The History Book

On Moderna Museet 1958–2008

MODERNA MUSEET Steidl


ONE WAY

Our Man in New York
An Interview with Billy Klüver on his Collaboration with Moderna Museet

Moderna Museet's first decade has become the stuff of legend. Having become part of our history, those legends live on in our collective memory. They tell of an open museum, a much-loved public living-room that resembled an amusement park. Pontus Hultén has come to be seen as a magician, deftly conjuring up one incomparable exhibition after another to the inexhaustible delight of the public. However, scraping away at this surface reveals a more complex narrative concerned with the hard work entailed in turning visions into reality – work that involved a whole array of individuals and for which Hultén, as the director of the museum, served as a catalyst.

For many years, Billy Klüver was best known as "the New York Connection", Moderna Museet's liaison in New York and Hultén's friend and collaborator.[1] Hultén and Klüver had already become acquainted as students in Stockholm, at the Students' Film Society (Studentfilmstudion) – owing to their shared interest in film and moving images. When Hultén travelled to New York for the first time in 1959, it was Klüver he got in touch with and who introduced him to the city.[2] Together they visited exhibitions and met with artists, including Alfred Leslie who just had finished work on *Pull My Daisy*. During the same period, Hultén was working on the exhibition *Movement in Art* (*Rörelse i konsten*), which was created in collaboration with Willem Sandberg at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. The trip to New York resulted in the inclusion of several American artists in the exhibition.[3] On the plane home, Hultén also had with him a model he had been given by Alexander Calder of *The Four Elements*. A monumental version of the sculpture was erected in front of the entry to the museum as part of the exhibition.[4] To Moderna Museet, it seemed like the obvious solution to have Klüver, who was based in New York, maintain contacts with the artists, gallery-owners and other lenders in the run-up to the exhibition. When, some months later, Jean Tinguely arrived in New York, Hultén asked Klüver, who spoke French fluently, to make sure that Tinguely had everything he needed.[5] Tinguely's work was due to be shown at the Staempfli Gallery. As a result, the Museum of Modern Art invited him to create something for the Sculpture Garden of the museum, a project in which Klüver would soon come to play a key role. This is the point, between 1959 and 1960, that marks the start of the collaboration between Billy Klüver, Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet which would last for many years.

Billy Klüver was born in Monaco and grew up in Sweden, where he gained a degree in electrical engineering at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, before moving to the US in 1954. Klüver was the first student ever to present his examination submission at the Royal Institute of Technology in the form of an animation, called *Motion of Electrons in Electric and Magnetic Fields*. He was awarded a doctorate in 1957 at the University of California in Berkeley and went on to work for Bell Telephone Laboratories at Murray Hill in New Jersey from 1958 to 1968. During his time at Bell, he also helped Moderna Museet to arrange exhibitions such as *Movement in Art* (1961), 4 *Americans* (4 *amerikanare*, 1964), *American Pop Art* – 106 *Forms of Love and Despair* (*Amerikansk pop-konst* – 106 *former av kärlek och förtvivlan*, spring 1964), *The Inner and the Outer Space* (*Den inre och den yttre rymden*, 1965) and *Claes Oldenburg* (1966) as well as *Five New York Evenings*, a series of happenings in the autumn of 1964.[6] Klüver could well be called the co-curator of 4 *Americans* and *American Pop Art*, even though the term was not used at that time.[7] Throughout the 1960s, Klüver also collaborated with individual artists, using his skills as an engineer to help them devise various technical solutions. Perhaps the most famous of these collaborative projects was with Robert Rauschenberg and the interactive sculpture group *Oracle*, which lasted from 1962 to 1965. Another project involved the construction of Andy Warhol's *Silver Clouds* of 1966.[8] Other artists he would collaborate with were John Cage, Jasper Johns and Yvonne Rainer, to name but a few. In 1966, Klüver's commitment to art and technology led him to set up Experiments in Art and Technology (E.A.T.) together with the artists Robert Rauschenberg, Robert Whitman and his engineering colleague Fred Waldhauer. This organisation was formed in conjunction with the major festival of performing arts 9 *Evenings: Theatre and Engineering* at the 69th Regiment Armory in New York. Ten artists, including Öyvind Fahlström, worked together with thirty engineers from Bell Laboratories in the production of performances that made use of new technology. Klüver also led E.A.T.'s work in the Pepsi Pavilion at the *Expo '*70 world fair in Osaka, Japan in 1970. The project involved artists such as Robert Breer, John Cage, Fujiko Nakaya and David Tudor collaborating with a large number of engineers to create a complex multimedia show inside the pavilion.[9]

At the beginning of the 1970s, when Hultén was just about to leave Moderna Museet for Paris and the setting-up of the Centre Pompidou, they came together for a last joint project initiated by Experiments in Art and Technology. The aim was to put together a collection of works by artists active in New York in the 1960s and 1970s. The collection was to be donated to a museum in the US. E.A.T. approached Hultén to ask him if he would take on the task. During the course of assembling the collection, Klüver and the artists examined whether it was possible to donate the works to Moderna Museet and the collaboration led to the *New York Collection* becoming part of the collection of Moderna Museet in 1973.[10]

← Yvonne Rainer, *Five New York Evenings*, 1964

Billy Klüver in the exhibition *Movement in Art*, 1961

Hultén and Klüver stayed constantly in touch throughout the 1960s by letter and telegram. They talked about the museum's exhibitions and film shows; they planned performance evenings and lectures. The letters allow the reader to follow their discussions about which artists should be included in the exhibitions, which works were available for borrowing and so on. At times their correspondence was particularly intense. Klüver was deeply involved in the exhibition work. The tone of the letters is very cordial – work matters alternate with the details of their private lives.[11] Hultén and Klüver were both accustomed to getting things done, and it is therefore hardly surprising that they were able to collaborate so well. They shared an unswerving faith in the boundless potential of art, and over the years their collaborative efforts resulted in a fertile interplay along the New York – Stockholm axis.

The two interviews presented here were carried out on 21 August and 29 October 1997 respectively, in the home of Billy Klüver and Julie Martin, his wife and collaborator, in Berkeley Heights, New Jersey, outside New York.[12] Klüver talks in them about his own story, how he came to the US in the mid-1950s and gradually found himself at the epicentre of the art world. I have chosen to combine the two interviews into one to make the story as linear as possible.[13] The interviews are supplemented in the footnotes with comments on various statements, on the individuals referred to and on the events that are related to what is said. Several letters are reproduced almost in their entirety precisely to provide examples of how their dialogue could sound. To some extent the footnotes also attempt to reconstruct for the reader Klüver's own frames of reference. Each generation possesses, after all, its own share of self-evident understandings that may be far from obvious to younger readers. This may concern aspects of contemporary history that have faded into oblivion; individuals who are no longer part of our collective consciousness; events referred to that are no longer familiar, and so on. What makes Klüver's story interesting are the choices he made, what he remembered and how he chose to tell his story.

Interview

Marianne Hultman (MH): When did you arrive in the United States?

Billy Klüver (BK): In 1954 I moved to Paris. I was waiting until my twenty-sixth birthday so I could avoid being conscripted into military service as soon as I got to the US.[14] At that time they took anyone who was under 26 directly off the boat. […] I travelled to Stanford with my wife.[15] […] When we arrived, it turned out that there was no post available. Obviously I needed to get an assistant teaching job in order to pay my way during my studies. So I suggested to my wife that I should apply to Berkeley. We hitched there and after a couple of days I had got a post and my wife immediately found work. In 1957, two years and seven months later, I got my doctorate, which was the fastest anyone had completed the exam at the California University. Although that was, of course, because I had already got my degree from the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm. […] I wanted to work at Bell, which […] at that time, was the best laboratory for research. It was more or less by chance that I got a position there in 1958. They just happened to have a couple of jobs on offer. I can't remember exactly how it happened, but C.C. Cutler arranged for me to join his group at Bell Laboratories. Everyone I admired, like John Pierce whose books I had read on the Paris Metro a couple of years earlier, was at Bell.[16] Being allowed to work with their group at Bell was the best thing I could have done. I stayed there for ten years.

MH: What made you decide to go to the US in particular?

BK: Because I was interested in film. I had done some work at the Film Society in Stockholm. […] I had seen so many American films that I wanted to see what it looked like over there. That was all it was really. We actually arrived with nothing. I think we had a hundred dollars on us. But everything that happened afterwards was more or less by chance.

MH: Was that the Film Society at the Institute of Technology?

BK: No, it was the Students' Film Society in Stockholm, of which I was chairman. I had started going there when I was at school at Östra Real, and I ended up becoming its president. […] This was just after the war, and we managed to get hold of films no one had seen. We usually worked with the embassies and of course via the film companies. Or we got hold of the films on our own. There was no Swedish Film Institute [Svenska Filminstitutet] then. The cinema we most often used was the one at the Museum of Science and Technology [Tekniska museet]. That was the best cinema in town. The problem was getting to it. The best solution was to hire a cinema like the Regina on Drottninggatan or the Ritz […] for eleven o'clock at night. We often got it for free then. We got to see banned films there, that for some reason or other were not allowed to be shown in Sweden, and, of course, older films as well. Einar Lauritzen kept an archive of old Swedish films at the Museum of Science and Technology.[17] And then there was this huge archive of photographs, which must by now have been moved to the Film Institute. But most of the time it was just us trying to get hold of different films. We managed to get the membership increased from a hundred or so to over five hundred by selling "sex and violence".

MH: What do you mean by sex and violence?

BK: Just what I said [laughter]. We managed to sell *Un chien andalou* as "sex and violence". Nils-Hugo Geber did a poster with an eye on it, or something like that I think.[18] We also showed clips of banned films, but that's another story.

MK: Are you saying you increased the membership by selling sex and violence?

From Alex Hay's *Leadville Descriptions*, *Five New York Evenings*, 1964

BK: Yes, we were more aggressive. We always held lectures and put up posters, which hadn't been done before. You could entice more people in with something sensational. We needed to increase the membership in order to pay for hiring films and other stuff. We also got the other students' film societies from Gothenburg, Lund and Uppsala to come to a meeting.[19] And Harry Schein turned up along with everyone else you could think of, Ingrid Arvidsson, of course, and so on.[20]

MH: Was Öyvind Fahlström also a member of the Students' Film Society?

BK: Of course he was. We had competitions for the best film script, which Öyvind won. It was just like Pontus said in Barbro Schultz Lundestam's film, there was no other arts organisation in Stockholm with the same extensive range.[21] By which I mean, ballet was ballet, theatre was theatre. But you couldn't pin down film that easily. It could be about politics or anything else you like. And that's why we were all involved. After all, this was just after the war, and you still couldn't travel that easily then.

MH: Did you get to know Pontus Hultén and Öyvind Fahlström during your student days, or were they already more like known faces?

BK: I suppose they were known faces. I wasn't involved with what was going on at college during that time, not with the magazine *Blandaren* and the poetic and literary scene, it was just film.[22] Pontus said he actually came to the Film Society, but I have no memory of that.

MH: And how did it come about that you were drawn into the arts scene when you got to the US?

BK: I think that the part of me that was drawn to the technological, to the sciences, was the mathematical side, not experiments and physics, but mathematics. The other aspect was film and my work at the Film Society. I knew the entire history of film after all. And we invited people to come, Flaherty and that lot. Robert Flaherty came together with Arne Sucksdorff.[23] It was great fun seeing them together. Even when I was hanging around in Paris, just waiting to be 26, I still went and saw films of course. I remember there was this Swedish author, I think it was Lars Gustafsson, who gave me a list of artists. He said when you get to America, you should meet these people; I remember Pollock was on it. It was with that list in my hand I went to America. That was the first time I had heard of there being artists in America who were important. I must have been 25 or 26 by that time. Of course I had seen art exhibitions in Stockholm. I had even seen the Pollock exhibition, which was the first American exhibition in Europe.[24] When we [Klüver and Hill Geber] first arrived in the US, it was in New York. We lived on a side street off Lexington Avenue in Midtown. Pretty soon I realised I was going to have to obtain my doctorate to get the kind of job I wanted. It was pretty easy for me because I already knew languages.[25] And I started getting tired of film, so then the question became what to do instead. I'd always known I couldn't spend my whole life on physics and math. But my work at Bell had to come first. That was the best laboratory in the US, the world even, so when they offered you a job, you had to say yes. And the fact that they were in Murray Hill, New Jersey, close to New York, was a bit of luck. And obviously I wanted to be in New York, and that meant it worked out fine.

We used to go into New York a lot and see films, it was mostly films then, you see. I was a member of *Cinema* 16 and met Amos Vogel first, of course.[26] Later on I also helped Pontus Hultén to come up with films for Moderna Museet.

MH: Do you remember when it was Pontus Hultén first contacted you? Had he heard that you were in the US, and did he remember you from your student days?

BK: That's the way it must have been. They started showing films at the museum, which was a form of competition if you like to the Students' Film Society's film showings at the Museum of Science and Technology. And Pontus found out that I was here which meant he could use me as his henchman in New York, to run errands for him and to try and get things done. I was in touch with him every week. No one talked by phone at that time. Luckily we could send telegrams, or letters. And if he needed a picture for his exhibition, or if someone had to go to Stockholm, if there was a film he wanted, any of those things, I did them *all* for him. And no one at Bell ever said, you can't do that, whatever it is.

MH: Do you remember anything of Pontus first trip to the States in 1959?

BK: Yes. I was living in an apartment in Murray Hill. The way it was, I was able to take him around the city in the car to see everybody. First we went to see Alfred Leslie and Sam Francis.[27] I must have said this before but in those days no one came over here from Europe. Rüdlinger did come, and maybe a few others, like Kornfeld.[28] Leo Castelli was here, of course.[29] Leo was Italian, but he was concentrating on New York and had his hands full with whatever he was doing here, so the contacts with Europe amounted to nothing, really.[30] […] Since I happened to be there and since I happened to know all the people in question and I wanted to have something to do, and then everybody was working – of course I was, too – but I wanted to have something more concrete to do, rather than just hanging around. I mean, of course, it was fun to hang around, to go dancing, or whatever we got up to. So Pontus was a godsend for me, because I could do something that was in my own interest as well as his. And there's a bit of a chicken and egg situation here, I suppose, because not much was known in Europe about what was going on over here. But I don't think anybody will be able to figure out how far I was able to tell Pontus about what was going on, and how much he discovered on his own. Whether he had subscribed to any of the magazines like *Art Forum* or *ArtNews* – I don't know if *Art Forum* had begun yet but *ArtNews* had.[31] I

remember that being one of my suggestions, that I tried to get Pontus to subscribe to some of those art magazines to find out what was going on. But I think Pontus had so much to do on his own that – in his scheme of things – what was going on here was really a very small part of his commitments. He had to manage the museum, secure the financing, argue with the people from the government, and, of course, he had to justify the purpose of the museum inside Sweden and in Europe and, in addition to that, he had to overcome the resistance that existed to anything that was American, an *a priori* resistance which, as a displaced person, I felt all the time. In those days it was always manifesting itself in how materialistic America was, with its cars and television sets. Of course, psychologically, that attitude was because all that the Europeans were actually interested in was cars and televisions, whereas here people had outgrown them in a certain sense. The cars were a utility and television had become an everyday item, so nobody really felt that cars or television were a status symbol or worth discussing round the lunch table at the factory, the way they did when I was working in Paris for a year. The difference in everyday culture in Europe and here was very pronounced in those days. Along with that came the suspicion or envy or hatred for everything that was American. And of course then – when the art arrived – that was a direct insult to the European ego and, obviously, had to be rejected. On top of that, although later on, Andy Warhol became the whipping boy for everybody. He became the ultimate symbol for everything that was bad about American art. I spent a whole day walking along the Seine with the Surrealist painter Roberto Matta, who summed up how terrible Andy Warhol was in a single sentence, and that, of course, could only imply that Andy had something about him that was an insult to European sensitivity, which was something that characterised American culture as a whole.[32] The Europeans could never understand that the object didn't mean anything. In a European home, an object still meant something; but Americans had gone beyond that – and the notion that objects no longer meant something was, of course, also reflected in art. Objects had become mythological. The denaturalisation of the object results in it becoming more of a soul rather than a physical element like iron and wood. You don't notice it. You don't notice a glass or a Coke bottle. So when you elevate the Coke bottle into painting, it becomes huge; people are shocked, because nobody had expected that. I think Rembrandt did something similar, and Andy and Rembrandt are two parallel figures in the history of art, as I see it. […] Andy was an extraordinary talent in person, and always held back his enormous talent as an illustrator. He had come into the art world late in life: when he was forty, I think. One time we were sitting in the car, I was taking Andy somewhere, and Andy turned to me at a red light and said, "Billy, do you think I should begin to paint?", and that was before he had done any of the portraits. That kind of atmosphere – which the artists created, I see that as being genuine art and mind, I say that on the basis of the other artistic communities that Julie [Martin] and I have studied – like the one in Montparnasse.[33] That really was an artistic community in which the artists encouraged each other. Anything else would be unthinkable in the field of art, just as much as it would be in mathematics or science. But that sense of discovering the new existed inside a very small area around Manhattan. Pontus must have got a sense of all that, and as I said earlier, whether he did it on his own or I told him, I've no idea. Although, I mean, I was certainly motivated by him in any case to walk around and look at things.

But as far as I can remember, I actually started working practically with artists when Jean Tinguely arrived in New York in 1960. He was going to have a one-man-show at the Staempfli Gallery. Of course I had already met him in Paris – but just casually, to say hello. Pontus asked me to assist him. He was supposed to be building this machine which would destroy itself, *Homage to New York*.[34] A gigantic sculpture, which was to be erected in the garden of the museum [Museum of Modern Art]. This meant I immediately came in contact with all the other artists in New York, even if most of them did not see it. It was an uptown event after all, and there was no mixing between uptown and downtown. I had not really been in contact with the art world prior to this. In books on the history of art, they deal with me as Billy Klüver the engineer, Billy Klüver the scientist. But the important thing here, you see, was that art is about doing something with your hands. And that is what is interesting about it, at least for me. I never had any problem with ending up in the art world the way I did. I never felt like an outsider, that's just the way it turned out. There was energy in abundance. It was never boring. And that's part of the sciences, after all, that they get boring, that you can easily tire of them.

MH: Was it a genuinely collaborative process when you helped Tinguely with *Homage to New York,* or did Tinguely just tell you exactly what he wanted and you helped him out?

BK: Well, he did, of course, tell me exactly what he wanted, but [laughter] that's not the way it works in real life. Jean wanted to create a theatrical performance about a machine that destroyed itself. I was the only one who had a car at that time, an open one. I was living here in Berkeley Heights. I went to a bicycle shop and got ten or fifteen old bicycle wheels. And after that Jean just wanted more and more things. We drove to the garbage dump out here in Berkeley Heights, or in Summit. I think it was Jean's idea, he might have seen it from the train. And they had acre after acre of rubbish, so we just drove back and forth to it. Our clothes were totally permeated by this smell, a strange sort of smell, that you can only find in that place, I'm sure. And Jean just kept on wanting more and more things and that's how it turned out the way it did. And Rauschenberg, of course, came and had a look at what we were doing.[35]

MH: How did he come into the picture? He did make a small contribution of his own to *Homage*, after all.

BK: *Sixteen Americans* had been shown the year before at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and Pontus was

there with me to see it, and that's where we saw all the young artists.[36] Pontus told me what he thought about them and so on, and then it was incredibly easy to get involved if you were interested. Rauschenberg, well, he was only there for a few minutes [in the Sculpture Garden at MoMA], and then later he made this piece *Money Thrower* [*Money Thrower for Tinguely's H.T.N.Y. (Homage to New York)* is part of Moderna Museet's collection], which was supposed to be a kind of mascot for the machine. I have written about that.

MH: Was that when you became friends – during *Homage to New York*, during the work on it, you and Rauschenberg?

BK: I don't think I became friends with any of them. That seems a bit inappropriate. I did see Breer a lot after he got back from France.

MH: How did *Homage to New York* end up in the sculpture garden at MoMA?

BK: I can't remember that story. I think it was Dore Ashton who arranged it.[37] We've got an interview with her where she talks in detail about how it came about. They didn't know, of course, what would happen. They had no idea at all that it was going to be this giant machine, and that a piano was going to catch fire. They thought it had started to burn due to a short-circuit, but that was not, of course, how it was. There were these enormous headlines in the papers the next day. It took a couple of years before they were prepared to speak to me again, because they had just had a fire, in which paintings had been destroyed and so on.[38]

MH: Were they not prepared to talk to Tinguely either?

BK: I really can't believe they thought that Tinguely had anything to do with it. I told Philip Johnson what had happened.[39] I don't know if he then told anyone else […]. Although Barr [Alfred H. Barr, Jr.] was always polite whenever they had to do something for Pontus, that kind of thing.[40] But there were a couple of strange years afterwards. People were just clueless at that time about everything, so when you did something you could get it done because people didn't know any better. The whole episode with the machine would never have occurred if we had asked for permission [laughter], never ever. And they still haven't held a commemorative exhibition about it – despite the fact that it was 25 years ago – the people at the museum refused. You just have to do things. That was the way Pontus worked. I learnt that from him. That is how he built up the museum, just by doing things and not telling anyone. The important thing is to keep your mouth shut.

MH: In what way did you help Pontus with the early shows? You helped him a lot on the *Motion Show* [*Movement in Art*] for instance, didn't you?

← From the exhibition *Movement in Art*, 1961

BK: Well, I don't have a list of all the shows, but I was involved in many of them. He would always tell me what the next show would be, I think I was more of a "transporter" than anything else, and I enjoyed it, it wasn't a big deal and since I was at Bell Labs, I could do it. I had a telephone, I could call as much as I wanted, and I could receive telegrams. I got mail twice a day, and I could get all the telegrams from Sweden.

MH: I remember in some of the letters you talk a great deal about Gabo for *Movement in Art*.[41] I think you drove out to see him. But there was some trouble because he was very suspicious about the transporting of his own work.[42] Do you remember anything about that?

BK: Yes. What was that piece, was it just the vibrating string?

MH: I think there was another plastic piece.

BK: That's right it was, not by him but his brother [Antoine Pevsner], I think. Gabo was very friendly, it was very nice to drive over with Pontus and see him.[43] I think he didn't want to lend his work, and then you had to convince him to do it. I mean that kind of situation occurred several times, where they had decided beforehand that they were not going to lend, and then you had to convince them that they should. Now how that happened I don't know but that was sort of a classic situation. Pontus, of course, wanted the pieces that were unique, obviously, and that the artists also thought were unique and so did all the dealers, so they were hard to get.[44] There was always some excuse to do with the insurance or pick-ups or delivery. I remember several times driving around with some of these pieces in my car, that are worth hundreds of thousands of dollars today, just to deliver them because they had to go from point A to point B.

MH: So over a period of time you were the one who handled all of those deliveries?

BK: No, the transport company did, although sometimes it was me. The transporters were Budworth & Keating. Budworth did the packing and Keating the handling, they picked up the pieces at the gallery or at the artists' studio, and then Pontus would tell me that it was going to be carried on the M/S *Kristineholm* which left on such and such a date.

MH: Oh, I see.

BK: And I would tell Keating that the work could be picked up at this or that address. I never saw the work, unless something went wrong, or at the last minute, or when there was something special about the artwork or whatever.

MH: But just why did New York come to be so crucial during this period?

BK: What made New York into an arts centre was first that

it had enormous floor space at low prices. That was what meant you could work there. That is incredibly important after all. You could get as much as 5,000 square feet for a hundred dollars. And everyone knew that when they arrived in the city. And then there was this thing with The Club.[45] There are always some people among the entire spectrum of artists who are intellectuals and like to talk, and want to put down what is said in theories, colour theories, like Matta, world theories, social theories. And that too was something that survived from Europe, from Paris. That being an intellectual amounted to something, that it meant something […]. Although the idea died out on its own, because it's not part of the American psyche to discuss things in that way, to analyse them. It is more about constructing, about doing things.

MH: You did buy works for the collection of Moderna Museet, didn't you?

BK: Of course, though I wasn't any kind of official buyer.[46] But I helped to buy artworks that were in New York, like the Dalí painting.[47] But if I've ever been anything it's someone who knows how to haggle, because on the phone I could just go on and on, saying, well, this is going to be expensive, and so on. That must have happened two or three times. I'm not sure but that's what may have happened with the goat, with *Monogram*.[48] Though then it was a case of Bob [Robert Rauschenberg] being a good friend of Pontus as well, and there were a great many other additional factors, affecting *Monogram*. Bob sold it for far too little money [about 150,000 Swedish kronor].

MH: Was it Pontus who wanted it?

BK: Yes, I presume so. He was the boss. And as for the Dalí painting, that was simply a case of discussing it with Gala, listening to her. That did become very complicated.

MH: Did you buy that painting for the museum from the Sidney Janis Gallery?

BK: No, from her [Gala]. Or rather, she decided the price. I don't remember for how much, or if it was twelve thousand dollars, whatever it was. I remember that there was a difference of views; she was a very difficult woman in a way, but the deal was closed in any case. And then of course I had to take care of the painting and ship it to Stockholm. That was pretty much routine.

MH: Was she living here in New York then?

BK: Yes.

MH: And you bought the painting here in New York?
BK: Yes, she had it. Dalí was still hanging around the St Regency [St Regis Hotel] and seducing everybody. He had women come up to his hotel room. They would strip and then walk around. I met a lot of women who that happened to.

MH: So they would just walk around and that was it?

BK: That's right. It was a sort of a game. Everybody was talking about it. There was nothing remarkable about it. Anybody who wanted to meet Dalí went to the St Regency, and he would be sitting there in the bar. The same bar that's there today. There wasn't anything strange about it, but, I mean, the surprising thing about it was that he was available and nobody seemed to care. Because everybody was busy doing their own thing.

MH: But you only dealt with Gala? I remember seeing a letter, in which you wrote to Pontus that Gala was the most difficult woman you had ever met.[49]

BK: Maybe she was, but it was also probably because people were saying that about her. I don't know. I couldn't have spent all that much time on it. I can't remember. I'm sure that if it was true, it must have meant that she haggled over the price, the insurance or whatever else; details that in themselves were totally uninteresting. In any case, I think that if I hadn't been there then the painting would never have ended up in Stockholm, that is certain. I feel able […] to say that since there wouldn't have been anybody else around to buy it for them. Not that I thought about that at the time, obviously. Nothing of that sort ever occurred to me. I got my orders from Pontus. And anyway, I loved doing it. I also kept him updated in my letters and telegrams about what was available, what I thought he should buy for the collection, etcetera.[50]

MH: But take the show 4 *Americans*, for example – in the letters that I've read Pontus debated matters for quite a while. "Do you want me to do a show with these two artists, or with those three", and then some time later it had turned into four artists.[51] I think Claes Oldenburg was mentioned as one of them.[52] Did you help pick some of the works, or did Pontus know from the beginning what works he wanted?

BK: I think I was involved in the selection of the artists. I don't remember exactly how, but I think – it's terrible that I have such a bad memory – I'm not sure, because in retrospect it was a very weird mixture. I don't know if I was responsible for Leslie or not. It's quite possible, or Jasper [Johns] or anybody, I could have been. I can't be sure, but I do have this memory that I was responsible for the selection of the four, and limiting them to four, but how that was done I don't know. But as for the selection of the works it was more a question of what was available. Now with Jasper, for instance, and Bob [Robert Rauschenberg] it was pretty obvious what the works would be, *Monogram* or *The Flags* and all of that. And many of the works had already been bought so it was the collectors that I had to deal with, like the Ganz's for example.[53] You had to get it from the collector or from the gallery-owner, like Janis [the Sidney Janis Gallery] or Leo [the Leo Castelli Gallery] or whoever, or the artist.

MH: And many of these paintings came from Sonnabend.













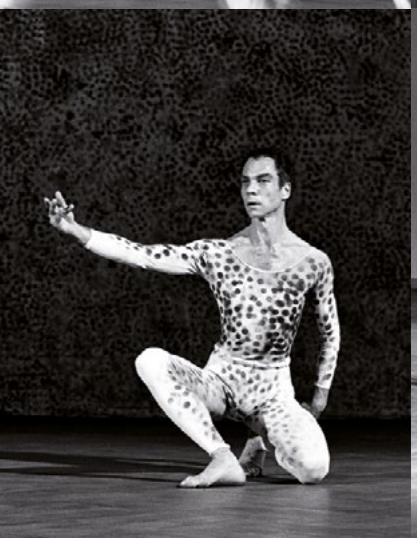


BK: That's right, Ileana Sonnabend was, of course, an important person.[54] And there again, I had the advantage of having a car, so I introduced Ileana to Roy [Roy Lichtenstein] and to Claes [Claes Oldenburg]. She had seen one or two of Claes' pieces and maybe something by Roy at the gallery that Ivan Karp had taken over.[55] I took her to see Claes and Roy, and then I took her to other people, like George Brecht. I didn't keep a diary, I knew I should at the time. But as I said before, because I had a car it was easy for me to do and it was fun to drive her around. But it wasn't easy to borrow works from the galleries, it wasn't like, "Oh yes, we'll do it". It was more like, "Do we really have to?" – that kind of situation. Of course they would do it, but why should they have to? There were plenty of reasons to show a work here and not to have to show it in Europe. Ileana and Leo, of course, had some sense of Europe, but there were very few collectors there; it would have been useless to set up a gallery in Europe and show American art, because the collectors wanted to come over and buy the work here. To show American art in Europe didn't have much propaganda value for the collectors, absolutely not. It was only for the artists really. But Pontus and Sandberg and Ludwig were operating on the same level. They all came to New York, found out what was happening and took it back to Europe.[56]

MH: But take the Oldenburg show [in 1966], for example, wasn't Claes on the West Coast then?

BK: Yes, he was in Los Angeles.

MH: You corresponded with him for the show in Stockholm. Was that his first solo museum show in Europe?

BK: That's right, it must have been.[57] It's possible that Ileana had shown him, but I think she showed him later. I don't think Ileana particularly liked Claes' work. No. It was Ivan Karp who liked him. Henry Geldzahler and Dick Bellamy and Ivan Karp were the three guys that "ran the Art World" and then came Allan Stone, Leo and Sidney Janis and Ileana.[58] But those three were the guys who saw everything, who walked up and down every staircase to see every loft. Henry, of course, knew everyone. Henry Geldzahler worked at the Metropolitan. He was the head of the Contemporary Department at the Met. He took part in the first two happenings that Claes did before *The Store* days.[59] Olga was in them too, and he ended up with his face in a bowl of soup or something. There is a group photo of everybody who took part in Claes' happenings.

MH: What about the Pop Show [*American Pop Art*], I remember a letter from Pontus, in which he drew a poster for the show and wrote that he wanted to call the show "Vulgäriteterna" [the Vulgarities].[60]

BK: Yes.

MH: Was he serious about that do you think?

BK: Yes. Again that was the vision of America he had; that it was a vulgar country or whatever. Now I am not so sure. If you talk to him, it would be interesting to know if he said that in response to what the opinion in Europe was and if it would sell, or if that was what he really believed. But the notion that contemporary art here was vulgar like Andy or Roy or whoever, well, I got very angry – obviously – I really didn't want that title.

MH: In the letter you wrote that it was an absolutely awful idea to call it that.

BK: Well yes, I hope I did, because if that title had been used it would just have become part of the usual machinery for trying to prove that American art was something that it wasn't, and that would have been a horrible mistake in retrospect.

MH: Do you remember anything from […] the opening of the Pop Show?

BK: I was interviewed by everybody. I became the spokesman for the whole thing. I mean it surprised me. It must have been a shock in Stockholm. God knows what kind of an impression I made on everybody, and all the art critics and so on.

MH: They quoted you a lot.

BK: They quoted me? [Laughter] But it must have been weird, since I had no credentials or anything. I couldn't talk about American art in academic circles in Sweden. That never happened. I mean nobody would invite me to talk seriously about it. I never had the feeling that anybody took me seriously.[61]

MH: Did you help Pontus with the Andy Warhol show?

BK: I think I did very little for that one. I think it sort of handled itself. I don't think there would be any traces of that. It came later after all [1968] when Pontus already knew how to go about it. Once Pontus learned something he would put it to use and he wouldn't bother you anymore.[62]
MH: What was working with Pontus like?

BK: Well, he was very easy. I mean you've seen the letters, but it's easy to work with a person when you don't have to go over everything every time. In a telegram or in a letter you write a line, or you say something, and then everybody understands what the issue is, that's a straightforward way of working – yes or no, and no explanations. That's easy. No

← *Five New York Evenings*, 1964
David Tudor; Yvonne Rainer; Rainer; Steve Paxton; Robert Rauschenberg and Steve Paxton; Paxton and Fahlström; Rauschenberg; Paxton and Rauschenberg; Paxton and Rauschenberg; Merce Cunningham; Gösta Wibom with cow; Merce Cunningham Dance Company; Cunningham; Merce Cunningham Dance Company; Rauschenberg; Rauschenberg.

← Rauschenberg in *Elgin Tie, Five New York Evenings*, 1964

complications, Pontus never liked complications and neither did I, so that was clear to both of us. And Pontus, of course, could never have done what he did if he had got involved in details. What was brilliant about Pontus was that he was able to see things in a larger frame of reference and not get bogged down in the details, while also being able to employ someone to empty the ashtrays.[63] Doing both those things at the same time was, of course, the secret to Pontus.

MH: And what was Carlo Derkert like?

BK: He was more the archivist type and the cautious type; I mean that's how it should be – everybody being different, of course. Not everybody could be like Pontus, it would have fallen apart […]. Pontus could communicate with everyone on a one-to-one basis. Carlo Derkert communicated to fifty people at the same time. The other secret to Pontus was that he always chose extraordinary secretaries.[64] He had a fantastic eye for that. And they became very loyal to him – I always admired him for that. And that accounts, I would say, for fifty per cent of his secret, because how the hell are you going to keep track of all the stuff that goes on without some help, and particularly the kind of chaos that inevitably has to be resolved when you are doing new things all the time, like he was doing. And all that responsibility, which didn't seem to faze him. He never talked about political involvement; I never heard him describe having to handle the people from the government and all that, never, and obviously he did that all the time, well he had to, or [Carl] Nordenfalk or whoever it was, and he could take care of the King without so much as blinking an eye, and he still can. I think he had all the characteristics necessary to run a public institution, like being polite, and I say this out of experience as my father had to be like that, running a hotel with fifty or a hundred staff for two hundred guests. I knew from when I was two years old what it meant to manage a complex situation and Pontus had that too, politeness and a sense of detail. I always talk about the ashtrays, and then being able to focus in on generalities. I don't think we ever had an argument, not even in a letter or when we were in contact over something, I can't remember exactly.

MH: I remember one argument you did have.

BK: What was that?

MH: It was about the *Five New York Evenings*.[65] About Yvonne Rainer.

BK: Oh. Did I want her to be in it or did I not want her?

MH: You wanted her in it; you argued that he had promised or said that she would be in it and then he wouldn't send money for the ticket. And so then it was just Bob Morris who could go, I'm not sure. It was complicated. You became really angry.[66]

BK: Well, that's quite possible because of course I had loyalties to the people here. What happens is that you build up a sense of trust; you get people to do things for you like lending paintings. And then you reach a crunch point finally, it's bound to happen because you are pushing the boundaries – as obviously happened in this case. I remember the incident very well. Bob Morris and Yvonne were together and if you wanted one you had to have the other, but Pontus couldn't give a shit about that, while for me it was a matter of commitment, obviously, and there I was failing in my commitments and he was pulling the rug from under me, so of course I got angry, as it meant I didn't have as much power, or whatever you call it, as I thought I had, so I couldn't go around saying that, yes, you could go to Stockholm. Of course I knew my limits, logically I realised I couldn't do that, but that wasn't the point. Just that in this case he should have listened to me and then told me that I couldn't go round doing that – he could certainly have resolved that particular situation differently. Because we couldn't go around asking everybody for favours forever and then never return them. That's impossible in this country. In Europe that may be OK, but not here. Pontus and I disagreed on that point, or not disagreed, but had a different view because over here it's always a question of you do me a favour and I'll do you a favour and in Europe it's more like if I have power and I want you, then that's good for you. But here it's always I'll do you a favour and you'll do me a favour, […] horse-trading. That's how it is and that's the secret of this country and I think that it is much more fair and democratic than power games. […] And so it was perfectly normal that we would differ on that point, it was absolutely inevitable in a sense. Of course if it had been on an aesthetic level, then it would have been more questionable. If I had said I like that painting and not that, then the whole thing would have collapsed straightaway, but at this level it was just not understanding how things operated and that was the way I felt about it, that Pontus never really quite understood how things worked here. I always had to translate.

MH: A cultural translator.

BK: A cultural translator if you like, exactly. […] I want to add something else and that is that the overall behavioural pattern in those days was enormously influenced by who was in love with who: you would go to places and do things that were entirely motivated by that. I would say that […] at least fifty per cent of the time it had to do with that […] whether this was true for everybody I don't know, but I'm sure that the moralising forces really had much more to do with it than was visible on the surface. A lot of the time we just hung around waiting. You waited for the paintings to be unpacked; you had to wait for the things to be hung. You had to wait for the catalogue to be ready. You had to wait for everything all the time. Ninety per cent of the time was just waiting.

MH: But what was it like at the beginning when you were getting to know the artists? Did you work together with them periodically?

Five New York Evenings, 1964 →

BK: I worked with them the whole time. I drove in to New York every day. I think it must have been, well you can check in our archive after all, 250 or so times a year, something like that. I had to keep a check on anything like that to do my taxes. I would drive in at four or five o'clock. And it wasn't just about working for Pontus. We would sit there talking all evening, or there would be an opening, that kind of thing. […] The first thing you have to understand is that there was nothing to stop me doing all this. No one ever said anything at Bell. And when I left Bell ten years later, it was because I didn't want to keep on working there. Good Lord, you know, I've got no idea what they thought about it, maybe they were glad to be rid of me. But no one has ever really looked into what I was actually doing during that period. Instead it's always theoretical, about science, art and so on. And not without good reason, obviously. But if it is technique that makes use of the artist, which Bob [Rauschenberg] and I were convinced of, something had to be done. The scientists needed to be educated into understanding that they had something to give artists. And the important thing that happened then was that my attitude was that engineers were a new material for artists, and Bob said no, they are not, it is a way of collaborating, and it is because of that that things can start to happen. And all that was going on at the start of the 1960s, you see, and then E.A.T. was formed in 1966. We used three sentences to describe our aims, we spent at least a week or so working on them.[67] It was about collaboration between two equal partners, artists and engineers. Although at the first lecture that I held at the College Art Association, I described the engineer as a material resource for the artist.[68]

MH: Do you remember when the idea for Experiments in Art and Technology was first mooted? A few names are always mentioned in connection with the setting-up of E.A.T. – Robert Rauschenberg, Robert Whitman and Fred Waldhauer, who was a colleague of yours at Bell, wasn't he?

BK: That's right, E.A.T. came about during 9 *Evenings*.[69] We had used Jasper John's Foundation for Performing Arts, as a kind of umbrella organisation while organising 9 *Evenings*, so people could give money to 9 *Evenings* through his foundation.[70] We set up a foundation of our own after 9 *Evenings*. The reason we did that had mostly to do with money, since if you've got a tax-free foundation it means people can donate funds without paying tax. Which meant we could do more. E.A.T. was set up solely to help artists to get materials or engineers and so on. The foundation worked like a marriage bureau, or something of that sort. E.A.T. just came into being of its own really; no one person simply decided to do it. We were standing outside the toilet over on Lexington Avenue […] and it just happened.[71] And then the lawyer went up to Albany to register the foundation. And then he came back and told us that he had changed the name.[72] After that it was question of putting it all together with a board of directors, and so on.

MH: What do you mean about the lawyer and the name? I didn't understand that.

BK: Frank Koeningsberg was our lawyer. If you're going to register a company, or a foundation, that kind of thing, you have to do it in Albany because it is in New York State. I think there was some lovely name we were going to call it, I can't remember what it was, but it had already been taken, so then he invented a name while he was up there. And no one wanted the word Experiments in the title, so then there we were, there was nothing to be done about it. He had already been to Albany and as for changing it, that would have been, I mean obviously we could have done it. And we were helped as well by Senator Javits, the senator for New York State.[73] So E.A.T. just happened, that's just how it was. Both to get away from Jasper's foundation, and because we wanted to do something on our own, which wasn't only to do with performance. Jasper's foundation was only for performance art. And we weren't that interested in that.

MH: In the literature about E.A.T., you talk about how art and technology have to complement one another.

BK: No, never ever! […] It was about a new element, the way I see it. Say you've got a new tin of paint or a new constituent for paint: with fourteen cans of paint, then technology is the fifteenth […].

MH: But wasn't there a kind of environmental thinking behind the idea that art and technology should be brought closer together?

BK: Of course there was; that was stated in what we called our aims, E.A.T.'s purpose. But what is important to remember the whole time is, I think it was John Cage who said it, that it only comes together if you work with your hands, it's got nothing to do with theory. Obviously we wanted art to be able to influence technology, that's what we said, but Good Lord, what fantasies we had. Maybe we did believe in it. Bob Rauschenberg and I, when we were writing it. But it is a daydream. Though, you can never know how much influence it had. It's bound to have had a lot more influence than I realise. Because what we were doing then and what we did afterwards has become something that really existed. So then people think, of course it can be done, and then you have changed your way of thinking.

MK: But when you were discussing these aims, did you ever think that there was a risk that technology would get the upper hand over humanity?

BK: No. That wasn't the issue, it was about putting it to use, the technology. And then you have to remember that these ideas were flourishing at that time. You can find similar notions in the writings of John Cage and Buckminster Fuller.[74] Both Cage and Bucky Fuller shared this anti-technology feeling. So here we had these two different things: technology and art plus a car, and plus the fact that I could pay for the tunnel [the Holland tunnel from New Jersey to New York]. […] What I mean is that the artists were willing of course,

there was no need to convince them. Because art had arrived, in the work of Duchamp and Man Ray, at a strange kind of one-way-street. I met Duchamp a couple of times, well, he was pretty old then. He lived on 10th Street. So in that sense it was all about art finding a new way, and that was something Rauschenberg understood straightaway. It was about opening up new possibilities. And you can see it too in Pontus; his interest in motion in art, in freedom of movement and all that. It is about that very thing, making the boundary between art and society dissolve, which of course is what Rauschenberg also wanted, getting the painting to disappear into society. […] Only then all that happens is that you keep getting thrown back into the gallery or the museum, and it was on that point that we experienced such extraordinary disappointments, when we believed that something could actually happen. All we were doing was being conned by our own idealism, that's all it was. There wasn't anyone to talk to about it, apart from the people in New York: David Tudor, John Cage, they supported it of course, or thought it was a good thing to do, or however you want to put it.[75]

MH: Would you say that the ideals behind it were very important?

BK: I think so, but Bob would certainly never have, I don't think. Or yes and no, because if you think about the ideals, you just think about them once and then they sort of vanish, don't they. We weren't interested in any kind of cleaning-up operation like those who wanted to prove that art was refined and so was science, that everything was refined. All we were interested in was in doing something that people would get involved in. That is what Bob's white paintings are all about.[76] Although it was pure chance that I met Bob and that we were on the same wavelength.

MH: But was it the case that the ideals pulled the two of you in a certain direction. Or was it just that you both wanted something to do and whatever it turned out to be didn't matter, just as long as you had something to do?

BK: We came up with the ideals afterwards, of course. We put the ideals together, as I have described, we put them together when we were forced to do so because we had to publish *E.A.T. News*.[77] That was why they came along afterwards. And there were three sentences and I came up with the one in the middle while Bob did the other two. […] From that point of view, it was entirely artificial. And as to why we did it, I've got no idea. Maybe it was my fault.

MH: They sound rather lovely nowadays.

BK: [Laughter] That sounds really nice. Thank you very much.

1 See Pontus Hultén, "Fem fragment ur Moderna Museets historia", *Moderna Museet* 1958–1983, eds. Olle Granath and Monica Nieckels, Stockholm 1983, p. 54. The heading of the relevant section is "The New York Connection".

2 In what seems to be the very first letter that Hultén wrote to Klüver, dated Skeppsholmen 7 Aug. 1959, one can read the following: "Also I am going to see the new world. I am going to São Paulo in Brazil to see the biennial, an art biennial. Sweden is participating for the first time and they are sending 'an observer'. Ha! I am flying there in the beginning of Sept., staying until the opening on 9/21 and then I go up north. To New York, and hope to stay for a month. Will go to Philadelphia, Boston, Harvard, Washington and places like that. To look and enjoy."

3 The following artists took part: Robert Breer (whom Pontus Hultén had previously met in Paris), Alexander Calder, Jasper Johns, Allan Kaprow, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg and Richard Stankiewicz. See also Klüver and Robert Rauschenberg, "Rörelse i konsten – en kombinerad minnesbild", *Moderna Museet* 1958–1983 1983, pp. 143–150. The article can also be found in its original version in *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 76, no. 1–2, 2007, pp. 114–118. This double issue deals solely with Robert Rauschenberg and Sweden.

4 In a letter from Hultén to Klüver, Hultén comments on the construction of the mobile in the run-up to *Rörelse i konsten*: "Calder was there as well [in Amsterdam as part of the opening of *Rörelse i konsten* in that city]. A decent guy, I really like him a hell of a lot. The big mobile we've got outside the building is going to be great." Undated letter from 1961.

5 Hultén had seen Jean Tinguely's art at exhibitions at the Galerie Arnaud in 1954. He wrote to the artist and they started seeing one another. Works by Tinguely were shown as part of the exhibition *Le Mouvement*, which Hultén organised for the Galerie Denise René in Paris in 1955; the show also included works by artists such as Yaacov Agam, Pol Bury, Soto and Victor Vasarely. Pontus Hultén also organised an exhibition of Tinguely's work for Galleri Samlaren in Stockholm in 1955. See Pontus Hultén, *Jean Tinguely. Méta*, Stockholm, Frankfurt am Main and Vienna 1972, p. 16. See also "Biografi", in *Pontus Hulténs samling…*, eds. Iris Müller-Westermann et al., Stockholm 2004, p. 432.

6 Klüver organised, or was "co-curator" for, a total of thirteen exhibitions in Europe and the US. From the 1960s to the 1990s, he was involved in many projects that encompassed technology. Norrköpings Konstmuseum presented a commemorative exhibition *Teknologi för livet. Om Experiments in Art and Technology* to mark Klüver's death in 2004. This exhibition was organised by the author in collaboration with Julie Martin. See also the catalogue *Teknologi för livet. Om Experiments in Art and Technolgy*, ed. Barbro Schultz Lundestam, Paris and Stockholm 2004.

7 The following forms part of the text of 4 *Americans*, "First of all we would like to thank Billy Klüver for being our faithful representative in New York and never letting us down. This exhibition could never have come about without his help." 4 *amerikanare* (exh. cat.), Moderna Museet, Stockholm 1962, p. 4. A similar vote of thanks is to be found in *American Pop Art*, where Klüver is referred to as one of the editors; he was also a member of the working committee. *Amerikansk pop-konst* (exh. cat.), Moderna Museet, Stockholm 1964, p. 14.

8 In an interview with Klüver by Grace Gluck, these collaborative projects are described under the heading "Scientist Brings Art to His Work: Billy Kluver's Skill Goes into Friends' Creations", *New York Times* 17 December 1965.

9 For further reading, see Calvin Tomkins, "Projects Outside Art", *Teknologi för livet* 2004, p. 116ff.

10 For further reading on the *New York Collection for Stockholm* and the debate the donation occasioned in the Swedish press, see Marianne Hultman, "New York Collection for Stockholm", *Teknologi för livet* 2004, p. 159ff. See also Pontus Hultén's version, *Moderna Museet* 1958–1983 1983, p. 57.

11 The handwritten letters include many abbreviations and private expressions as well as many misspellings. To make reading easier the letters have been slightly edited.

12 During 1966, Julie Martin worked as a production assistant to the artist Robert Whitman. As a result she came to be involved in the performance festival 9 *Evenings: Theatre and Engineering* 1966, in which Whitman was one of the participating artists. It was also there that she got to know Klüver. For my part, I met Klüver and Julie Martin in 1996 as part of a study trip to New York for my dissertation on the history of Moderna Museet, focusing on the period 1958–1973. The outcome of my year in New York was a series of interviews with artists and other individuals who had been involved in one way or another in setting up exhibitions at Moderna Museet during the 1960s and 70s. These include interviews with Robert Breer, Robert Rauschenberg, Robert Whitman, Alfred Leslie, Red Grooms, Yvonne Rainer, Nam June Paik, Jill Johnston and Theodore Kheel. Once back in Sweden, I interviewed Barbro Sylwan, Nils-Hugo Geber, Olle Granath, Karin Bergqvist Lindegren, Mette Prawitz, Pontus Hultén, Anna-Lena Wibom, Hans Nordenström, Katja Waldén, Märta Sahlberg, Råland Pålsson and Ulf Linde. These interviews are currently in the possession of the author. I owe a great deal of thanks to Julie Martin for her great generosity and for the access granted me to the archives of E.A.T. I should also like to express heartfelt thanks to Anna-Lena Wibom and Nils-Hugo Geber.

13 The first interview was carried out in Swedish and the second in English. For the sake of clarity, both have been translated and combined into one. The interviews are accessible at Moderna Museets myndighetsarkiv (MMA).

14 Klüver was actually in Paris in 1952–53 and came to New York in February 1954.

15 Keen to take his doctor's degree, Klüver applied to the university in Stanford. His first wife was called Hill Geber; born in Germany, she grew up in Sweden, which she had moved to before the outbreak of the Second World War. They divorced in 1962.

16 The headquarters of Bell Telephone Laboratories were in Murray Hill, New Jersey, outside New York. C.C. Cutler occupied a succession of leading posts at Bell Laboratories' department for electronic research between 1952 and 1979. John Robinson Pierce was an engineer and author, who was a devotee of computer music and science fiction. His work on radio communication included leading the group which invented the transistor, and he occupied a number of leading posts at the laboratory between 1936 and 1971.

17 In 1940, Einar Lauritzen became the first director of the film history collections, which contained a library and an archive of films, clips, images and posters. In 1964, the archives were transferred to the then newly-opened Swedish Film Institute. Today they form the foundation of the Institute's archives and its documentary operations.

18 Nils-Hugo Geber was fourteen years old as he first met Billy Klüver, who was ten years old. The first time they met was at Högfjällshotellet in Sälen in 1938. Later on, they would both become involved in the Students' Film Society. Subsequently, Geber was in charge of film showings at Nationalmuseum and Moderna Museet until 1964; he then went on to be head of the film archive at the Swedish Film Institute and the Film Club (later the Cinematheque) between 1964 and 1972.

19 See also Billy Klüver, "Gå på bio", *Teknologi för livet* 2004, pp. 12–14.

20 Harry Schein founded the Swedish Film Institute in 1963 and was its first director from 1963 to 1978. Ingrid Arvidsson, a Swedish writer, was cultural attaché at the Swedish Embassy in Washington from 1966 to 1972.

21 Klüver is referring here to Barbro Schultz Lundestam's film *Minns du Moderna Museet* which was first broadcast on *Nike* by SVT (Swedish Television) in 1996. As a film-maker and publisher, Barbro Schultz Lundestam has provided important documentary evidence of the period, as in the film *Amerikanarna och Pontus Hultén* (1998), for example.

22 *Blandaren* is a humorous magazine that has been published by students at the Royal Institute of Technology ever since 1863. Pontus Hultén collaborated on issues such as *Boulevardkartongen Tvångs-blandaren* from 1955.

23 Robert Joseph Flaherty was an American film-maker who directed *Nanook of the North* in 1922: the first documentary to be a hit with cinema audiences. Arne Sucksdorff is one of Sweden's foremost documentary film-makers. He is known for films like *Skuggor över snön* (*Shadows over Snow*, 1945) and *Det stora äventyret* (*The Great Adventure*, 1953).

24 Klüver is mixing up the dates here. He is referring to an exhibition that was organised by the Museum of Modern Art in New York in collaboration with an array of European institutions. The idea for the exhibition arose when Arnold Rüdlinger, head of the Kunsthalle Bern, travelled to New York in 1957 together with the Swiss art-dealer Eberhard Kornfeld. The aim of the trip was to gather material for an exhibition of American Expressionist art and a collaborative project had already been initiated with Robert Giron of the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels and Willem Sandberg of the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. In parallel, and unbeknownst to Rüdlinger at the time of his trip, MoMA was also working on a similar exhibition, which would include a European tour. When this common interest was discovered, the decision was made that they would all collaborate on the project. It was also decided to put together a retrospective exhibition of works by Jackson Pollock. The exhibitions *The New American Painting* and *Jackson Pollock:* 1912–1956 were organised by Dorothy Miller and Frank

O'Hara at MoMA. From 1958 to 1959, the exhibitions were shown in Basel, Rome, Milan, Madrid, Amsterdam, Brussels, Hamburg, Berlin, London and Paris. See also Sigrid Ruby, "The Give and Take of American Painting in Postwar Western Europe", conference paper at the German Historical Institute, Washington D.C., 1999, p. 18ff, see http://www.ghi-dc.org/conpotweb/westernpapers/ruby.pdf, 19 Dec. 2007.

25 Klüver knew German and French, enabling him to take the Language Qualification Exams right away, unlike many American students.

26 Amos Vogel was the founder of the film club *Cinema* 16 in New York, which he ran from 1947 to 1963 together with his wife Marcia Vogel. *Cinema* 16 was the first to show the work of many now legendary film-makers such as Roman Polanski, John Cassavetes, Nagisa Oshima, Jacques Rivette and Alain Resnais. The club also arranged many early and important showings of work by American avant-garde filmmakers such as Stan Brakhage, Maya Deren, James Broughton, Kenneth Anger, Sidney Peterson, Bruce Conner and Carmen D'Avino. Together with Richard Roud, the Vogel's started the New York Film Festival in 1963.

27 Alfred Leslie took part in Moderna Museet's exhibition 4 *amerikanare* (1962) together with Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg and Richard Stankiewicz. Leslie's film *Pull My Daisy* (1959) and films by Robert Frank, Jonas Mekas, John Cassavetes and Shirley Clark inter alia were also shown as part of the exhibition. Hultén had already mounted a one-man show at Moderna Museet of work by Sam Francis in 1960. They had known one another since Hultén had seen Francis' so-called white paintings at a gallery in Paris in the spring of 1952. Hultén subsequently described this early meeting with Francis' art as liberating in a climate which, according to him, was overshadowed by a dull and lengthy discussion of figurative versus abstract art. See also, Pontus Hultén, "Portrait", *Sam Francis* (exh. cat.), Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn 1993, p. 13.

28 Arnold Rüdlinger was made head of the Kunsthalle Bern in 1945. He came in contact with American art via Paris, where he met Sam Francis in 1954. Eberhard Kornfeld was a Swiss art dealer in Bern who became good friends with Francis in 1954 and also held exhibitions at the Kornfeld und Klipstein gallery from 1957. See *Sam Francis* 1993, p. 405. Kornfeld also played a key role as a lender when Francis was exhibited in Stockholm.

29 Leo Castelli founded the Leo Castelli Gallery in New York in 1957. Among the first artists he showed in his gallery were Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg; Roy Lichtenstein was also exhibited at the beginning of the 1960s. For further reading on Castelli's importance for the introduction of pop art, see Calvin Tomkins, *Castelli and his Artists. Twenty Five Years*, Aspen 1982; Barbaralee Diamonstein, *Inside New York's Art World*, New York 1979; *Claude Berri rencontre Leo Castelli*, ed. Ann Hindry, Paris 1990; *Coleccion Leo Castelli* (exh. cat.), Fundación Juan March, Madrid 1988.

30 Julie Martin maintains that this is only partially true since Castelli already had links with Paris at the end of the 1930s, when he ran a gallery there. E-mail from Julie Martin, 30 Aug. 2007.

31 *ArtNews* was founded in 1902, and *Art Forum* in 1962 in San Francisco.

32 Klüver is referring here to a meeting with Matta in 1990 and is conflating different historical periods here to make his point. E-mail from Julie Martin, 30 Aug. 2007.

33 Klüver is referring to the book he wrote with Julie Martin about artistic life in the Paris of the early twentieth century, *Kiki's Paris. Artists and Lovers* 1900–1930, ed. Billy Klüver and Julie Martin, New York 1989.

34 See also, Billy Klüver, "The Garden Party", *Teknologi för livet* 2004, p.19ff. This article was first published in *ZERO*, no. 1, 1961 and in *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age* (exh. cat.), Museum of Modern Art, New York 1968. See also John Canaday's description, "Odd Kind of Art. Thoughts on Destruction and Creation after a Suicide in a Garden", *New York Times* 27 March 1960.

35 The artist and film-maker Robert Breer was also present, which resulted in a film which shows how Tinguely and Klüver built "the machine", *Homage to Jean Tinguely's – Hommage à New York* (10 min., 1960).

36 Klüver is mixing up the dates. Hultén came to New York in September 1959 before *Sixteen Americans* had opened – the exhibition was on 6 December 1959 to 17 February 1960. But they went to the grand opening of Frank Lloyd Wright's new building for the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 21 October 1959. *Sixteen Americans* was organised by Dorothy Miller, a curator at the Museum of Modern Art ever since 1934 when she came to the attention of Alfred H. Barr, Jr. From 1942 onwards, Miller organised a range of exhibitions of American art at MoMA, to which Moderna Museet's 4 *amerikanare* (1964) was, in many respects, a response. Miller's exhibitions were *Americans* 1942. 18 *Artists from* 9 *States* (1942), *American Realists and Magic Realists* (1943), *Fourteen Americans* (1946), *Fifteen Americans* (1952), *Twelve Americans* (1956), the previously mentioned *New American Painting* (1958) and *Sixteen Americans* (1959) and finally *Americans* 1963 (1963).

37 Dore Ashton is an American critic and architectural historian. At this time she was an art critic for *New York Times*.

38 The Museum of Modern Art was ravaged by fire on 15 April 1958. This was a serious incident; one employee was killed and three visitors and 28 firemen were injured. Only six paintings among the museum's 11,000 art objects were damaged or destroyed. See also, "Fire in Modern Museum; Most Art Safe, Canvases Burned, Seurats Removed, 1 Dead, 31 Hurt", *New York Times* 16 April 1958, and "Modern Museum gets new Monet", *New York Times* 2 Nov. 1959.

39 The American architect Philip Johnson set up the department for architecture and design at the Museum of Modern Art in 1930. In 1932, together with Alfred H. Barr, Jr. (art historian and the first head of the Museum of Modern Art) and Henry Russell Hitchcock, he organised the influential exhibition *The International Style. Architecture Since* 1922.

40 Klüver provides a postscript on this point after the interview, "Nelson Rockefeller tried to persuade Pontus to become director of MoMA. Instead of Pontus they got Bates [Bates Lowry became head of the museum in July 1968, but had retired by May 1969]. He was succeeded by John Hightower. And after him came Richard Oldenburg. He was not made head of MoMA because he was Claes' brother, but because he was available. He was responsible for the publishing operations." Conversation with Klüver on 22 Aug. 1997.

41 The Russian artist Naum Gabo is associated with Constructivism and Kinetic Art and was a key figure in *Movement in Art* and in *The Inner and the Outer Space*. During his time in Berlin (1922–32), Gabo came in contact with de Stijl and Bauhaus. He then lived in Paris before leaving for the US in 1946, where his career included the appointment as professor of architecture at Harvard (1953–54). His brother, Antoine Pevsner, was also a sculptor. Together they wrote the "Realistic Manifesto" in 1920.

42 Undated letter from Hultén: "[…] 100.000 for the Gabo head I'll have to speak to Sandberg about. He is paying for all the insurance". In another undated letter is the following, written on a small piece of paper: "Sandberg has written to Gabo, asking him to try to get the insurance cost knocked down."

43 The following is contained in a letter from Hultén of 27 Jan. 1961, "Gabo will have to answer for himself whether he can get the insurance cost lowered. Sandberg has written to him. If not, to hell with the head and take the rest." Hultén continues with reference to Alfred Leslie, "Hasty Paper has finally arrived. Wonderful. Tell Leslie that I am working like the devil to arrange his exhib. [exhibition] over here and it is almost certainly going to happen. If you see him that is. Can you pay for two more Hasty on my behalf? Leslie only sent one." Leslie had been publishing a periodical called *Hasty Papers* for a time. Hultén would often ask for it in his letters. In a third undated letter of 1961 Hultén writes, "I have still not had an answer from Sv.Am. Line [Sverige Amerikalinjen] re the transport. Go ahead with the packing in the cheapest way possible. The Philadelphia things should go by plane. I have written to SAS to ask them to transport them for free. No answer received as yet. I have just written to Phil. [the museum in Philadelphia] about how it is all supposed to be. […] Billy! Voila! Obviously, you've got to come here. Can you manage that for two thousand kronor. I think we can cough up that much. Write back immediately to let me know what you think. Private view ca.16 May." Klüver suggested that a series of happenings should be arranged to accompany the exhibition. He had already spoken to artists such as Jim Dine, Robert Whitman, Red Grooms and Allan Kaprow. But the series never happened, there was no money to pay for it. In the same letter quoted above, Hultén writes in relation to the suggestion, "Happenings would be good but what would it cost? A happening on the evening of the private view would be excellent. Have you got any idea about how to pay for it? […] It's a question of cost, as far as I can see. You've got to come. Reply soonest. Get here as fast as you can. I'll try and come up with the money. […] I think Garden Party looks fantastic. Bye! P. One more thing and an important one. All the objects in Rauschenberg's Black Market have disappeared, nothing left. Can you ask him to do some new ones! It'll look pitiful otherwise. People have been picking things out without leaving any of their own. A few of the 'artists' among the exhibitors walked off with the best bits before the exhibition even opened and didn't put anything in their place. Ask Rauschenberg to make/choose some new and strange objects. Otherwise we'll be totally overshadowed by A-dam. Things are already looking pretty bad. Duchamp is refusing to play chess here!!!!!!! Damn. Pontus." Klüver and Rauschenberg comment extensively on the private view of *Movement in Art* in "Rörelse i konsten – en kombinerad minnesbild", *Moderna Museet* 1958–1983 1983, p. 146ff.

44 Hultén talks about the exhibition in Amsterdam in an undated letter. He comments here on why one of Leslie's works was not shown. "Dear Billy! Thanks for several letters. Re Leslie: […] The reason it did not go up was solely because the entire museum was so overworked that one more thing to deal with would have led to a breakdown. And it, The Jolly, did not get sent over until Tuesday, it was in the last of the US boxes. And then there was no chance at all of getting hold of any helium. [Among the things the Jolly consisted of was a large balloon that had to be filled with helium.] And by then there was nowhere to set it up. No one knew how much space it would need. Obviously we will mount it here […] I know you've done an incredible job […] Please do everything you can to explain to Leslie how things are. He mustn't become angry. I've written to him about his exhibition here but have not had a reply." The exhibition Hultén is referring to gradually developed into 4 *Americans*. Hultén goes on to comment on Allan Kaprow's work, "Re: Kaprow. His damned case has been unpacked, it was a cardboard box containing cardboard boxes and a manuscript in English. The whole room soon filled up with cardboard boxes, and someone told one of the caretakers to remove the empty boxes. After two days of searching we found Kaprow's bloody boxes again. But by then it was too late to do anything about the whole thing. I have not read his manuscript. He has written a long letter to me. He is offended and furious [...] I'll read his stuff when the whole thing arrives and try to make something of it if it seems like a good idea. What is it?"

45 The Club was a meeting place for artists in New York; it was founded in 1948 by Philip Pavia together with Willem de Kooning, Franz Kline, Milton Resnick and others. Inspired by Parisian café culture, Pavia wanted to create a similar place for discussions in New York, primarily about art and especially the abstract expressionism he himself favoured.

46 There are examples of this in many of Klüver's letters: "Dear Pontus, Öyvind and Barbro dropped in on Janis [Sidney Janis Gallery] again to see the various possibilities. I'll write you about that. Warhol Sleep costs 600–700 just for a print. Film Coop [Film Cooperation] is asking 1000 for it. Warhol suggested Jackie Kennedy instead of Marilyn. He's opening on the 21st. I'll take a look before the opening. He's doing 1000 boxes for 300 dollars a piece [Brillo boxes] […] Dine. Very good landscape. Buy it. Otherwise it will be returned to Dine. I'm going to go and see him on Saturday and see what new things he's got. He says they are good?! Whatever that means. Rosenquist. I'll find out the price tomorrow. He's working and will have new things when you arrive. Segal. The bike is bloody good. Buy it. Oldenburg. I haven't managed to talk to him yet. I'll try and buy the letter. Try and get the fur. Write to him. Directly. It is Pat's [Pat Oldenburg, Claes' wife at that time] and she doesn't want to let go of it. One of his best. Haven't managed to talk to him yet. Apart from that, things from the Store Days are difficult to obtain." Dated 8 April 1965. "Dear Pontus, fun to talk to you. Though it looks like we're too late already. Damn and blast for being so stupid. I knew Claes' exhibition would be good. But I had no idea it would be so brilliant. I have spoken to Sidney. Most of it has been sold already. Spoke to Claes as well. There are 2–3 GOOD things left. Öyvind and Barbro are going over during today and will talk to Claes again before he arrives. The prices GOOD between 1000 and 2000. What there is: Green Beans, Bean Pie, Ping Pong Table, Toaster. Wonderful things have been sold!!! A toothpaste tube. My God! Can't you arrange an official half-time job for me as a buyer for the Museum? That would make it easier to get to see exhibitions and such like before they open. Though I could probably fix that anyway. Just that in that case I could ge the best things reserved at least. [...] Something has to be done, Pontus! [underlined in red ink] so we get first dibs. OK, we'll see, maybe it is not too late yet. The problem with Claes is that he works in periods. That keep changing style. And all of it is good. Store is over and now most of it is in vinyl. After this exhibition, he's bound to do something different. Anyway. You see my point. […] I could cry over the Toothpaste Tube, the French Fries and the Typewriter." Undated letter apart from the indication of time of day: "Wednesday 11.30".

47 Klüver is referring here to Salvador Dalí's *L'Enigme de Guillaume Tell* (1933). The painting was bought for the collection of Moderna Museet for 300,000 kronor in 1965 with funds from the grant for *Önskemuseet* (*The Museum of Wishes*). Hultén writes in a letter, "Both Dalí and *Monogram* have arrived in good order. Both very good. The Dalí is magnificent. 4 metres long. It will, of course, be hell to find room for it but that is another matter. The film shows were a huge success as mentioned, and there was a lot written about them. *The Brigg* is, in fact, being sold to Sandrews who have turned the old Eriksberg into an 'Art-theatre' and are going to have a Godard series […] I've written to Andy, Malanga and David Store and told them. I think Andy's films are very good. Still. Keeping the films here for now, I've got permission to do so from Gerard Malanga. I was in Paris last week. It is quite dead there now. As good as nothing happening. Which has its own kind of charm […] Ileana has got a black-and-white *Marilyn* by Warhol which is very fine. 30 st = 5 x 6, I think. Very tempted to buy it. Ileana is going to let me know the price. It is very good. […] If by any chance you come across any films you think we could show, drop me a line or two. Are you coming to Stockholm this summer?? I thought of going to Brazil in September and then to New York. Can I stay with you again? I'll send you some more money soon, it all looks as though it is working out okay. But by God what a time it takes. Hello Olga [Olga Klüver, née Adorno was Billy Klüver's second wife] I often think about you. Have you got any snow? Is it fun? How are you? They say the post is going now + a drawing." Letter dated 2 March.

48 Robert Rauschenberg's *Monogram* (1955–59) was included in the exhibition 4 *Americans* in 1962.

49 In an undated letter from Klüver, presumably from 1965, "Pontus, speak with Gala. She is asking for $ 60,000. When will she get the money? She's not willing to let go of the painting before she gets paid. Write to her if you can NOT pay her now. She seems to be a bitch. Budworth etc. ok. Reply before next Thursday. Bye B."

50 There are various stories about how *L'Enigme de Guillaume Tell* came to Stockholm; Marcel Duchamp among others is pointed out as a key figure in the transaction, which was not mentioned by Klüver in this interview at all. Hultén himself tells the following story about how the painting came to Moderna Museet: "Dali was another priority that caused us some problems. Again, we turned to Duchamp, who knew about this piece, 'The Enigma of William Tell', that Dali had kept rolled up in his studio for ages. The painting was highly controversial, since the man pictured in it, as you know, is Lenin, which was most offensive in the eyes of the more orthodox surrealists. The agony had made Dali simply roll the painting back in 1932. Duchamp knew, however, that it currently happened to be in Japan, were it was hanging without a frame. I made the trip to Japan and got the painting for the standard 200,000…" Claes Britton, "The Second Coming of Moderna Museet", *Stockholm New*, no. 5, 1997, p. 54 – 77, see p. 70. See also Montse Aguer, "Chronology", Dawn Ades, *Salvador Dalí. The Centenary Retrospective*, London 2004, p. 528.

51 In the exhibition catalogue, Hultén refers to paintings that already form part of the museum's collection. Leslie's *Composition*, 1959, was bought in 1960 from the Martha Jackson Gallery in New York. The painting *N. Y.* 10 *N. Y.*, 1961, was donated in 1962 by Leslie. See the note on 4 *Americans* 1962, p. 5. In a letter to Klüver, Hultén writes: "I've written to Robert Rauschenberg re the Rauschenberg, Johns, Leslie, Stankiewicz – exhibition but not had a reply. Do you think the best thing would be to have all four if possible? Let me know? […] Reply as soon as possible about Rauschenberg-Johns." 28 Aug. 1961. A telegram from Klüver contained the following, "Castelli anxious to have Rauschenberg and Johns show ask him to postpone Milano letter follows", 8 Sept. 1961. In September, Hultén writes that he has spoken with Leslie by phone. "I've been called up for October. Best to postpone the exhibition until March. I have telegraphed Castelli about it. I haven't had a reply yet. If you see him, tell him we are very [underlined several times] keen to do Rausch., Johns, Leslie., Stank. Opening sometime in the first days of March." The letter is dated Sunday and probably dates from the end of September 1961. By the middle of November, Hultén had still not heard anything from Johns or Stankiewicz. "Okay with Bob R. Will you do the selection together with Bob? That's great. But how are things going with Stankiewicz and Johns? I have not heard a word from them despite several letters. Would you mind asking Stank. and Castelli and Johns. Getting a definite yes or no is starting to become vital if the whole thing is going to come off. NB! Leslie is unable to arrange free transport of his things. I will try and get Sv. Amerika Linjen to agree to transport them for free. Can we arrange the showing of a series of American films in tandem with the exhibition. Collaborate with Vogel? *Shadows*, *Pull my daisy* etc. etc. etc. etc. Let me know. This is what has been arranged with Johns: targets, sculptures, flags. Stank: as agreed with stuff from Rubin and Daniel Cordier. Catalogue material from all 4. Vital [underlined] to get things as soon as possible. Fun things, new pictures. Bye for now. P." 13 Nov. 1961.

52 In a letter from Klüver dated 20 August – the year must be 1962 – Klüver writes with reference to a planned exhibition of American artists, "Dear Pontus, Pictures on their way. From Jim R [Rosenquist], Claes [Oldenburg], Green [Gallery], Stable [Gallery], Leo [Castelli]. Things look very difficult for the show this spring. Segal: Ileana [Sonnabend] has 6 pieces of which 2 are good, the rest middling. Too little for a show. […] Jim R. He wants to but Dick [Bellamy, the head of Green Gallery] says it's difficult. He's going to have a show in the autumn. […] (but the MoMA show is in the way […] during 63–64) […] Claes can't, as I wrote you. Pontus – I think it would be silly

to do a mediocre show. Either a good one or none at all. Who is supposed to replace Claes!? Difficult. The only sensible choice is Jim Dine but in that case it would have to be fixed now before it gets out that he is replacing Claes, etc. Can't you do 3 Americans in the autumn instead. Or 4 including Jim Dine (I really think he should be in it – I don't quite understand your attitude) Autumn 64. Or do a general US show for the spring of 63 with a lot of artists in it." This letter is interesting because it indicates that Klüver and Hultén were discussing a second 4 *amerikanare* for 1963 with works by James Rosenquist, Claes Oldenburg and George Segal. Oldenburg could not participate since he was scheduled for Dorothy Miller's *Americans* 1963 at MoMA, and therefore Klüver suggested Jim Dine. They had to decide between doing a three man show or a pop show. During the autumn of 1962, Klüver had participated in the making of the exhibition *Art* 1963 – *A New Vocabulary* (see *Teknologi för livet* 2004, p. 35), which included artists such as Breer, Dine, Johns, Kaprow, Lichtenstein, Marisol, Oldenburg, Tinguely and Robert Watts. Walter Hopp's exhibition *New Paintings of Common Objects* in the Pasadena Art Museum, in the spring of 1962, counts as one of the first pop art shows. It was followed by Alice Denney's exhibition *The Popular Image Show*, one year later in the Washington Gallery of Modern Art. Klüver edited a recording of interviews with the participating artists. Through Klüver, Denney's show was offered to Moderna Museet in late 1962. Hultén was very interested, but nothing came of it. Instead he and Klüver continued with their own plans for a pop art show at Moderna Museet. See *Teknologi för livet* 2004, p. 146, for a reproduction of the telegram Hultén sent to Klüver announcing his interest.

53 Victor and Sally Ganz Collection. Parts of it were auctioned off at Christie's in New York in 1997, at the same time as the interview took place.

54 Ileana Sonnabend opened her first gallery together with her then husband Leo Castelli in 1938. During the 1960s she started a gallery in Paris, later on in New York as well. Sonnabend was a key figure in the introduction of American Pop Art to Europe. She showed artists such as Jasper Johns, Claes Oldenburg, Andy Warhol and James Rosenquist. The gallery also helped promote Minimalism in the form of artists such as Dan Flavin, Donald Judd and Robert Morris.

55 Ivan Karp, the art critic for *The Village Voice Newspaper* in New York in the 1950s, was involved with a range of galleries: The Hansa Gallery, 1956–58; Martha Jackson Gallery, 1958–59; Leo Castelli Gallery, 1959–69; and his own OK Harris Gallery in 1969, from where he played a key role in helping establish American Pop Art.

56 Willem Sandberg, head of the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam from 1945 to 1963, developed a substantial collection and mounted exhibitions of international contemporary art. He was an important model for the young Hultén, and they were in close contact. On the subject of Sandberg, see also John Jansen van Galen and Huib Schreuers, *Site for the Future. A Short History of the Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum,* 1895–1995, Amsterdam 1995, p. 93ff. The cornerstone of the Museum Ludwig in Cologne is Peter and Irene Ludwig's collection of Pop Art, one of the largest outside the US. They started collecting in the 1960s and donated their collection to the city of Cologne in 1976.

57 Claes Oldenburg had previously been shown at Ileana Sonnabend's gallery in Paris in 1964, but otherwise mostly as part of group exhibitions, primarily in the US.

58 Richard Bellamy founded the Hansa Gallery (1952–59) and the Green Gallery (1960–65), both in New York, showing in them young American art of the time. Henry Geldzahler was an art historian and curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1960–77), where the exhibitions he organised included the ambitious *New York Painting:* 1940–1970 (1969). Allan Stone was a collector and gallery-owner. The artists he showed in his gallery, which opened in 1960, included Willem de Kooning, César, Joseph Cornell, Barnett Newman, and younger artists such as Andy Warhol, Wayne Thiebaud, Richard Estes, Robert Ryman, Eva Hesse and John Chamberlain.

59 In a conversation with Klüver, he commented on Oldenburg's wife Pat, also an artist, and described an art-scene in which the spotlight most frequently sought out the male artists. "Pat was a wonderful actor. Quite spontaneously they would start to play a scene. You could certainly maintain that it was Pat who came up with the idea for the happenings Claes became famous for. That goes for me too. It is the woman who leads. In a chauvinist society at least [...]." 21 Aug. 1997.

60 In an undated letter, which is presumably from 1963, Hultén writes, "[...] Couldn't we borrow enough good Pop-stuff from private collections in N.Y.? For a possible Pop-exhib., I mean. Here in March. It will be just as bloody expensive whether they come from dealers or from private collections. 50 or so things by Oldenburg, Rosenquist, Dine, Segal, Warhol, Lichtenstein, Wesselman. Approx. 7 pieces each would work. If we could get one good big Wesselman, then we could take a bit more by Dine, Oldenburg, etc. Only they would have to be really good pieces, of course. I have written an article about Pop Art, for the Louisiana Revy. They have printed part of your article (a bit below) I'll send it. When is the Village Voice, The Realists, Show, going to come on. For God's sake, drop me a line. Bye [...]." In another undated letter, also probably from 1963, he writes, "DO YOU THINK we could ask Lichtenstein to do the drawing (painting?) for the catalogue cover and the poster for 'Vulgäriteterna' by the What-me-worry-guy Alfred N. Newman? Are we going to have any of Lichtenstein's 'Cezanne'-drawings? I mean his paintings according to those compositional schemes. We also want drawings and graphics by all seven for Vulgäriteterna. [Hultén sketched out a poster for the exhibition including a portrait, above which was the title Vulgäriteterna while Moderna Museet was below]. This is how the poster and the cover might possibly look plus a little poster with the names of the guys etc. like for 4 Am. We've got to have Pats Birthday for Vulgäriteterna. Could we buy a copy?"

61 Klüver's comment should be taken with a pinch of salt. In *Svenska Dagbladet* he is mentioned as the driving force of the exhibition ("Är det pop eller konst eller bluff?", *Svenska Dagbladet* 5 March 1964) while in *Dagens Nyheter* his knowledge of both art and engineering are focused upon ("Konstens elektrotekniker", *Dagens Nyheter* 5 March 1964). Klüver himself later writes the following on the pop art exhibition in Stockholm: "[it] raised a lot of consternation in Swedish academic art circles. I remember arguing in vain in front of the television camera in favour of Oldenburg's pies." *Teknologi för livet* 2004, p. 51. Klüver had published several articles about American art in the Swedish press such as the aforementioned "The Garden Party", *Teknologi för livet* 2004, p. 19ff. Other examples are "Happenings", which was first published in *Konstrevy*, no. 2, 1962, "Bakelse som konst" published in *Vi*, no. 9, 1964, "Teknologi för livet" published in *Konstrevy*, no. 2, 1966 and "E.A.T. Experiments in Art and Technology" published in *Paletten*, no. 4, 1967.

62 See also Olle Granath, "Med Andy Warhol 1968", *Andy Warhol. Andra röster, andra rum* (exh. cat.), ed. Eva Meyer-Hermann, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam and Moderna Museet, Stockholm 2008, pp. 11–13.

63 During the first years of the 1930s, Klüver's Norwegian father, J.W. Clüver, built Sälens kur- och högfjällshotell, which opened its doors to guests in 1937. Julie Martin writes: "Billy always said that his father told him that the boss/head of the hotel must be willing and able to do everything in the hotel, especially he must empty the ashtrays when he sees they are full. In other words the boss is responsible for everything and must see every detail and must be willing to do anything to make the situation correct." E-mail from Julie Martin, 30 Aug. 2007.

64 One of Hultén's secretaries was Märta Sahlberg. She worked at Moderna Museet during the years 1963–67. Interview with her in Stockholm, 15 April 2000. Barbro Sylwan was Hultén's first press secretary, she worked periodically during the 1960s, a short time during the autumn 1963, and with the documentation *Hon – en historia* (*She – A History*). Interview with Sylwan in Paris, 26 May 2000.

65 Moderna Museet arranged *Five New York Evenings*, 8–14 September 1964 in collaboration with Fylkingen. The Merce Cunningham Dance Company, John Cage, David Tudor, Robert Rauschenberg, Yvonne Rainer in collaboration with Robert Morris, Steve Paxton and Öyvind Fahlström filled the evenings with dance, performance, concerts and happenings.

66 Yvonne Rainer is a dancer, choreographer and film-maker. The American artist Robert Morris is best known for his Minimalist sculptures. His remaining projects included works of performance art together with Rainer, known as permutation pieces, which continually changed and could last throughout an entire exhibition. Morris and Rainer were a couple at this time. They also worked together. In a letter to Hultén of 1964, Klüver writes, "Based on what I know of Morris, you can't let either of them come. Not sure of the details but as you remember, the issue the whole time has been Yvonne. Until Morris wrote. Every time I asked you, you said OK. Since Christmas. And Yvonne was told that. Now there is only a week left and there is no way in hell you can change your mind. As far as she is concerned. I don't like being the one in the middle – when there's not a bloody thing in it for me. Just shit. It is like being the ball in a ping pong match. I know you've got problems, etc. etc. But that doesn't mean there isn't a line you can't cross. If it wasn't on – or you had doubts – why didn't you say, 'Maybe'. Playing games with ordinary squares is one thing – but self-supporting artists have got very little back-up. [...] No idea what is behind this. I presume there's bound to be some valid reason. But that doesn't mean it isn't bloody awful, damn it. They are travelling by charter to London 16 August. Is 400 dollars for Yvonne OK? [...] For once the money will be used for something good – an act gratuit in the mire of favours and other deals.

Yvonne is the best thing there is over here but also the most difficult like everything new. As you know. [...] And with Merce there you'll have people for an evening. Apart from the fact that you've put me in the shit (not for the first time but that is another story), I think you'll have done a very good deed giving Yvonne 400 bucks so she can travel. Heaven and other places that matter will smile on you. If you don't give her the 400, things will be difficult – which they are already. And don't haggle. More would be better of course. This all leads up to the obvious fact which couldn't be any clearer THAT SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE to settle our accounts! I'm waiting for you to make a proposal. My stock of potential excuses has been emptied, my authority undermined, and I don't know any more excuses in the English language. If you can't, then the Swedish Institute or AB Atomenergi should be able to give me at least a tenth of a full-time job. […] P.S. How serious are you about changing the Jasper painting? A lot, a little. He mentioned it yesterday And I'm pretty sure it would be okay. Problems with the magnets!! If you can't come up with 400 for Yvonne, there will be hell to pay! Bye Billy." Letter dated 6 Aug. 1964.

67 The aims of *Experiments in Art and Technology* were explained by Klüver and Rauschenberg in the article "E.A.T. AIMS", which listed three goals "1 Maintain a constructive climate for the recognition of the new technology and the arts by a civilized collaboration between groups unrealistically developing in isolation. 2 Eliminate the separation of the individual from technological change and expand and enrich technology to give the individual variety, pleasure and avenues for exploration and involvement in contemporary life. 3 Encourage industrial initiative in generating original forethought, instead of a compromise in aftermath, and precipitate a mutual agreement in order to avoid the waste of a cultural revolution.", *E.A.T. News*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1968.

68 The lecture – "The Great Northeastern Power Failure" – dealt with collaboration between engineers and artists and was held at the College Art Association, in January 1966. E-mail from Julie Martin, 22 Aug. 2007.

69 9 *Evenings, Theatre and Engineering* started out as a Swedish-American project between Fylkingen in Stockholm, Klüver and the artists in New York. The head of Fylkingen, Knut Wiggen, asked Klüver and Öyvind Fahlström if they wanted to take part in an art and technology festival he was planning. Their collaboration came to an end, however, because of a dispute to do with travelling for the engineers and fees and that is why the American artists decided to set up their performances in New York instead.

70 Julie Martin explained the financial arrangements: "Jasper's foundation was a Foundation for Contemporary Performance Arts (recently renamed Foundation for Contemporary Arts). It was a financial 'umbrella' only. Since E.A.T. didn't yet have its tax-exempt status, donors to the 9 *Evenings* could make donations to the Foundation for Contemporary Performance Arts and get a tax deduction and the funds would go to the 9 *Evenings* project." E-mail from Julie Martin, 22 Aug. 2007.

71 In the basement of The Armory lay the toilets and a bar where they used to get together. Presumably Klüver is referring to a conversation, where it was decided to hold a meeting for artists and engineers to explore whether there was any interest in setting up an organisation such as E.A.T. The meeting was held in November at the Broadway Central Hotel. E-mail from Julie Martin, 22 Aug. 2007.

72 Klüver described how the name Experiments in Art and Technology came about, "We wanted something practical such as The Foundation for Art and Engineering Science. But when our lawyer got back from Albany to find us waiting in Deborah and Alex Hay's loft, he informed us that there were legal reasons why the words engineering science could not be used and that he had therefore been forced to invent the name he registered on the spur of the moment: *Experiments in Art and Technology*, *E.A.T.*", Billy Klüver, "E.A.Ts historia", *Teknologi för livet* 2004, p. 90.

73 Together with his wife Marion, Senator Jacob Javits – who was well known as a friend of the arts – supported the idea of the E.A.T. foundation. It was probably through Marion Javits, and by extension the senator, that E.A.T. managed to gain free access to The Armory. This was explained by Julie Martin in an e-mail, 22 Aug. 2007.

74 The composer and musician John Cage appeared several times at Moderna Museet during the 1960s. The architect Buckminster Fuller, in turn, is perhaps best known for his visionary theories.

75 David Tudor was an American pianist and composer who came to be associated with the work of John Cage. Tudor performed premieres of Cage's works *Music of Changes*, *Concerto For Piano and Orchestra* and *4'33"*. Cage wrote several of his works with Tudor in mind, and they often worked closely together on the design of the works. Tudor also wrote several electronic pieces, some of which were performed at Moderna Museet during the 1960s, 70s and 80s.

76 *The White Paintings* were created in 1951 by Rauschenberg when he was still at Black Mountain College. John Cage also taught during some periods at Black Mountain College, and it is said that he was directly influenced by Rauschenberg's paintings when he wrote the work *4'33"* one year later. The paintings formed part of the exhibition *The Inner and the Outer Space* in 1965. In a letter to Hultén of 1965, Klüver writes, "Hi Pontus, here are Bob's white paintings. You need to put them up in Stockholm according to his instructions. They should not be described as copies or reproductions but only dated to 1951. When the exhibition is taken down, you should send the works back to Bob in New York. Billy." Letter dated 22 Nov. 1965.

77 Julie Martin was the editor of the news-sheet *E.A.T. News* and, subsequently, on its more magazine-like offspring *TECHNE*. The following issues of *E.A.T. News* were published: vol. 1, no. 1, 15 January 1967; vol. 2, no. 2, 15 April 1968. After that it was divided into *TECHNE* of which the following issues were published: vol. 1, no. 1, 14 April 1969, and vol. 1, no. 2, 6 November 1970, and *E.A.T. Operations and Information*: no. 1, 1 November 1968, no. 2, 24 April 1969, no. 3, 15 May 1969, and no. 4, 10 November 1969. E-mail from Julie Martin, 22 Aug. 2007.

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
Manuscript editor, Project coordinator: Martin Sundberg
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Picture editors: Alice Braun, Claes Britton
Production manager: Teresa Hahr
Translations: Gabriella Berggren (Introduction, Eriksson, Petersens/Sundberg), Per Carlsson (Gustavsson, Hayden, Chronology), Richard Griffith Carlsson (Werner), Frank Perry (Foreword, Görts, Tellgren, Gunnarsson, Hultman, Göthlund, Malmquist, Sundberg)
Intervention: Museum Futures: Live, Recorded, Distributed by Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska, 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