on the catalogue for *The Machine*, which was produced by the same group (Pontus Hultén, John Melin and Gösta Svensson) that made the famous catalogue for the Andy Warhol exhibition the same year. See note 44. The cover for *The Machine* was designed by Anders Österlin, one half of the Melin & Österlin duo. See Utställningar, 68 *The Machine*. MMA PHA 4.2.52–58.

17. Yann Pavie, “Vers le musée du futur. Entretien avec Pontus Hultén”, *Opus International*, no. 24–25, 1971, pp. 56–65. A copy of the article is found in the material about Filialen. MMA MA F1a:57. See also Yann Pavie, “Entretien avec H. Szeemann”, *Opus International*, no. 36, 1972, pp. 38–44.

18. Pontus Hultén, “How Does One Wish a Museum for Modern Art to Function?”, *Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. The Formative Years*, 2017, pp. 177–181. The text is attached to a letter to Professor Pieter Sanders dated 4 December, 1962. MMA PHA 4.1.52.

19. The exhibition documents include approximately 10 letters from Lou Laurin-Lam, discussing the exhibition and texts for the catalogue. MMA MA F1a:38. See also *Wifredo Lam. Hjärtats snår, vapen, frukter*, eds. K.G. Hultén and Barbro Sylwan, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 62, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1967.

20. Pontus Hultén, “The New York Connection”, *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, eds. Olle Granath and Monica Nieckels, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1983, pp. 54–57, and 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, pp. 233–256.

21. See Birgitta Arvas, “Barn på Moderna Museet – VERKSTAN”, *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, 1983, pp. 187–195, and Anette Göthlund, “Activities in the Workshop and Zon. Art Education for Children at Moderna Museet”, *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, 2008, pp. 257–296.

22. Lars Bang Larsen, *Palle Nielsen. The Model. A Model for a Qualitative Society* (1968), Barcelona: Museu d’Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA), 2010. The book was published in conjunction with Palle Nielsen’s

donation of his archive to MACBA in 2009, with drawings, photographs, LPs and other material from *The Model*. See also Palle Nielsen, "A Brief History of the Model", *The Model Palle Nielsen* (exh. cat.), eds. Christian Gether, Stine Høholt, Dorte Juul Rugaard and Camilla Jalving, Ishøj: Arken Museum of Modern Art, 2015, pp. 68–71.

23. Gunilla Lundahl, "The Model, Action Dialogue and a Conversation over Time", *The New Model: An Inquiry. Tensta konsthall*, eds. Maria Lind and Lars Bang Larsen, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2020, pp. 31–40. See also Lars Bang Larsen and Maria Lind in the same publication, "Interview with Gunilla Lundahl. Tensta konsthall, November 8, 2017", *The New Model: An Inquiry*, 2020, pp. 111–132. After *The Model* closed at Moderna Museet, the entire exhibition was moved to the new housing district Råby in Västerås, where it was renamed *Ballongen* (The Balloon). For more information, see *Den fria leken. Modellen, Ballongen och konsten som action*, ed. Katrin Ingelstedt, Stockholm: Folkörörelsernas konstfrämjande and Västerås: Västerås konstmuseum, 2017.

24. K. G. P. Hultén, "Museernas nya roll", *Modellen. En modell för ett kvalitativt samhälle*, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1968, p. 32. This thin pamphlet contains short quotes and texts from: Arbetsgruppen (the exhibition team), Mats G. Bengtsson, Clas Engström, Sigmund Freud, André Gorz, John Holt, Sören Kierkegaard, R. D. Laing, Sven Lindner, Gunilla Lundahl, Hjärdís Nilsson, Palle Nielsen, Leif Nylén, Mette Prawitz, Ludvig Rasmusson, Irène and Bengt Sjöblom, Bertil Söderling, Anna-Clara Tjerneld (Tidholm), Jan Thomæus, Kerstin and Olle Wickman, Tomas Wieslander, Mao Zedong, Per-Johan Ödman, a few anonymous children, Vasastans byalag and the headmaster's office in Norra Ängby.

25. Visitors: Paying adults (8,975), Groups (8,726), Children with parents (10,875), Others (5,000). *The Model*, 30 September–23 October, 1968. Breakdown as of 31 October, 1968. MMA MA F1a:46.

26. On the 50th anniversary, the exhibition *Warhol 1968* opened at Moderna Museet in Stockholm in autumn 2018, and in spring 2019 at Moderna Museet Malmö. The curator was John Peter Nilsson. See also John Peter Nilsson, "Warhol 1968", *Moderna Museets Vänner* no. 3, 2018, pp. 4–5. The exhibition mainly featured works from the collection (there are around hundred works by Andy Warhol) and a few of the *Cow* wallpaper panels that were shown in 1968 had been brought out from storage and conserved. See more about the wallpaper at <https://www.modernamuseet.se/stockholm/sv/2019/04/18/bakom-kulisserna-andy-warhols-cow-wallpaper> (23 August, 2022). The archive contains a proposal by Gösta Wibom on how the wallpaper should be mounted, 2 January, 1967. MMA MA F1a:42.

27. See the small invitation card to the preview on 10 February, 1968, with the same flower as the catalogue cover. MMA MA B5:2. The exhibition was on until 17 March.

28. Annika Öhrner, "On the Construction of Pop Art. When American Pop Arrived in Stockholm in 1964", *Art in Transfer in the Era of Pop. Curatorial Practices and Transnational Strategies*, ed. Annika Öhrner, Södertörn Studies in Art History and Aesthetics 3, Huddinge: Södertörn University,



2017, pp. 127–159. See also Annika Öhrner, “Warhol in Translation, Stockholm 1968: ‘Many Works and Few Motifs’”, *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 26, June 2022. <https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/26-jun22/> (23 August, 2022).

29. Thank-you letter from Ileana Sonnabend to K.G. Hultén, 27 February, 1968. MMA MA F1a:41.

30. Olle Granath, “With Andy Warhol 1968”, *Andy Warhol. A Guide to 706 Objects in 2 Hours 56 Minutes, Other Voices, Other Rooms*, ed. Eva Meyer-Hermann, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 343, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2008, 00.10–00.13. He also said at the witness seminar at Södertörn University on 26 April, 2017 that he served as “some kind of executive at the Warhol exhibition”, and that he was not paid for this. See *Pontus Hultén på Moderna Museet*, 2018, p. 57. The financial records list various expenses and travel funding for Olle Granath. Expenses–Warhol. MMA MA F1a:42.

31. Letter from Kasper König to Pontus Hultén, undated 1967. MMA MA F1a:41.

32. Letter from unknown, probably Pontus Hultén, to Andy Warhol, 8 January, 1968. MMA MA F1a:41. The letter states that the leader of the Swedish band, Thomas Tidholm, will be sending a separate letter. The band, Parsons Sound, which later became Träd, Gräs och Stenar, played once during the exhibition. This is documented in the final picture in the second and third editions of the catalogue. See *Andy Warhol*, eds. Andy Warhol, Kasper König, Pontus Hultén and Olle Granath, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Malmö: Stig Arbman AB, 1970.

33. The secretary Märta Sahlberg writes to Warhol in July apologising for disturbing him on account of the incident. Letter from Märta Sahlberg to Andy Warhol, 26 July, 1968. MMA MA F1a:41.

34. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Kasper König, 3 May, 1968. MMA MA F1a:41.

35. Pontus Hultén ordered 125 wooden Brillo boxes to be made for several exhibitions in the 1990s. There is an undated note in the archives, “P.M. Concerning Brillo Boxes” by Pontus Hultén. Exhibitions, 1953–1977. MMA PHA 4.2.17. This is the text that was published in *Pontus Hultén’s Collection*, ed. Iris Müller-Westermann, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 321, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 2004, p. 360. See “Second Report: The Stockholm Type Boxes Prepared by the Andy Warhol Art Authentication Board”, 19 July, 2010, Reg. no. MM 2010-183-254. MMA MA F2eb:12. See also Thomas Anderberg, *Den stora konstsvindeln*, Stockholm: Bokförlaget Atlas, 2010.

36. See Paul B. Franklin, “Exposing Duchamp in Sweden”, *Étant donné Marcel Duchamp*, no. 11, ed. Paul B. Franklin, Paris: Association pour l’Étude de Marcel Duchamp, 2016, pp. 94–141. Nathalie Leleu, “‘Let Us Place the Eye Under the Control of Touch.’ Replicas and Replicators of Vladimir Tatlin’s Monument to the Third International: The Great Adventure of Pontus Hultén”, *Tatlin: New Art for a New World*, Basel: Museum Tinguely

and Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2012, pp. 122–129. See also Ulf Linde and Per Olof Ultvedt, “Rapport om rekonstruktionen”, *Vladimir Tatlin*, eds. Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, K. G. P. Hultén and Douglas Feuk, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 75, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1968, pp. 26–27.

37. Letter from unknown, probably Pontus Hultén, to Andy Warhol, 8 January, 1968. MMA MA F1a:41.

38. See the correspondence in the archive (MMA MA F1a:41–42) on the screenings of Moderna Museet’s copy of *Chelsea Girls*, compiled by David Nasri, intern at the Museum in spring 2018.

39. They were deposited at the Museum from 1968 until 1976, when the acquisitions were finalised. *Ten-Foot-Flowers* (MOM 57) was donated by the artist, and *Electric Chair* (MOM 58) was donated by Kasper König.

40. Letters from Leo Castelli to Pontus Hultén 21 May, 1970 and 15 June, 1970. MMA MA F1a:42.

41. Letter from Harald Szeemann to Pontus Hultén, 8 May, 1968. MMA MA F1a:41.

42. Letter from the curator Thomas Mürer to Pontus Hultén, 21 August, 1967. MMA MA F1a:41.

43. Visitors to the Warhol exhibition, 10 February–17 March, 1968: 24,633, of which 7,519 in the evening. MMA MA F1a:42. The exhibition had fewer visitors than *The Model*, which was shown for around two weeks less.

44. *Andy Warhol*, eds. Andy Warhol, Kasper König, Pontus Hultén and Olle Granath, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, and Malmö: Stig Arbman AB, 1968. Second edition 1969 and third edition 1970. In a letter shortly after the opening, Pontus Hultén asks Kasper König to give away a few copies of the catalogue to “influential people”, because it is not selling that well. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Kasper König, 18 February, 1968. MMA MA F1a:41. Regarding the catalogue, see “Willem de Roij on Andy Warhol”, *Other Voices, Other Rooms*, 2008, pp. 02.30–02.31.

45. See *John Melin till exempel. En hyllning till det enkla, vackra, lekfulla, konstnärliga, unika, egensinniga, tidlösa, moderna, experimentella*, ed. Johan Melbi, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1999.

46. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Kasper König, 20 December, 1967. MMA MA F1a:41. Olle Granath was the one who compiled the texts based on articles and interviews with Andy Warhol. He says that it was Pontus Hultén who coined one of Warhol’s most famous quotes: “In the future everybody will be world famous for fifteen minutes”. Olle Granath, *Other Voices, Other Rooms*, 2008, p. 00.13.

47. Letter from Kasper König to Pontus Hultén, undated 1967. MMA MA F1a:41. Billy Name’s original name was William George Linich.

48. Letter from Kasper König to Pontus Hultén, 1 December, 1967. MMA MA F1a:41. *Photo Album Volume 1* (FM 1968 004 001) includes two copies of Andy Warhol’s fake SAS air ticket, glued in.

49. Olle Granath, *Other Voices, Other Rooms*, 2008, p. 00.13. See also a letter from Gösta Svensson to Olle Granath, 27 May, 1968, concerning a possible special binding of the Warhol book. MMA MA F1a:42.

50. The photographs were probably collected and pasted into the albums at Stig Arbmán AB in Malmö, where the catalogue was printed. This theory is confirmed by Leif Wigh, curator of photography at Moderna Museet between 1973 and 2004, in an e-mail to Anna Tellgren, 25 August, 2022. Olle Granath was also asked, and he thinks that the albums adhere to John Melin's idea, but he has no detailed memory from when they were ordered or by whom. Conversation with Anna Tellgren, 5 May, 2022.

51. Letter from the press officer Sonja Martinsson to A. J. Petersen, Stedelijk Museum, 20 March, 1968. MMA MA F1a:41. The Museum sent 20 original photographs by Billy Name and 20 by Stephen Shore to Amsterdam, stating that it was very important that they were returned when the exhibition ended.

52. Patrik Andersson, *Euro-Pop. The Mechanical Bride Stripped Bare in Stockholm* (diss.), Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2001.

53. Marianne Hultman, "New York Collection for Stockholm", *Teknologi för livet. Om Experiments in Art and Technology*, Paris: Schultz Förlag AB and Norrköping: Norrköpings Konstmuseum, 2004, pp. 160–171. *New York Collection for Stockholm*, ed. Björn Springfeldt, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 111, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1973.

54. Manuscript by Pontus Hultén 1971. MMA MA F1:59.

55. *Joseph Beuys. Aktioner/Aktionen. Teckningar och objekt 1937–1970 ur samling van der Grinten*, ed. Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 90, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1971. *Günther Uecker. Bildobjekt 1957–1970/Bild-Objekt 1957–1970*, ed. Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 91, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1971.

56. Patrik Andersson, "Inner and Outer Space. Rethinking Movement in Art", *Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. The Formative Years*, 2017, pp. 39–63.

57. The collection also includes the sculpture *Hasengrab V (die Alpen)* (1965) (NMSK 2096), donated to the Museum in 1971 by the Friends of Moderna Museet. For more on the exhibition, see Simone Schmid, *Beuys und Lothar Wolleh. Das Unterwasserbuch-Projekt/Wolleh: Beuys. Från Moderna Museet till Undervattenbokprojektet*, Stockholm: Goethe-Institut Schweden, 2021.

58. The same poster format was used for: *Lucien Clergue. Fotografier 1954–1967*, ed. Douglas Kneeder, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 79, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Stockholm: Fotografiska Museets Vänner, 1969; *Bernhard and Hilla Becher. Form genom funktion. Fotografisk dokumentation av industribyggnader*, ed. Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 88, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Stockholm: Fotografiska Museets Vänner, 1970; *Folket och maktens murar. Bilder av Gun Kessle. Text av Jan Myrdal*, ed. Åke Sidwall, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 95, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Stockholm: Fotografiska Museets Vänner, 1971; *Fotografisk Vårutställning*, eds. Ulla

Bergman, Åke Sidwall and Leif Wigh, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 148, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Stockholm: Fotografiska Museet, 1977.

59. Annika Gunnarsson, "Sam Francis and Claes Oldenburg. Two Americans", *Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet. The Formative Years*, 2017, p. 137.

60. Ingela Lind, "Vägarna till Moderna Museet", *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, 1983, pp. 151–158. While working on *The History Book* (2008), Martin Sundberg contacted Karin Bergqvist Lindegren on several occasions to request an interview, but she declined.

61. See Anna Tellgren, "Carlo Derkert och Svenskarna sedda av 11 fotografer", *Biblis*, no. 57, 2012, pp. 49–52. *Svenskarna sedda av elva fotografer*, eds. Carlo Derkert and Pontus Hultén, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 25, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1962.

62. The following photographers participated in the exhibition: Sten Didrik Bellander, Jan Delden, Hans Hammarskiöld, Sune Jonsson, Tore Johnson, Stig T. Karlsson, Lennart Nilsson, Pål-Nils Nilsson, Lennart Olson, Lennart af Petersens and Rolf Winquist.

63. Rune Hassner, "Ögonblick av lycka", *Édouard Boubat* (exh. cat.), ed. Sonja Martinsson, Stockholm: Fotografiska Museet, 1967, unpaginated. See also Rune Hassner, *Bilder & Ord. Bibliografi, filmografi, utställningsförteckning, med mera*, eds. Rune Hassner and Birgitta Forsell, Visuellt Konst- och bildvetenskapliga institutionens skriftserie no. 7, Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 2002.

64. The society was formed in 1963 in conjunction with the work on *Svenskarna sedda av 11 fotografer*. Se Pär Frank, "Fotografiska Museet och dess vänner", *Fotografica 67*, Årsskrift för Fotografiska Museets Vänner, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1966, pp. 83–89.

65. On Fotografiska Museet in Moderna Museet, see Anna Tellgren, "Photography and Art. On The Moderna Museet Collection of Photography from a Historic Perspective on the Institution", *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, 2008, pp. 121–152.

66. Interview with Olle Granath, 13 June, 2007. See also Olle Granath, "Pontus Hultén à Stockholm", *Les Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne*, no. 141, 2017, pp. 31–45.

67. *Synligt och osynligt. Vetenskapens nya bilder*, eds. Annagreta Dyring and Eric Dyring, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 108, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget, 1973.

68. Pontus Hultén had proposed an exhibition with the photographer Lennart Nilsson early on, but this multifaceted exhibition with images from natural sciences, technology and medicine was organised instead. Minutes from the FMV board meeting 30 September, 1971. MMA FMA A1:3. See also Solveig Jülich, "Lennart Nilsson's Fish-Eyes: A Photographic and Cultural History of Views from Below", *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 84, no. 2, 2015, pp. 75–92.

69. On the exhibition concepts, see also Annagreta Dyring "Fotot hör hemma i stora sammanhang", *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, 1983, pp. 166–168.

70. In connection with the exhibition *Moment – Moki Cherry* (9 April, 2016–9 April, 2017) at Moderna Museet in Stockholm, Anna Lundström presented material on *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981* from the archives in a showcase together with a text. MMA MA F1:60 and MMA PHA 4.2.51. The following discussion is based on this presentation.

71. PM on an inspection, no. 8/1971. Further correspondence 1964–1973. MMA MA E5:5. For more on the increasingly political exhibitions at Moderna Museet and MoMA in the 1970s, see Mary Anne Staniszewski, “Looking for Signs of Life”, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 78, no. 4, 2009, pp. 193–203.

72. Pär Stolpe, *Filialen vid Moderna Museet i Stockholm 1.3 1971–1.7 1973 Rapporten*, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1974. MMA MA B7D:1. The report states that Pär Stolpe was responsible for activities at Filialen, with the assistance of Karin Lutturp and Susanne Törneman.

73. Karin Malmquist, “La Cour des miracles. On Visitors, Learning and Art at Moderna Museet”, *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, 2008, pp. 281–296.

74. An early presentation of the plans to move Moderna Museet to Sergels torg is given in an article by Bo Andersson, Carlo Derkert, Pontus Hultén, Li Lind, Pär Stolpe and Anna-Lena Thorsell, “Ett kulturhusprogram: Experiment i social samverkan”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 9 September, 1969. See also Kim West, *The Exhibitionary Complex. Exhibition, Apparatus, and Media from Kulturhuset to the Centre Pompidou, 1963–1977* (diss.), Södertörn Studies in Art History and Aesthetics 4, Huddinge: Södertörn University, 2017.

75. Benadette Dufrêne, “La muséologie selon Pontus Hultén”, *Les Cahiers du Musée national d’art moderne*, no. 141, 2017, pp. 59–77. See also *Centre Pompidou, trente ans d’histoire*, ed. Bernadette Dufrêne, Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2007.

76. Jimmy Pettersson, *Film på konstmuseum. Nationalmuseums möten med filmmediet 1945–1950* (diss.), Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2019.

77. On Pontus Hultén after Moderna Museet, see Claes Britton, *Pontus Hultén. Den moderna konstens anförare. En biografi*, Stockholm: Albert Bonnier Förlag, 2022, pp. 347–749. On Moderna Museet after Pontus Hultén, see Tintin Hodén, *Motsättningarnas museum. Samproduktionen av museiideal i den offentliga debatten om Moderna Museet 1972–2013* (diss.), Linköping Studies in Arts and Sciences no. 791, Linköping: Linköping University. See also the symposium *Utopias and Visions. On the Legacy of Pontus Hultén and His Time*, 18 November, 2022 at Moderna Museet. <https://www.modernamuseet.se/stockholm/en/event/utopier-och-visioner-om-arvet-efter-pontus-hulten/> (27 March, 2023).