



# The History Book

On Moderna Museet 1958–2008

MODERNA MUSEET Steidl



## Reflections from Afar Moderna Museet in the Foreign Press

A key aspect of Moderna Museet's self-understanding is the perception that it became an important international player at an early stage. This self-image was spawned shortly after the museum's opening in 1958, and became firmly established by the mid 1960s. At this point a transatlantic axis took shape between Stockholm and New York. Young American artists exhibited in Stockholm, artists who were in the forefront of the neo avant-garde of the 1960s, while young Swedish artists and other key figures in the Swedish art scene started to make their way to New York, the new centre of the art world.

*During the 1960s, Moderna Museet's most intensive period to date, Pontus Hultén elevated the museum on a par with the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. This pioneering effort took place in a mainly provincial artistic environment characterised by a sceptical attitude towards all daring undertakings.*<sup>1</sup>

This quotation from an article in *Svenska Dagbladet* from 1982 captures the basic elements of this image of Moderna Museet that has dominated for decades: the museum's leading position in the 1960s, Pontus Hultén's enormous influence, and Sweden's provincial status. Much of the criticism directed at Moderna Museet for the past 30 years has its starting point in the institution's past grandeur. The critics called for the re-emergence of a world-renowned, cosmopolitan museum on the island of Skeppsholmen in the midst of Stockholm. The solution often set forward focused on the need of a museum director with the stature of Pontus Hultén.

A museum views itself not only in the eyes of its home audience, but also in the response and attention it receives from other countries. In the Swedish debate, periods of intensive exchange with other countries are often regarded as being especially successful in the museum's history. Networks of international contacts are highly valued in the assessment of the museum director's performance. International exhibitions are considered more interesting than local, and foreign press clippings are appreciated more than Swedish ones. It is these self-concepts, projections and mirror images that are the focus of the following study, based on the extensive source material of foreign press clippings in the museum archives. The study, accordingly, is about how Moderna Museet in Stockholm has been viewed from Helsinki, Paris and New York.

← From the exhibition *Joseph Beuys. Actions, 1971*

Pablo Picasso  
*Bouteille, verre et violon, 1912–13 (detail)*  
Collage, 47 × 62 cm  
Purchase 1967

Moderna Museet's press clipping collection is the starting point for my search for articles and reviews in the foreign press. The archives are located under the museum in bedrock chambers behind heavy protective doors, and have a distinctly damp cellar smell. The simple storage shelves are filled with 32 shelf-metres of press clippings, arranged more or less in chronological order. All in all, the foreign clippings constitute a couple of shelf-decimetres. A relatively modest amount, in other words.<sup>2</sup> It was not until 1997 that the foreign clippings were collected in a category of their own, but they stand out all the same by being the only ones that are copied in greater amounts. Even the copies themselves have often been saved, and offer not only an overview of the evolution of copying techniques since the 1950s, but also the extent to which the foreign clippings were valued and cared for by the museum staff. Especially by the directors, curators and press officers.

A closer look, however, reveals that not all foreign press coverage is considered equally interesting. Scandinavian newspaper clippings have seldom been copied.<sup>3</sup> It is exclusively the articles from France, Germany, England, Italy and the United States that are deemed worthy by the museum staff of duplicating. Another clear indication of how the foreign coverage is rated is the fact that it is exclusively the articles from well renowned periodicals such as *Frieze*, *Flash Art*, *Art das Kunstmagazin* and *ArtNews* that are listed in the museum's annual accounts. Other types of periodicals are not valued as highly, and least of all those of the daily newspapers and weekly press. The treatment of press clippings clearly reflects the hierarchies of the art world, with regard to both geographical and social dimensions.

This text can in itself also be interpreted as a sign of Moderna Museet's interest in foreign press coverage. I was specifically commissioned to write about the foreign reception, albeit from a critical perspective. No one has been assigned a corresponding task of studying what has been written and expressed in Sweden, or of analysing the similarities and differences between Swedish and foreign reception.<sup>4</sup>

That which is most highly valued by the museum stands in direct opposition to what appears most frequently in the archive material. Foreign articles make up a small percentage of the clippings. The magazine articles are negligibly few in comparison to the daily newspaper articles, and the bulk of the foreign material comes from our closest neighbouring countries. The Finnish contribution alone comprises a fourth of all of the clippings, and has been fairly constant throughout the entire fifty-year period.

It can seem slightly weird that a few articles in foreign art periodicals have been attributed a much higher value than the thousands of Swedish articles about the museum published annually, especially considering this small fraction of the press material seldom distinguishes itself as being of a higher standard. It is most often a question of short

exhibition reviews, of the purely descriptive, informative kind. Furthermore, they are surprisingly often written by Swedes (Beate Sydhoff, Maria Lind, Ingela Lind, Lars Nitve, John Peter Nilsson, Mats Stjernstedt, Lars O. Ericsson, Sören Engblom, Power Ekroth and Robert Stasinsky to name a few), or by critics who have lived in Sweden for an extended period of time (Ingamaj Beck, Marta Meregalli and Tom Sandqvist among others). The publications are in themselves naturally a sign of the foreign editors' interest in Moderna Museet, but their content can hardly have surprised the museum staff, which was well acquainted with the critics.

The quantity of the foreign clippings, and what they express, is also closely related to factors that have nothing to do with the events at Moderna Museet. Changes in the world economy, logistic issues, the tourist industry and political situations in neighbouring countries have also left their mark on the clipping archives. The number of Russian, Baltic, and Eastern European clippings increased with the growing flow of tourists from the east as a result of *glasnost* and *perestroika* and, later, the fall of the Soviet Union and the Berlin Wall. National interests also play a significant role. The amount of German clippings increased, for example, when Paul Klee was exhibited, and the number of Spanish clippings grew from zero to several hundred when Rafael Moneo was assigned as architect of the new Moderna Museet building.

Of course, not only art critics and journalists have conveyed the image of Moderna Museet as an exciting centre for contemporary art. Artists and museum professionals have played their part in this process, although it is more difficult to ascertain exactly how they contributed to the museum's fame in the 1960s. Those artists who relatively early on in their careers exhibited on Skeppsholmen naturally received the impression that the museum was alert and progressive. This is especially the case with American artists such as Robert Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns, George Segal and Claes Oldenburg, the last of whom was in fact born in Stockholm and thereby also had other reasons for promoting Sweden. As with this group of artists, Jean Tinguely and Niki de Saint Phalle built up a close relationship with Hultén. In a Dutch newspaper in 1967, Niki de Saint Phalle described Moderna Museet as one of the most dynamic museums in Europe.<sup>5</sup> Niki de Saint Phalle, Tinguely and Per Olof Ultvedt's exhibition *She – A Cathedral (Hon – en katedral)* had repercussions throughout the whole of Europe. The extensive space devoted to the exhibition in the numerous articles, memos and editorial letters was in large part due to the striking photographs of the giant woman spreading her legs. While it generally enjoyed an enthusiastic reception in Sweden, the exhibition received a considerable amount of flak internationally, where it was viewed as an expression of the immorality and incomprehensibility of contemporary art.<sup>6</sup>

Another important way in which the museum's reputation became established abroad was naturally through visitor attendance. There are no detailed statistics regarding the foreign visitors of the time, but in all probability they numbered in the tens of thousands annually, many of whom undoubtedly recounted their experiences to friends

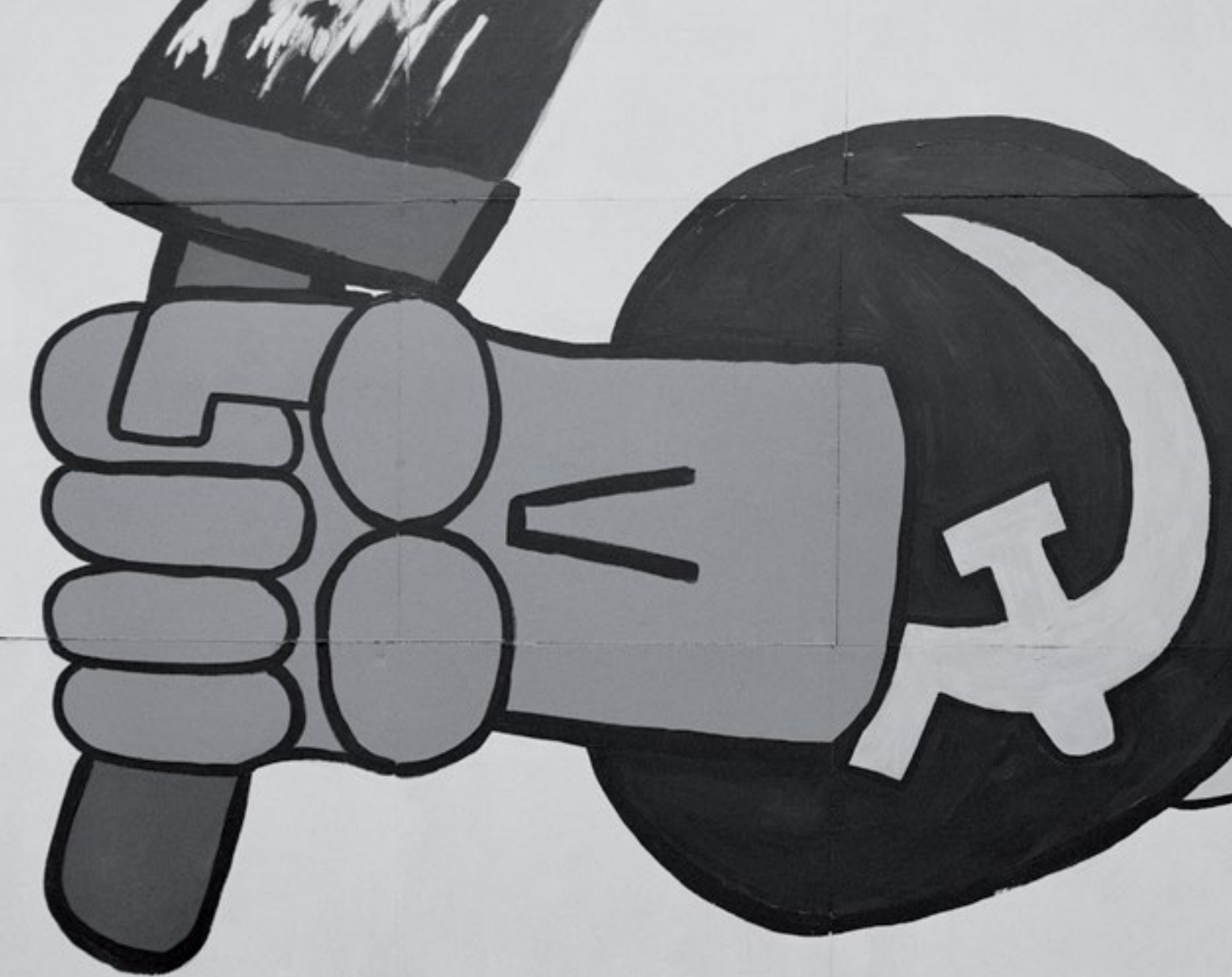
and perhaps also sent postcards from the exhibitions. Even though Moderna Museet never established as extensive and as long-term a relationship with the public as the Danish Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, it nevertheless became a popular destination for many Finns and Norwegians.

### “Moderna”

Under Pontus Hultén's leadership, Moderna Museet rode on the wave of the post-war desire to be modern. Indicatively enough, as many foreign articles remarked upon, the word “art” was left out of the museum's name. All “modern” cultural expressions were gathered under one roof, such as dance, theatre, performance, poetry, music and happenings. Perhaps the term “museum” ought to have been omitted from the name as well? The focus was, after all, not on the collections – the museum quickly became a house of culture where all contemporary forms of culture were expressed. To the general public in Sweden, the museum simply became known as “Moderna”.

During the 1960s and the early 1970s, foreign journalists often described Moderna Museet as a young museum. This assessment had to do not only with the institution being young, but also referred to the age of the staff and public. Pontus Hultén was 34 when he took on the role of curator in 1959, and during his time at the museum, he preferred to surround himself with colleagues who were younger than he was. By the mid-1960s, it was generally established throughout the neighbouring countries that Moderna Museet was Northern Europe's most dynamic house of culture. This corresponded with the image of Stockholm as a very modern city. The tearing down of the old city centre, the building of the skyscrapers at Hötorget, and the extension of the underground and highway infrastructure was considered by many as an expression of a new era. The modernity of Stockholm contrasted starkly with Oslo, the capital of Norway: Stockholm “is in the process of unsentimentally razing its city centre, and is making the most of the space above and below ground. A row of five glistening 17-storey skyscrapers casts its shadow over Konserthuset, which gives the impression of being made of papier maché and a reminder of the short, anaemic classicist period of the 1920s”, wrote Norwegian *Aftenposten* in 1964.<sup>7</sup> The radical modernism manifests itself, according to the article's author Tor Refsum, in all areas of culture (with the exception of the Royal Opera). “And in this modern city is a museum that offers space for everything exciting and contemporary.” In foreign descriptions of Stockholm and Moderna Museet, the experienced modernity of the city and museum enhance each other. Through what is often referred to as a halo effect, the image of Sweden's cultural life as dynamic became widely spread: “It is otherwise typical of Swedish museums that there is always something going on.”<sup>8</sup>

The feeling of being left behind emerged in Denmark as well, despite the fact that Louisiana often exhibited the same touring exhibitions as Moderna Museet. “We are surely and rapidly being outclassed,” wrote the Danish *Politiken* in



1966.<sup>9</sup> According to the journalist, the exhibitions at Louisiana left no permanent traces in the collections, nor did Statens Museum for Kunst (the Danish National Museum) fulfil its obligations with regard to contemporary art. In this article, as well as in many others of the time, there is a focal shift between an admiration for Moderna Museet's temporary activities and the significance of its collections that is never clearly formulated. It was the temporary exhibitions, film screenings and the musical soirées at Moderna Museet that aroused enthusiasm, while it was the lack of contemporary art museums with permanent collections in Oslo, Helsinki, and Copenhagen that generated disappointment in the neighbouring Nordic countries. Paradoxically, the more Moderna Museet evolved into a museum with a substantial collection, the less exciting it appeared in the foreign media. It was the dynamics of a culture house that were revered, but the solidity of a museum that was called for.

"A living museum", read a headline in the Norwegian *Dagbladet* in 1966, capturing the desire to have it both ways. According to the article, it is an unusual experience to become elated upon entering a museum, but this is precisely what happens at the most exciting culture house in Scandinavia. Thanks to the collaboration with Stedelijk Museum and Louisiana, Moderna Museet had become a living museum for contemporary art. The *Dagbladet* journalist concluded by asking: "When will the Norwegian museum people get to work and start collaborating with Moderna Museet to get the exhibitions over here?"<sup>10</sup> Even exhibitions that roused little attention in Sweden could receive praise from other countries. "Moderna Museet surprises the audience and offers them something to sink their teeth into," wrote Helvi Karahka in the Finnish *Helsingin Sanomat* regarding the exhibition *Visionary Architecture*. "Once again the museum has earned a feather in its cap."<sup>11</sup>

Moderna Museet's reputation as an exciting art scene spread beyond the Nordic countries, despite the fact that coverage in the centres of the art world such as Paris, London and New York was extremely limited and fragmentary. In conjunction with the exhibition *American Pop Art (Amerikansk pop-konst)* in 1964, *The New York Times* described the museum as "not exactly a hotbed of conservatism", an ironic understatement confirming that its progressive image had reached the east coast of the United States.<sup>12</sup> A similar formulation appeared in the French *Metropole*: "Le Moderna Museet n'a rien d'un reliquaire. Il est conçu comme une cellule vivante."<sup>13</sup> The image of Moderna Museet as a living house, in contrast to the traditional museum as a reliquary, had, in other words, spread far beyond the geographical vicinity. In 1966, the influential French critic Pierre Restany stated that Moderna Museet was one of the three European art institutions that set the tone for contemporary art. The two others were Stedelijk Museum and Palais des Beaux Arts in Brussels – but tellingly, not his own country's modern museum in Paris.<sup>14</sup>

The dynamics of Moderna Museet were attributed early on to Pontus Hultén, who often appeared in both photographs and articles in the international press. When Hultén

took over Moderna Museet, it was nothing more than a neglected branch of Nationalmuseum, wrote the French Art Historian Jean Clay in *Studio International* in 1966. It is entirely Hultén's doing that it has been transformed into one of the most modern museums in Europe. Furthermore, he has the support of the art audience; Moderna Museet can boast considerably higher visitor attendance levels than Musée d'art moderne in Paris.<sup>15</sup>

Another frontal figure of Moderna Museet, although not as prominent in the media, was the long-serving Carlo Derkert. The newspaper clippings clearly describe the two as having very separate roles. Hultén was the dynamic leader, Derkert the inspiring educator. Hultén was described as being a part of the international art scene, and is depicted either alone, or together with the leading figures of the art world, while in photograph upon photograph, Derkert is seen turning to children and ordinary visitors to convey the intentions and meanings of modern art. Over the years, it became more and more evident how Moderna Museet's international goodwill had transformed into Hultén's private culture capital, that he could take with him when he left Stockholm in 1973. "Hultén's Moderna Museet is without doubt one of the world's most active museums," stated *Tribune de Lausanne* in 1968.<sup>16</sup> Shortly after Hultén left the museum, *Die Zeit* described Moderna Museet as a legend, and Hultén as more well known than any Swedish artist.<sup>17</sup>

Had Hultén become even more famous than the museum he had established? It is as though Moderna Museet tries to remain in the radiance of its former leader long after his resignation. In the archives the clippings involving Hultén continued being accumulated despite that these over the years increasingly seldom mentioned that he was once the director of Moderna Museet. When Hultén died in 2006, the museum issued a press release that was used by a large number of newspapers around the world. The main body of the text was devoted to Hultén's accomplishments at Moderna Museet. Hultén was thus once again linked to the museum that bore his signature throughout his entire career.

### *The Mobile Museum*

Art museums focusing entirely on modern art were still rare when Moderna Museet was inaugurated in 1958. The Museum of Modern Art in New York had indeed opened as early as 1929, but in Europe, contemporary art was normally exhibited in premises housed in general art museums. The 1950s, however, constituted a period of change. During a period when a majority of the population strove to keep up with the times, contemporary art became a vital expression of modernity.

In the Nordic countries, Moderna Museet opened at the same time as the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art in Denmark. Both museums quickly came to be associated with modernity and made their premises available for both music events and other stage performances. They showed what was considered to be the latest currents in art, not least the American contemporary art. Outside the Nordic countries, the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam was the

institution Moderna Museet was most often compared to, and compared itself to as well. Stedelijk Museum, first under the leadership of Willem Sandberg (1945–63) and later Edy de Wilde (1963–85), became an important collaborative partner for Moderna Museet, although it did not actually become a museum specifically for modern and contemporary art until the early 1970s. In this respect, Sweden and Denmark were forerunners, albeit with different preconditions (state investments as opposed to private initiative), while the rest of the Nordic countries lagged behind. Henie Onstad Kunstsenter opened in Norway in 1968, but never had the same impact on Oslo's art scene as Moderna Museet had in Stockholm. The Museum of Contemporary Art in Oslo first opened its doors in 1990, and Helsinki had to wait until 1998 before Kiasma was inaugurated.

Not surprisingly, the press clippings indicate that Denmark focused less attention on Moderna Museet than Finland and Norway. There did not exist as strong an axis between Copenhagen and Stockholm, as that between the Danish capital and Oslo. Nevertheless, in the earliest articles, Moderna Museet was described as more interesting than its Danish sister institution: “every Dane should be green with envy,” wrote Maria Marcus, referring to a Swedish guest appearance at Louisiana in 1960. A state-run museum in the centre of town was, in her opinion, preferable to a private initiative in a more peripheral location.<sup>18</sup> This was the first of a series of guest appearances of Moderna Museet's collections abroad, while the premises on Skeppsholmen were being used for temporary exhibitions.

These stopovers in other countries contributed in marketing the young museum. In 1964, the Moderna Museet collection toured to the Ateneum in Helsinki, Finland, while, at the same time, *American Pop Art* was exhibited in Stockholm. In comparison to Louisiana four years earlier, the activities on Skeppsholmen had come to speed. The Swedes were set on presenting the museum's entire scope of activities: film (by Viking Eggeling, Per Olov Ultvedt, Carl Fredrik Reuterswärd, among others), music (jazz) and public guided art tours. Finland was intent on standing out as a modern country. It had received much international acclaim within the field of design and fashion, but lacked a modern art museum. Moderna Museet was therefore seen as a model by Finns interested in contemporary art. The events on Skeppsholmen were described in the Finnish press as young, vivacious and provocative. The Contemporary Art Association (Föreningen Nutidskonst), set the goal of supporting the collection of modern art at the Ateneum, presumably with the intention of establishing a branch institution in the future similar to the one in Sweden.

In 1964, Erik Kruskopf wrote in *Hufvudstadsbladet* that the exhibition had the character of a courtesy visit rather than a “demonstration of the museum's idea and activities”. He saw the visit merely as a pale reflection of the activities in Stockholm. “The small attempts at alternative activities that a jazz concert or film screening entails [...] drown in the museum environment – and are quickly forgotten.”<sup>19</sup> He is undoubtedly correct in his assertion, but his article also

indicates something else: perhaps Moderna Museet looks better from a distance? The image of an exuberant and pioneering endeavour in Stockholm was presumably reinforced by the Helsinki public's impression that they were merely experiencing a small taste of the museum's sumptuous cuisine. Other articles and reviews from Stockholm published in the neighbouring Nordic countries had a similar effect.

At the museum's guest appearances, works were shown that were included in exhibitions that passed the neighbouring countries by. *Movement in Art (Rörelse i konsten)* from 1961 (that was first presented at Stedelijk Museum and later at Louisiana) had become legendary by the mid-1960s. At the Ateneum, a room was devoted to kinetic art, supplemented by copies of works by Duchamp. These traces confirmed what the Helsinki audience, at least those who had not taken the ferry over to Stockholm, had been missing, and was at the same time an urge to cross the Baltic to see the ongoing Pop Art exhibition. “An exhibition entitled Pop Art is taking place in the museum at this very moment that will undoubtedly have a similar effect [as *Movement in Art*],” wrote Kruskopf in his review of the exhibition at the Ateneum, as though he would rather have been in Stockholm at that point.<sup>20</sup>

In 1966, selected parts of the collection were sent to Kunstnernes Hus in Oslo, Norway. The guest appearance received considerable attention, and the press clippings from the event fill a whole archive box in the Moderna Museet archives. The rumour had spread of a museum that not only exhibited art, but also constituted a meeting place for all who were interested in modern film, music, dance and theatre. Ståle Kylingstad called the museum “a people's academy of art where attempts are made at coordinating diverse art forms and where dogmas are destroyed”, and Arve Moen described it as “one of the most daring endeavours ever realised in the service of art communication”.<sup>21</sup> It was, in other words, these new activities at Moderna Museet that the Norwegians sought access to, even though the exhibited works consisted mainly of parts of the collection. This notwithstanding, the museum actually succeeded, according to the press clippings, in transferring some of the energy from Stockholm to Oslo. The children's programme, among other things, was listed as an example of Moderna Museet's new approach. A photograph in *Aftenposten* showed a group of approximately ten children solemnly studying Constantin Brancusi's *Le nouveau-né II*.<sup>22</sup>

Can revolutions be exported? These three early demonstrations of Moderna Museet's agenda in the Nordic countries had something of a missionary feel about them – especially in Helsinki in 1964 and Oslo in 1966. The exhibitions undoubtedly acted as a vitamin injection, but also left behind a sense of want. Although many of the most legendary exhibitions of the 1960s were touring ones, and not produced solely by Moderna Museet, they were not shown in Finland and Norway. Hence, the feeling arose that all the important contemporary art was passing them by.

Another effect of the early activities of Moderna Museet was that contemporary art in the Nordic countries was largely viewed as non-Nordic, because the main focus was on





international contemporary art. Through the exhibitions, the United States, above all, but also France, Germany and Italy were acknowledged as the centres of the art world. Sweden appeared as the province that managed to gain access to contemporary art through enterprising talent, albeit from an audience position.

#### *The Red Museum*

In hindsight, the exhibition *New York Collection for Stockholm* in 1973 can be seen as signalling the end of an era. In the Nordic countries it was considered by many to be an expression of American imperialism, and proposals were made to send the money to the people of Vietnam instead of spending it on a collection of American art. The American coverage of the opening was extensive. Newspapers throughout the United States – including Hawaii – wrote about the exhibition and emphasised that Moderna Museet had early on become interested in the young American art. The participating artists, together with influential gallery owners, collectors and representatives of the American press, were all invited to Stockholm. Several American daily newspapers reported on the wild opening party, not least because it appeared as a warm welcome in a time when diplomatic relations between Sweden and the United States were put on hold. The American Ambassador had been called home after the diplomatic crisis that followed Prime Minister Olof Palme's Christmas speech in 1972, in which he harshly condemned the American bombing of Hanoi. For left-wing liberal Americans, however, Sweden was seen as setting a good example. An invitation from the American Embassy in Stockholm was declined by the participating artists who themselves were opposed to the American involvement in Vietnam, and, as a consequence, the event had to be cancelled. The Swedish criticism of the Vietnam War, however, affected the reception of all American culture, including the radical art. *The San Francisco Chronicle* quoted the Swedish artist Nils Stenquist as saying: "We cannot see your art as only art [...] We see it as American aesthetic imperialism."<sup>23</sup> On the one hand, Hultén felt pressured by those who considered him far too radical in an art political sense and, on the other hand, by those who saw him as far too US-friendly. He resigned in the late autumn of 1973, intent on embarking on new challenges, the first of which was to establish the art museum at Centre Pompidou in Paris.

Over time, Hultén's Moderna Museet has been presented in an almost entirely positive light. The truth is, however, that towards the end of Hultén's stint at Moderna Museet the domestic criticism aimed at the museum started disseminating to the foreign press as well.<sup>24</sup> Despite the fact that the museum actively participated in the general politicisation of the art scene (the museum's Filialen being an example of this), the museum director was nevertheless strongly associated with American Pop Art, which after 1968 was considered indefensibly naïve at best. Career-wise, Hultén left Sweden at the right moment; especially considering the museum was to be closed for renovation and rebuilding in 1974. In this way,

he managed to break free from the path dependency he and the museum had become trapped into.<sup>25</sup>

The new museum director Philip von Schantz expressed the need to exhibit more Swedish art. This was in keeping with the local criticism that Swedish art history had been entirely ignored during Hultén's era, but the initiative aroused scant enthusiasm abroad. Image, identity and self-image stand in a complex relation to each other. The foreign press coverage of Moderna Museet reflects to a high degree the image the museum wished to convey, through various forms of press information. At the same time, the reception seemed to confirm the accuracy of the museum's self image as a meaningful and vibrant museum during Hultén's era. In the mid-1970s, however, this upward spiral of optimistic marketing and stimulating feedback stopped short. This breach was reinforced by the fact that influential Swedish figures also started to spread the image of the Swedish art scene as provincial and uninteresting, at home and abroad.

But although foreign interest in Moderna Museet subsided during the 1970s, it never ceased entirely, not least thanks to media coverage of the political controversies surrounding the museum's activities, primarily in the neighbouring Nordic countries and West Germany. A first episode of this nature took place already during Hultén's era. In 1971, a parliamentary audit accused the museum of using state funds for political (left-wing) propaganda with a tendency towards anti-Semitism and persecution of individuals. The audit noted that the museum sent out Black Panther propaganda in an official letter, and strongly advised the museum to stop exhibiting "studies of torn-off body parts".<sup>26</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported on the criticism of the museum's "political bias" under the heading "Red Museum? Attack in Stockholm".<sup>27</sup>

Another controversy that gained attention in foreign media was the Stockholm Public Transport Authority's decision to take down Moderna Museet's ad posters showing a naked Torbjörn Fällidin, leader of the Centre Party and Sweden's new prime minister. The picture was a detail of a large brigade painting depicting the political and economic powers in the nude, a parody of the Emperor's New Clothes. Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, the museum director in 1979, condemned the decision as censorship.<sup>28</sup> Other examples of exhibitions that were reported on beyond the borders of Sweden during the red 1970s are *Women (Kvinnor)*, arranged in Filialen by Grupp 8, a group with a large influence on the women's rights movement in Sweden), 1972, *Ararat* (ecological architecture, art and technology), 1976, and *The Allende Museum* (in solidarity with the people of Chile), 1978.

#### *The Master Museum*

In 1975, the museum moved back to the newly-renovated and extended premises on Skeppsholmen. But instead of conveying a positive feeling of a fresh start, most of the coverage by foreign media focused on the museum passing its prime: "The heyday of an avant-garde museum is at an end", blared a headline in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1975. The slightly more nuanced article went on to explain how the

museum had set the tone for several years, with activities and experiments, but had now entered a calmer recovery period, as had the art scene in general.<sup>29</sup>

Even in the Nordic countries, the museum was at risk of losing its prominent position, according to the Icelandic *Dagblaðið* in 1979. The museum now had competition from new institutions such as Henie Onstad Kunstsenter and Nordjyllands Kunstmuseum.<sup>30</sup> In 1981, Elke Lehmann Brauns expressed the hope, in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, that the new museum director Olle Granath would re-establish Moderna Museet's international reputation after a period when von Schantz invested in Swedish art and Bergqvist Lindegren in socio-political art.<sup>31</sup> The radiance surrounding the museum had definitely dimmed, but the longevity of a reputation was not to be underestimated either. In several articles in the 1980s one could find such epithets as "famous", "well-known" and "important". Granted, new institutions are never better than their latest exhibition, but well-established ones can rest on their laurels for a long time.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the 25th anniversary attracted overwhelming attention from abroad; *Flash Art*, however, devoted an entire page to the event. It was Marta Meregalli, an art critic living in Sweden, who had interviewed both Olle Granath and Hultén. Granath "is a man of few words", Meregalli remarked, which was confirmed in the text by the answers often being shorter than the questions. In contrast, the interview with Hultén did not include one single question – he never gave Meregalli the chance to ask one.<sup>32</sup> Meregalli said she received the impression that the museum was now focusing intently on "classic" modernism. Granath described himself as working in the tradition of Hultén, and added that the new and the historical ought to be exhibited together. The museum should not follow a single trend, but rather show a wide variety of directions. The overall impression of the interview was that history was more important than the present. Granath brushed off the demands to exhibit the latest currents with: "What's really *new*, anyway?"<sup>33</sup>

A common denominator in all the foreign coverage from the 25th anniversary is the focus on the early activities. The decade under the management of Philip von Schantz and Karin Bergqvist Lindegren was silently ignored. Although Granath was presented as the one destined to pick up Hultén's fallen mantle, one could detect a sense of concern that the classic direction would be far too retrospective in character.

A recurring feature of the interviews of the 1980s was Granath expressing his ambition to focus on quality.<sup>34</sup> He gave the impression that this was a new approach for the museum – and that his immediate predecessors had taken the opposite stance. Another usual comment was that it was by no means certain that the museum intended to or should even focus on current art trends.<sup>35</sup> A third issue that Granath would constantly bring up in the foreign interviews was the museum's lack of funds. His decision to stop advertising the museum exhibitions in the daily press in 1981 was reported on in several countries. The emerging picture was one of a museum in a financial crisis that did not have the means to invest offensively, and that was dedicated to exhibiting

modern masters. A preview article in the Norwegian *Dagbladet* in 1987 regarding the upcoming Picasso exhibition is indicative of this. Already in the introduction, Granath was quoted as saying that the exhibition would be costly, but that he hoped to "recoup the money from the audience".<sup>36</sup>

Granath often apostrophised Hultén in interviews, while emphasising, at the same time, the difference between the 1960s and the current era. So much happened in art back then, and all cultural expressions converged at the museum, he explained, thereby implying that the present day was much less exciting. The contemporary cultural scene was more differentiated, according to Granath. Many of the dance, theatre, and music groups that performed in the museum in the 1960s had now found other locations for their activities, he told *Bergens Tidende* in 1986. The interview was conducted owing to the new plans for a contemporary art museum in Oslo: "Oslo is too small for both the new museum of modern art and the museum at Høvikodden [Henie Onstad Kunstsentrum]," Granath asserted.<sup>37</sup>

But the fact that Moderna Museet was no longer considered an exciting place for contemporary art did not mean that the public had lost interest. From the standpoint of visitor turnout, the Marc Chagall exhibition in 1982, the Henri Matisse exhibition in 1984 and the Pablo Picasso exhibition in 1988 are the museum's most successful initiatives to date (attracting 297,000, 183,000 and 277,000 visitors respectively).<sup>38</sup> They established the image of a museum dedicated to the masters of modern art, replacing the red museum of the 1970s and the young avant-garde scene of the 1960s.

The press clippings from Europe and North America from the time of Hultén's resignation to the opening of the new museum in 1998 are few and far between, with one exception – the coverage from Finland. Eight out of ten foreign clippings from the Picasso exhibition are Finnish. Most of the articles and reviews are favourable, and the exhibition attracted, as previously mentioned, many visitors. Perhaps the members of the foreign media who asked, "Why another Picasso exhibition?" failed to consider that the majority of art lovers are less mobile than the art critics, and that many would like to see the most celebrated names in art history closer to home.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, the criticism was seldom directed at whether it was right or wrong to exhibit Picasso. Instead, it was suggested that the museum should have tried to relate the exhibition to its own time and apply a contemporary perspective to "the master". In the Finnish daily paper *Satakunnan Kansan*, Tiina Nyrhinen wrote, "Picasso is presented at Moderna Museet in an extremely traditional manner, where the hanging of the exhibition appears to be based on nothing other than chronology."<sup>40</sup>

The "classic" exhibitions were indeed also reviewed by the specialised art periodicals as well as in the culture pages of many daily newspapers. But the bulk of the clippings consists of preview articles in the news and feature pages of daily newspapers, as well as reports in the weekly press. This is also



OPEN THIS SIDE

KEEP DRY  
WORK OF ART

FRAGILE

↑  
UP

OPEN THIS SIDE

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MODERNA MUSEET  
STOCKHOLM CHATEAU



where the most enthusiastic reactions can be found. In the introduction to an extensive, richly illustrated report in the Finnish weekly periodical *Seura*, the Chagall exhibition was described as one of the finest exhibitions ever produced in the Nordic countries. Such articles undoubtedly contributed to the enormous influx of visitors to the museum. But despite the resulting increase in the number of visitors, in turn leading to good profits, the attention of the weekly press hardly contributed to heightening the museum's self-esteem. It was the praise from the inner circles of the art world that the museum was searching for. In addition to the geographical and social dimensions mentioned above, gender hierarchies played a part as well. Although the target group of the weekly press, consisting mostly of middle-aged women, indeed constituted a vital part of the museum audience, the museum directors and curators sought acknowledgement elsewhere.

Besides exhibiting the classics, and producing exhibitions of Minimalism and Conceptual art, the museum continued during the 1980s to exhibit the artists that first appeared at Moderna Museet during Hultén's time: Jasper Johns (1980), Niki de Saint Phalle (1981) and Barnett Newman (1987). The Robert Rauschenberg exhibition in 2007 can be seen as the most recent example in this genre. None of these, however, received much attention abroad. In the case of Johns and Newman this was most likely due to the content of the exhibitions consisting mainly of prints, but also to the fact that touring exhibitions nowadays receive most of their press coverage when and where they are first launched.

An exhibition that received considerable attention in Sweden was *Implosion* (1987), the current museum director Lars Nittve's introduction of postmodern art. The exhibition led to an extensive debate in Swedish newspapers and periodicals, as well as in art schools and seminars, focusing on the nature of postmodern art and whether it represented something interesting and productive or not. The foreign press, however, showed little interest. Perhaps it was not considered ground-breaking in countries where the discussion on the postmodern had already been going on for years. Not even in the neighbouring Nordic countries was there any response to speak of, although one can always find a few Finnish clippings in the archives. Perhaps this was because the exhibition was not deemed interesting for a larger audience, thus having little news value. Pekka Helin, at any rate, wrote a very enthusiastic article in *Hämeen Sanomat* and described the exhibition as an "intelligent adventure".<sup>41</sup>

Björn Springfeldt took over as museum director in the autumn of 1989. In several foreign articles, Springfeldt was described, as was Granath before him, as picking up Hultén's mantle, even though the time that had passed since Hultén's resignation was considerably longer than Hultén's spell as the museum's director. Because Springfeldt had worked as Hultén's assistant at Moderna Museet in the 1960s, his appointment was seen by many as an apostolic succession of sorts.

But foreign interest in the events at the museum did not pick up under Springfeldt's term either. The neighbouring

Nordic countries, with Finland at the fore, reported on, and occasionally reviewed, the larger exhibitions with artists of international renown such as Kiki Smith (1992), Robert Mapplethorpe (1993) and Gerhard Richter (1994). But the articles rarely express a sense of enthusiasm for the museum itself. *Helsingin Sanomat* asserted in 1992 that Moderna Museet was no longer an institution of international repute.<sup>42</sup> The visitors now came to see the permanent collections that were a reminder of the museum's bygone glory days, and not the new exhibitions.

In the 1990s the audience deserted Moderna Museet. Or was it the museum that deserted the audience? In an interview in *Turun Sanomat* in 1990, Springfeldt referred to the Danish Louisiana as Sweden's most popular museum, with over 200,000 Swedish visitors per year. Moderna Museet had certainly had audience successes with its exhibitions of classics, but these had not reflected the art of the times, nor did they convey any visions for the future.<sup>43</sup> In another interview, in *Uusi Suomi*, Springfeldt explained that he wanted to show "contemporary art classics".<sup>44</sup> The obligations of a modern museum had now changed, according to Springfeldt, because, as opposed to the 1960s, there were now art galleries exhibiting contemporary art in a high-quality manner. At this point, Finland was in the midst of planning its new museum of contemporary art in Helsinki. Moderna Museet was mentioned occasionally as a model.<sup>45</sup> But it was apparent that the current Moderna Museet was no longer seen as the museum to emulate. The Finnish aspirations of a stage for contemporary art were inspired by Moderna Museet's past rather than by its present, and it is characteristic that Hultén was one of the candidates nominated to establish the new museum.<sup>46</sup>

#### *The Mouldy Museum*

A new Moderna Museet on Skeppsholmen, designed by the Spanish architect Rafael Moneo, was inaugurated in 1998 with the British art historian David Elliott as museum director. This was the first time a director was recruited abroad, but Elliott was faced with domestic ghosts immediately. The expectations of a re-emergence of the museum's heroic past flourished once again. Elliott explained to *The Art Newspaper* that he disliked "the mist in people's eyes when they talk about the old days". He went on to emphasise the high quality of the collections and dissociated the museum from its most talked-of cousin: Museo Guggenheim in Bilbao, inaugurated a year earlier. "We're the exact opposite of Bilbao," said Elliott, and went on to explain that the museum had a collection, a history and a director with an agenda of his own.<sup>47</sup>

In the museum world, Guggenheim is the primary example of the extended branding strategy that experienced a breakthrough in the 1990s. The brand name stands not only for a worthy content – attractive art exhibitions – but has a value in itself that the visitor seeks access to. A visit to the museum shop or café is appreciated at least as highly as a tour of the collections. More and more products bearing the museum's logo have an exclusive quality about them, and a

high price as well, distancing them from other tourist souvenirs normally considered kitsch.

Elliott set himself apart from the Guggenheim, while at the same time acknowledging the significance of Moderna Museet's branding. The assignment of giving the museum a uniform graphic profile was awarded to the well-respected designers John Warwicker and Michael Horsham at Tomato.<sup>48</sup> The new, homogeneous design profile clearly signalled a fresh start for the museum. "The intention is that the museum will once again become the great engine of contemporary art," wrote the Norwegian *Aftenposten* in 1996, in its coverage of the Swedish debate regarding the appointment of a new museum director.<sup>49</sup> By the time the inauguration was under way, however, much of the enthusiasm had already died down. Not least the building's modest appearance put a damper on reactions. In the *Wall Street Journal*, the respected architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable compared Moderna Museet with Sverre Fehn's Glacier Museum in Fjærland, Norway, and Stephen Holl's Kiasma in Helsinki, Finland. Moneo's building was described as the most conservative one, which was hardly surprising considering the yardstick was Frank Gehry's Guggenheim in Bilbao.<sup>50</sup> *The Boston Globe* called the new Moderna Museet "the Volvo of Art Museums", "functional and free of ostentation".<sup>51</sup> The discreet appearance corresponded with the foreign impression of Swedes as low-key and withdrawn.

The new museum director, however, was anything but low-key. Elliott expressed his intention to make the museum less Swedish and double visitor numbers to more than half a million annually.<sup>52</sup> It is noteworthy that regardless of Elliott's intentions, he was described as Hultén's successor. Hultén was visibly pleased at the opening, wrote *The Wall Street Journal* in its European edition, and the predecessor took the initiative to publicly cheer on the new museum director.<sup>53</sup> Once again, the time period between Hultén and the present was obliterated.

There was indeed an overall increase in visitor frequency during Elliott's time, but it was only during the opening year 1998 that it exceeded his goal of half a million visitors. The museum received extensive and positive coverage in the foreign press, and the focus on Russian and Eastern European art resulted in more frequent reports on the exhibitions from Eastern European countries. But the reception in the most prestigious art magazines was less enthusiastic. In 2000, *Frieze* asked for example, whether we really needed yet another exhibition of Eastern European Art.<sup>54</sup>

In 2001, Moderna Museet was given a new nickname, "The Mouldy Museum", after the discovery of extensive damage by mould. The story of "The Mouldy Museum" soon spread to both sides of the Atlantic. The nickname also alluded to the activities not matching the critics' expectations. Once again, a museum director was seen as not fitting the bill when compared to the memory of Hultén. The fact that a growing number of critics had not even started their career during Hultén's tenure did not lessen the intensity of the disapproval. On the contrary, the myth always outshines reality.

Lars Nittve, previously a curator at Moderna Museet,

returned in 2001 as museum director. The reactions followed two main patterns. His appointment was either described as a continuity – once again a Swede was to step into Hultén's shoes, a Swede who was previously seen as the crown prince but who had been sidestepped at the succession in 1989. *The Guardian* noted that Nittve's decision to start by showing Hultén's collection as well as that of the museum was admirable, albeit a bit safe.<sup>55</sup> The second interpretation pattern emphasised that Nittve had returned from an international career, with merits from Louisiana and Tate Modern, suggesting that he was already a figure on the international art scene in which the museum so longed to play a vital role.

The museum's activities and collections were evacuated from Skeppsholmen during the mould decontamination of 2002–04. Both the ambulatory activities entitled "c/o Moderna Museet", that sent the collections on tour throughout Sweden, and the exhibitions in the Postal terminal at Klarabergsviadukten in Stockholm were enthusiastically received in Sweden, but the foreign clippings during these years were very sporadic to say the least.

With the reopening in 2004, there was once again an increase of articles in the foreign press. At the same time, the visitor frequency skyrocketed and continually exceeded Elliott's goal of at least half a million visitors per year, of which 20–30 percent were foreigners. In recent years, the museum has, in other words, registered at least 100,000 foreign visitors annually.<sup>56</sup> It was obvious that the museum had chosen the path that Louisiana had previously entered: visitors would now make their way to Skeppsholmen not for the sole purpose of experiencing art, but also to drink coffee with friends or to just sit in the restaurant and gaze across the water. The culinary experience and the view were also remarked upon in much of the foreign coverage of the museum.

In 2008 the smell of *caffè latte* has succeeded the red wine bouquet associated with the left wing movement of the 1960s. Nothing, at first glance, indicates a young, dynamic, alternative culture. This is in keeping with the international pattern, where service, exhibitions and architecture are geared at attracting sponsors and well-to-do visitors. Since the 1980s, Europe has experienced a rapid emergence of new museums and galleries, often with striking architecture as bait for sponsors and the public. The contemporary art landscape now looks very different compared to the 1960s, when Moderna Museet had little competition to speak of. Although a few influential institutions did emerge or receive new leadership during the late 1960s and early 1970s (Kunsthalle Bern, Sammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Museum Eindhoven, among others), the chances of standing out in the European art scene were considerably better than they are now. Critics and editorial boards implement a much stricter selection process with regard to what exhibitions and institutions merit coverage. Perhaps even the exhibitions themselves have become less connected to a specific place than before, at least to those art critics that fly between the world's most important art events. The individual museum's history and geographical context is therefore of less importance in recent articles.

*The Manly Museum*

The richly illustrated *Moderna Museet. The Book*, published in 2004, opens with a series of full-spread photographs from the museum's heroic past. The first shows an exhibition of art from the 1900s with the caption "Museum Slumber". The second photograph shows Picasso's *Guernica* on visit in 1956 and the third the sound artist Karlheinz Stockhausen at Moderna Museet in 1960. Moderna Museet is thus portrayed as a phoenix emerging from the drowsy Nationalmuseum, with Hultén's capture of the touring *Guernica* as a prelude for things to come. A caption on the fourth spread reads: "The 'Movement in Art' exhibition in 1961 put Moderna Museet firmly on the map."<sup>57</sup>

As indicated earlier on in this essay, *Movement in Art* was considered an important event by the Nordic press when shown at Moderna Museet, despite the fact that it originally opened at Stedelijk in Amsterdam and was later also exhibited at Louisiana in Humlebæk. The exhibition achieved a milestone status in the historiography of the museum, and the fact that it was actually a collaborative effort with Stedelijk was hardly ever mentioned. As indicated above, the situation is different today. The Robert Rauschenberg exhibition in 2007 (produced by Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles) gained no international recognition whatsoever when shown in Sweden, because it had previously been exhibited in New York, Los Angeles and Paris and had already been reviewed and covered by the media throughout the world.

For museums seeking international acclaim, choosing a strategy is, evidently, a real challenge. In Moderna Museet's annual report for 2006 it is indicated that the museum is "increasingly often and to a larger extent" included in international collaborations. The text points out that three of the museum's exhibitions (*Paul McCarthy*, *Mamma Andersson*, *The Pontus Hultén Collection*) have been shown in other countries and that the museum has "received a number of donations of art works from abroad. Another example of the growing foreign interest in the museum is the newly-established American foundation, 'The American Friends of Moderna Museet'."<sup>58</sup>

Small consolation, one might think, considering that press clippings are perhaps an inappropriate indicator of the core activities in a museum that is all the more dependent on its collections. Most of the articles (reviews, as well as commentaries) are about the temporary exhibitions and not the permanent collections. The statistics on published material and the analysis of the applied value judgements reflect the reception of the temporary exhibitions and not the appreciation of the collections or the status of the trademark. Another way of putting it is that the intensity of press coverage primarily reflects Moderna Museet's activities as an exhibition space, not as a museum.

A practice that does, on the other hand, reflect the interest in the museum's collections is the supplying of reproductions. Art museums that own several "important" works have an extensive reproduction service that caters, for example, to publishing houses producing everything from

calendars to art books. Accordingly, the works that are considered important reflect a symbiotic relationship between the museums and the media responsible for the reproductions. The reproductions in turn contribute to making the museum collection famous, thereby increasing the public's desire to visit them. There are no detailed statistics concerning the supplying of reproductions over time, but information from the museum points to a few works that have a unique position in this regard: Robert Rauschenberg's *Monogram*, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's *Marzella*, Meret Oppenheim's *Ma gouvernante*, Raoul Hausmann's *Tatlin at Home*, Edward Kienholz's *State Hospital*, Salvador Dalí's *L'Enigme de Guillaume Tell*, and a few more works by international stars such as Pablo Picasso and Marcel Duchamp.

No museum advertisement in the world can compare to the attraction power of Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* or Munch's *The Scream*. Every time they appear on a postcard, a t-shirt or a book cover, their repute grows, as does the power of attraction of the museums that own them. Moderna Museet has no individual art work that can compare to *Mona Lisa* or *The Scream*, which are famous far beyond the circle of art lovers. But in a league not far behind, *Monogram* clearly contributes to Moderna Museet's high turnout of visitors from abroad.

Of course, not only reproductions are lent out. The lending of the art works themselves is also a vital part of the museum's undertakings. Seen in this perspective, this feature has two important consequences. Firstly, the lending of art works also allows a reciprocal borrowing of important pieces, and this kind of exchange increases the capacity to create attractive exhibitions. And secondly, works owned by Moderna Museet appearing in exhibitions in other museums around the world means good PR for the collection.<sup>59</sup>

It is hardly surprising the works most frequently lent out are those by art history's most celebrated artists. What is surprising, however, is that the press devotes most of its attention to the great men of art history (Chagall, Miró, Picasso, Munch, etcetera), and not to the younger, contemporary artists, despite the fact that it is the contemporary art that enjoys the highest status in the inner circles of the art world. This follows a common tendency, where exclusiveness is weighed against popular appeal. Exhibiting Picasso today leads to increased visitor numbers, but does not enhance the prestige of the museum, unless "the master" is presented in a new light.

In recent years, however, the most newsworthy initiative of Moderna Museet has centred on the collection. In 2006, Lars Nittve took up the issue of the under-representation of women artists. Ninety per cent of the works in the core collection were created by male artists, and Nittve called for an extra allocation of 50 million kronor from the Swedish government for the museum's 50th anniversary in 2008 in order to purchase works by women modernists of international repute. The idea was to create a "Second Museum of our Wishes", based on the Friends of Moderna Museet's successful strategy in 1963. Back then, the exhibition *The Museum of our Wishes (Önskemuseet)* resulted in a government grant of five million kronor that enabled the acquisition of thirty-six key works.

Nittve's manoeuvre received considerable international attention in both daily newspapers and art magazines. The Swedish museum director's petition was seen in relation to the lack of gender perspective in local museums. According to *Berliner Zeitung*, nothing like this had ever been expressed by a German museum director. From Hamburg to Stuttgart, from Rostock to Munich, from Berlin to Hannover and from Dresden to Frankfurt, men still dominated the German collections.<sup>60</sup> In what seemed to be a direct reference to the discussion aroused by Moderna Museet's initiative, Tate Modern's board of directors declared that the museum was intent on rectifying the gender imbalance by purchasing works exclusively by women artists.<sup>61</sup>

In the articles, Nittve's petition is associated with equality politics and even the newly founded political party Feminist Initiative. Leif Pagrotsky, the minister of culture at the time, said to *ArtNews* that the Moderna Museet collections should naturally feature important works by women artists. He offered no promises, however, regarding the money needed to redress the situation.<sup>62</sup> Nittve's gambit has led to several large donations for the acquisition of works by modernist women for Moderna Museet, and his follow-up proposal that the state should match the donations krona for krona has also been reported on abroad.<sup>63</sup> So far, the Swedish government has merely allocated an additional five million kronor – in other words, the same amount in kronor as in 1963.

In 2006, the year Nittve took the initiative to increase the woman ratio in the core collection, Pontus Hultén died at the age of 82. Obituaries were published all over the world, and several mentioned that his career had started at Moderna Museet. Many of the articles were based on Moderna Museet's own press release, as the museum was the first to announce Hultén's demise. In the more independently formulated biographies the focus was on Hultén the globe-trotter. His education in Copenhagen, his relationship to, for example, Moscow, Berlin and New York, and his activities in Paris, Venice, Bonn, Basel and Los Angeles was often referred to, along with his network of leading artists and gallery owners of the times. As a rule, it was also mentioned that he was responsible for making Moderna Museet a dynamic forum for contemporary art, with a succession of vital exhibitions during the 1960s. Seen from the perspective of this essay, these eulogies confirm the picture of a museum whose heyday was synonymous with Hultén. Not vice versa. He progressed, but the museum did not.

Even these press clippings will soon be archived in the bedrock chambers beneath the museum and add an extra centimetre or so to the foreign harvest. In accordance with the path dependency mentioned above, it is likely that the memory or myth of Hultén's time on Skeppsholmen will influence the museum's direction for a good part of the foreseeable future. Hultén's death will also have a concrete effect on the museum premises. They are going to be rebuilt to house parts of his art collection in the Pontus Hultén Study Gallery, a permanent reminder of the links between then and now. The architect is Renzo Piano – most famous for his and Richard Rogers' design for Centre Pompidou. Once again, past and present are intertwined.



- 1 Eugen Wretholm, "Pontus Hulténs Moderna museum", *Svenska Dagbladet* 20 Jan. 1982.
- 2 The clipping collection does not include everything ever written about Moderna Museet in the foreign press. I have therefore complemented the study with articles found through other sources (primarily from international article databases). The supplementary information from these sources has, however, been minimal, and it is therefore clear that the museum's efforts at collecting and taking care of the clippings reflect the importance they attach to the foreign press coverage. In the quantitative analysis, only clippings of an article character have been included (in other words, no items, no reiterated press releases, and no advertisements). Furthermore, only the clippings where Moderna Museet plays an important role have been included in the study, no general travel reports of Stockholm where the museum is mentioned as worth a visit. Interviews with museum directors have been included if they clearly appear as representatives of Moderna Museet. Clippings from touring exhibitions have been used only when referring to the Stockholm show. In the search for foreign clippings, I have personally sorted through most of the material from 1958 to 2007, but I would like to thank Nina Engholm for her help in searching through the 1982–85 period, Anna Lundström who took on the 1999–2001 period and Paulina Sokolow who sorted through 2006. Sincere thanks also to the library staff and Eva Ioannidis for all their help in bringing forth the material. Jessica Höglund has read and translated the Finnish clippings, and Lena From the Icelandic.
- 3 There are, of course, no grounds for copying articles from the Swedish daily newspapers *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* considering the museum employees have access to them anyway, but the copies still offer a rough picture of the value placed on various newspapers. Since the 1990s there has been a rapid increase in the amount of articles on the Internet, which lessens the need for duplication.
- 4 In this respect, Moderna Museet does not differ from society in general. Even in the university world—my home ground—foreign attention and publications are valued much higher than Swedish, often on questionable grounds.
- 5 Unsigned clipping, "Niki's Nana's", *De Volkskrant* 26 June 1967.
- 6 Several articles by foreign and Swedish journalists as well as letters are presented in the book *Hon – en historia*, eds. Barbro Sylwan and Pontus Hultén, Stockholm 1967, pp. 128–194.
- 7 Tor Refsum, "Kunstvisitt i Stockholm", *Aftenposten* 12 Dec. 1964.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Pierre Lübecker, "Død eller levende", *Politiken* 23 Jan. 1966.
- 10 "Et levende museum", *Dagbladet* 7 May 1966, writer's name not available.
- 11 Helvi Karahka, "Arkkitehdin utopia", *Helsingin Sanomat* 24 April 1963. The exhibition was produced by MoMA in New York.
- 12 Grace Glueck, "Art Notes: Growing Pains" *The New York Times*, 7 June 1964.
- 13 V. d. B., "Tribune d'art contemporain. Musées et revues d'art moderne en Scandinavie", *Metropole* 22 Feb. 1966.
- 14 Pierre Restany, "Stockholm, hiver 1966, un festival de l'art universel", *Domus*, no. 438, 1966. Musée d'art moderne in Paris opened in 1961, but parts of the collection had previously been shown in Petit Palais.
- 15 Jean Clay, "Art... should change man", *Studio International*, March 1966.
- 16 Pierre Descarquis, "Tatline reconstitué sans les russes", *Tribune de Lausanne* 1 Sept. 1968.
- 17 Petra Kipphoff, "Der Schwedische Standpunkt", *Die Zeit* 14 Nov. 1975.
- 18 Maria Marcus, "Blade af et svensk museum", *Dagens Nyheder* 24 Sept. 1960.
- 19 Erik Kruskopf, "Museum med aktivitet", *Hufvudstadsbladet* 18 March 1964.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ståle Kyllingstad, "Stockholmsbesøk i Oslo", *Nationen* 25 Nov. 1966; Arve Moen, "Velkommen utfordring", *Arbeiderbladet* 12 Nov. 1966.
- 22 Tege, "Moderna Museet til Oslo", *Aftenposten* 1 Nov. 1966. The children's education programme was also mentioned in the Finnish press: Osmo Laine, "Taidekasvatuksen elämänlähheisyys", *Turun Sanomat* 1971, date missing on the clipping.
- 23 Paul Richard, "New York Artists at the Stockholm Collection", *San Francisco Chronicle* 11 Nov. 1973.
- 24 An example of this type of criticism is an article by Ingamaj Beck, who had just moved to Sweden: "Goerne er allerede længe siden", *Politiken* 4 Nov. 1973.
- 25 The term "path dependency" is used here in a transferred meaning. Within technical history it is an explanatory model for how older, substandard technical solutions, such as the qwerty keyboard layout, can survive by becoming widely accepted. In this context, path dependency refers to how certain actions can be advantageous to an individual or an institution during a certain phase, but circumscribe the freedom of movement (for example path changes) in the long run. See further discussion in Jeff Werner, *Medelvågens estetik. Sverigebilder i USA*, Stockholm 2008.
- 26 "Kansliet", *Expressen* 4 June 1971, unsigned clipping.
- 27 Elke Lehmann-Brauns, "Rotes Museum? Angriffe in Stockholm", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 8 June 1971.
- 28 "Naken Fäldin på forargelig plakat", *Dagbladet* 1979, unsigned and undated clipping.
- 29 Elke Lehmann-Brauns, "Die Glanzzeit eines Avantgarde-Museums ist zu Ende", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 1 Dec. 1975.
- 30 Aðalsteinn Ingólfsson, "Sænska nútímasafnið 1: Hjálpaðu Þér sjálfur...", *Dagblaðið* 1 Nov. 1979.
- 31 Elke Lehmann-Brauns, "Postkarten in der Plastikhülle", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 1981, undated clipping.
- 32 Marta Meregalli, "Moderna Museet is twenty-five years old", *Flash Art*, November 1983.
- 33–34 Ibid.
- 35 Sissel Hamre Dagsland, "Moderna Museet", *Bergens Tidende* 15 May 1986.
- 36 Harriet Eide, "Picasso i Stockholm", *Dagbladet* 3 Feb. 1987.
- 37 Sissel Hamre Dagsland, "Moderna Museet", *Bergens Tidende* 15 May 1986.
- 38 The exhibition of Russian avant-garde art in 1983 and Francis Picabia in 1984 attracted fewer visitors (there is no separate figure for the Russian exhibition, but the total amount of visitors did not exceed 50,000, Picabia had approximately 25,000 visitors).
- 39 The question was posed by Christopher Andreae in "Picasso shows some fresh and unfamiliar faces", *The Christian Science Monitor*, vol. 81, no. 2, 1988.
- 40 Tiina Nyrhinen, "Pyhä, Mystinen Picasso", *Satakunnan Kansan* 5 Nov. 1988.
- 41 Pekka Helin, "Älyllinen löytöretki", unmarked copy, presumably *Hämeen Sanomat*.
- 42 Marja-Terttu Kivirinta, "Muistoja suuruuden ajoilta", *Helsingin Sanomat* 4 March 1992.
- 43 Kimmo Lilja, "Moderna Museet etsii menetettyä arvostusaan", *Turun Sanomat* 28 April 1990. Swedish translation in the Moderna Museet clipping archives.
- 44 Auli Räsänen, "Tukholman Moderna Museetin laajennus tuo ainutlaatuiset kokoelmat näkyville", *Uusi Suomi* 19 March 1990. There is a Swedish translation in the clipping collection.
- 45 By among others Pekka Vehviläinen, "Pohjolan nykytaiteen mekka", *Me*, no. 11, 1989 and "Picassot naapurissa", *Elanto*, no. 12, 1988, unsigned article.
- 46 Paula Holmila, "Kolumni", *Uusi Suomi*, 10 March 1990. Swedish translation in the clipping archives.
- 47 Louisa Buck, "Absolut Museum", *The Art Newspaper*, no. 79, 1998.
- 48 Information regarding David Elliott's view of the branding of Moderna Museet from Lovisa Lönnebo, Head of Communication, Moderna Museet 29 Aug. 2007.
- 49 Elisabeth Holte, "Moderna Museet henger i luften", *Aftenposten* 14 April 1996.
- 50 Ada Louise Huxtable, "Northern Enclosure. Hot Museums in a Cold Climate", *Wall Street Journal* 14 May 1998.
- 51 Christine Temin, "New Building Gives Stockholm the Volvo of Art Museums", *Boston Globe* 29 March 1998.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Paul Levy, "Swedish Modern. A Capital Museum", *Wall Street Journal Europe* 28 Feb. 1998.
- 54 Ina Blom, "After the Wall", *Frieze*, January–February 2000.
- 55 Adrian Searle, "Hitler's home improvement: Tate Modern's first director quits in order to join and reopen Stockholm's Moderna Museet", *The Guardian* 17 Jan. 2004.
- 56 Statistics from Moderna Museet's annual accounts 2004–06.
- 57 Paulina Sokolow, image captions, *Moderna Museet. The Book*, ed. Cecilia Widenheim et al., Stockholm 2004, unpaginated.
- 58 *Moderna Museet's Annual Account* 2006, p. 28.
- 59 The last five years can act as an example of this. In 2002, 351 works were lent in total (48 institutions abroad borrowed 96 works), 2003: 538 works (35 institutions, 68 works), 2004: 314 works (28 institutions, 115 works), 2005: 216 works (30 institutions, 78 works), and 2006: 797 works (44 institutions, 311 works). More requests were submitted. Meret Oppenheim is the artist most frequently requested, followed by Constantin Brancusi, Marcel Duchamp, Wassily Kandinsky, Henri Matisse and James Rosenquist. Information from Margareta Helleberg, Loan Registrar at Moderna Museet, 21 Nov. 2007.
- 60 Ingeborg Ruthe, "Frauenquote auf den Torten des Kunstbetriebs", *Berliner Zeitung* 24 April 2006.
- 61 Richard Brooks, "Tate buys women's art for sex equality", *The Sunday Times* 25 March 2007.
- 62 Rebecca Spence, "Wanted: 20 Works by Women", *ArtNews*, no. 7, 2006, p. 82.
- 63 Helen Stoilas, "More money for women's art", *The Art Newspaper*, November 2006.

The research project has been made possible with support from the Gertrude and Ivar Philipson's Foundation and the Swedish Arts Council's funds for research and development.

The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008

Editor, Project manager: Anna Tellgren  
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Intervention: Museum Futures: Live, Recorded, Distributed by Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska, [www.chanceprojects.com](http://www.chanceprojects.com)

Graphic design: BrittonBritton  
Print: Steidl Verlag, Göttingen 2008

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Cover photograph: Frederik Lieberath  
Repro and retouch, cover: Linjepunkt Repro AB, Falun

ISBN 978-3-86521-642-7 (Steidl)  
ISBN 978-91-7100-806-0 (Moderna Museet)

Co-published by Moderna Museet and Steidl Verlag