

## Movement in Art.

### The layers of an exhibition

Anna Lundström

*Rörelse i konsten* (Movement in Art, 1961) was Moderna Museet's first truly ambitious undertaking. This was a comprehensive exhibition, comprising 233 works by a total of 85 artists from Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK, the USA, the USSR, Venezuela and West Germany. The theme was movement. Kinetic art was presented in texts in the exhibition, not as one of many tendencies in the increasingly inclusive concept of art in the late-1950s and early-1960s (where environments, happenings, installations, op art and performance art might have represented other tendencies) but as the structuring factor through which all 20th-century art could be understood. *Movement in Art* has also become one of the most referenced exhibitions in the Museum's history, and is interpreted as a starting point for what has been described as the Museum's dynamic, progressive and international 1960s.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, this was Pontus Hultén's first major exhibition – and perhaps his last, he may have thought.<sup>2</sup> A deeper scrutiny of *Movement in Art* may add nuance to common assumptions about this period in the Museum's history, and show how Hultén at an early stage came to define his role as museum director.

### The exhibition in the halls

As soon as visitors entered Moderna Museet in the summer of 1961, they could perceive where the exhibition was going. In the middle of the room, a few metres from the simple entrance, stood Nicolas Schöffer's *Cysp I* (1956), a 260 cm tall sculpture; at the press of a button it began to move in jerky circles across the floor, reflecting the light in its rotating, rectangular and circular aluminium parts. The entrance itself was framed by Marcel Duchamp's works: to the left a line of twelve *Rotoreliefs* (1935/1959), and up to the right behind the entrance desk, six gramophone records that had been pressed for the exhibition and decorated with Duchamp's *Rotorelief Corolles*. The records contained a compilation of statements and documentations relating to the "history of kinetic art".<sup>3</sup> The presentation

in this first room could be seen as a historic background to the real subject of the exhibition: mobile art from the 1950s and early 1960s. This part of the exhibition has been interpreted as a comprehensive historical account of post-war avant-garde art. The older generation of works would then represent a strategic framework for the younger generation's materials and methods.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation is congenial with the compilation of texts in the exhibition catalogue and Hultén's previous declaration of the theme of movement and art.<sup>5</sup> The spatial presentation of works in the rooms at Moderna Museet, however, reveal that this could not be said to present a structured summary of early avant-garde movements. The first room merely featured a rather fastidious selection of works mainly by Marcel Duchamp, Alexander Calder, Viking Eggeling and Man Ray. Other parts of what is referred to in the project notes for the exhibition as the "predecessor section" appear to be a more dutiful presentation of former art movements.<sup>6</sup>

The Museum's second large hall was devoted entirely to contemporary art. Jean Tinguely's *Ballet des pauvres* (1961) could be seen from the doorway, and the photographic documentation suggests that this was one of the centrepieces of the exhibition. It consisted of a slab suspended from the ceiling, with various objects attached to it (a doll, a cuddly toy, a leg from a mannequin, a bucket, etcetera), which was set in motion at regular intervals, whereupon a noisy "dance" took place. Another work was Tinguely's *Relief méta-mécanique* (1957), *Méta-Matic no. 17* (1959), and *Cyclograveur* (1960). Further into the room were a few large wood structures by Per Olof Ultvedt, and a constructed loft with further works by Tinguely and Allan Kaprow's room-like installation *Stockroom* (1961).<sup>7</sup> Under the loft were works by Jesús Rafael Soto, Yasuhide Kobashi and Yaacov Agam. Altogether, the exhibition was dominated both numerically and spatially by Calder's mobiles (32 in the right-hand section of the first room), and Tinguely's mechanical sculptures (27 in the second room).

### The exhibition in Europe

*Movement in Art* was a bold venture for such a small and relatively unestablished institution of modern art, but the exhibition concept itself was far from unique. On the contrary, the exhibition summed up tendencies that had circulated in Europe for some time and were



becoming increasingly widespread in the late 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>8</sup> In 1959, Pol Bury and Paul Van Hoeydonck, assisted by Tinguely, organised an untitled group exhibition in Antwerp, which has later come to be referred to as *Vision in Motion – Motion in Vision*. One of its working titles was *Le Mouvement*, and, like *Movement in Art*, it has indeed been referred to as a sequel to the exhibition *Le Mouvement*, which was shown at Galerie Denise René in Paris in 1955.<sup>9</sup> Another example is the exhibition *Dynamo 1*, organised by Heinz Mack and Otto Piene at Galerie Renate Boukes in Wiesbaden, West Germany, on 10 June–7 August, 1959.<sup>10</sup> After *Movement in Art* had opened, Hultén was contacted by the Paris-based *Groupe de Recherche d'Art Visuel* (headed by Jean-Pierre Vasarely and Julio Le Parc), who pointed out that they had been working for some time on the issues that the exhibition focused on.<sup>11</sup>

In view of several subsequent exhibitions, the 1960s at Moderna Museet have come to be associated primarily with American east-coast art.<sup>12</sup> At the time of *Movement in Art*, however, the Museum was more closely linked to the radical art tendencies in Antwerp, Düsseldorf, Milan and Paris. While working on *Movement in Art*, Hultén developed his contacts with groups around Zero and *Nouveau réalisme*. Most of the artists in these circles were later featured in *Movement in Art*, and several of the catalogue's essays were also published in magazines associated with them.<sup>13</sup> Zero was founded by Mack and Piene in Düsseldorf in late 1957 and consisted of a nebulous group who were active around Europe, and that began to peter out somewhat after 1966.<sup>14</sup> *Nouveau réalisme* was initiated by Pierre Restany in Paris in autumn 1960 and was a more distinctly organised group. Alongside organising *Movement in Art*, a number of “festivals” with *les nouveaux réalistes* took place in Milan, Paris, Stockholm and Nice between April 1960 and July 1961.<sup>15</sup> Tinguely and Spoerri, who were vital to the exhibition in Stockholm in their respective ways – Tinguely by virtue of his oeuvre, and Spoerri as a mediator of contacts and, from autumn 1960, as an increasingly involved co-producer – were active members of both groups.<sup>16</sup>

Contradictory information has been in circulation as to who organised *Movement in Art*. The fact that the exhibition opened at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam (titled *Bewogen Beweging*) prompted the assumption that it was organised by the Stedelijk Museum. In his impressive reference book on exhibition history, *Exhibitions that Made Art History*, Bruce Altshuler writes that it was the result

of a collaboration between the Stedelijk Museum's then director Willem Sandberg, Jean Tinguely, and Pontus Hultén, while Antoon Melissen, in his extensive catalogue about Zero, claims that Daniel Spoerri was consulted by the Stedelijk Museum to create the exhibition together with Sandberg and with assistance from Tinguely and Hultén.<sup>17</sup> Based on the correspondence in Moderna Museet's archives, however, there can be no doubt that the exhibition was produced mainly by Hultén, but that Spoerri, after being involved in the process gained an increasing influence.<sup>18</sup>

The question of where the exhibition should open first was fraught with countless, and occasionally infected, discussions. In a letter to Hultén, Spoerri writes that he has visited Sandberg in Amsterdam: "Sandberg, whom I visited in Amsterdam, wants me to create a major exhibition on the theme of movement for him. In 13 rooms. Catalogue, poster, everything."<sup>19</sup> The letter is undated, but the replies would suggest that it was written in early October 1960. It was in this letter, moreover, that the proposal to open the exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum was first presented to Hultén. Spoerri's argument was that the Stedelijk could then pay the insurance and forwarding. Hultén responded in a letter to Sandberg dated 14 October, 1960, referring to the previous letter from Spoerri, and explaining that there must be "some confusion" about dates. He continues:

I think we agreed that we should make the exhibition here in May, that we should have it during the summer and that it should go to the Stedelijk Museum in October ... I was very glad when you accepted that the exhibition should begin here. I have been working with this exhibition since 1954 ... We have been working with this exhibition intensively in this museum four of us for ten months now, writing 300–400 letters.<sup>20</sup>

When Hultén mentions having worked so long on the exhibition, he is probably referring to a number of smaller exhibitions that he organised, in various collaborations, in Paris and Stockholm, starting in the mid-1950s. In 1954, Hultén and Oscar Reutersvärd jointly organised the exhibition *Objekt eller artefakter. Verkligheten förverkligad* (Objects or Artefacts. Reality Realised) at Galerie Samlaren in Stockholm, and the following year he and Hans Nordenström made *Den ställföreträdande friheten eller Om rörelse i konsten och Tinguelys Metamekanik* (Deputy of Freedom, or Movement in Art

Ljus teckning

DYNAMIS

Tekniska  
Museet

Om rörelser i konsten

Utgångsläget. Konstruktivet är det stilla ständigt  
Rörelsen (sken, liv, energi, tid) är något som gyller  
hos fins i verkligheten - utom i konsten - som är rörelseless.  
Konsten låter verkligt rörelser ta sig in i sin värld.  
På två nivåer: genom att låta åttor rörelse, exp. organiska rörelser  
självständigt rörelse.

I. Skenbar rörelse

- 1. A. Bild av ett vatten som strömmar
- B. Bilden själv börjar känna ett vatten som strömmar
  - 1. genom impressionens rörelse förändring
  - 2. hos den dynamiska vattenkraften
  - 3. hos klockorna
  - 4. hos spontanteman

Och så på ett annat  
område  
rörelse

I den utveckling rör sig om en dynamisering av  
självbildningsprocessen  
För praktiskt ändamål  
För praktiskt ändamål  
Ständigt utveckling hos spontanteman. Det finns goda tecken  
av Juhon Pöyhkä i aktion. Med sin teckning (genom  
färg och linor) ställer han en värld; T.V. har det.

förstärkt  
inspiration  
Kinas och bevarat  
med sin

- 2. Färg i rörelse
    - A. Egyptiska bildstift (den mest bästa gestaltningen)
    - B. Grekiska attlet i rörelse (den förberedande gestaltningen)
- Porträtt: hur den rörelse åtgärd i en enda ständigt bild  
Renaissance konst: Leonardo - Dürer  
Poussin  
Futurism - Impressionism, rörelseteorin  
Kubism och impressionism har bild  
konst i den absoluta förtäringens teori

□□□□□

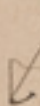
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2

### 3. Successionsbilder

Bildserie → Spiralfeld reliefen, Bestanden etc.  
Simultan succession (beständigt betoni) / Eggling.  
Plattbild (H. a. Kottler) metakop.

Filmen



## II. Verklig rörelse

1. Rörelse förstått till bildart: ballett. ballet  
föreläsning

2. Den verkliga rörelsen = musikern

A. Först sträng förstått mellan bild och teknik

a. dock choreografi: teknik bild i bildart, eller autonom  
musik mellan bild och rörelse.

B. Leonardo: Tekniker och konstnär

C. Ny mera positiv förståelse av musikern som form-  
skapare (Hans, Jans)

a. Den nya utveckling till klassisk form, ja till en fullständig  
bild, den bild som är en estetisk form.

Exempel: samfundets utveckling ut "strömings-  
form"

b. musikerna förklarar sig och "skallnad" bild.

D. Konsten tar sig ett öppet musikern i sin tjänst  
genom att förstå den tekniska musikerns bild

Förelse och ljud

and Tinguely's Meta-Mechanics). In 1955, Hultén was also involved in *Le Mouvement* at Galerie Denise René in Paris. The research on *Movement in Art* has highlighted these exhibitions as a form of pilot projects.<sup>21</sup> *Movement in Art*, did, however, open in Amsterdam on 10 March, 1961, despite Hultén's protests.<sup>22</sup> In April 1961, Sandberg thanked Hultén for agreeing to let the exhibition open in Amsterdam first, and in a hand-written addendum to a letter about practicalities such as forwarding and insurance, he writes:

I am happy to know that you will be able at last to show this wonderful collection yourself – as it were you and Spoerri who did all the work for this exhibition and I wish to express once again my deep appreciation for the fact that you let me have it first.<sup>23</sup>

### The exhibition in notes

In view of the impact of the exhibition on the early 1960s art scene, it may seem like a meticulously directed launch of one particular tendency in contemporary art at the time. Correspondence and notes, however, reveal that what evolved into *Movement in Art* was the result of a fairly tentative process. There are countless letters in the Moderna Museet archive in which Hultén writes, almost randomly, to museum directors, collectors and artists to ask if they have any works with moving parts that might be suitable for the proposed exhibition.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, many of the works that were shown seem to have been included at a relatively late stage.

Although the result was a broad exhibition, where a large number of artists were represented, the exhibition concept grew around a handful of artists. A note made prior to the exhibition gives the impression that Hultén was trying to sort out the various kinds of movement that would be featured, and that he needed only three artists for this purpose: Tinguely, Calder and Duchamp, along with a somewhat disparate feature, a "car".<sup>25</sup> The works by these artists were organised according to the concepts of "randomness, repetition, intention, growth, balance, rotation". Further on in the same note, the words "repetition" and "randomness" are repeated, and "destruction" and "destroying" are added.<sup>26</sup> In this exhibition, the works of Calder and Tinguely seem to have represented various aspects of this spectrum. In the first room, with large windows that provided good natural lighting, Calder's mobiles hovered like "willow branches with fine

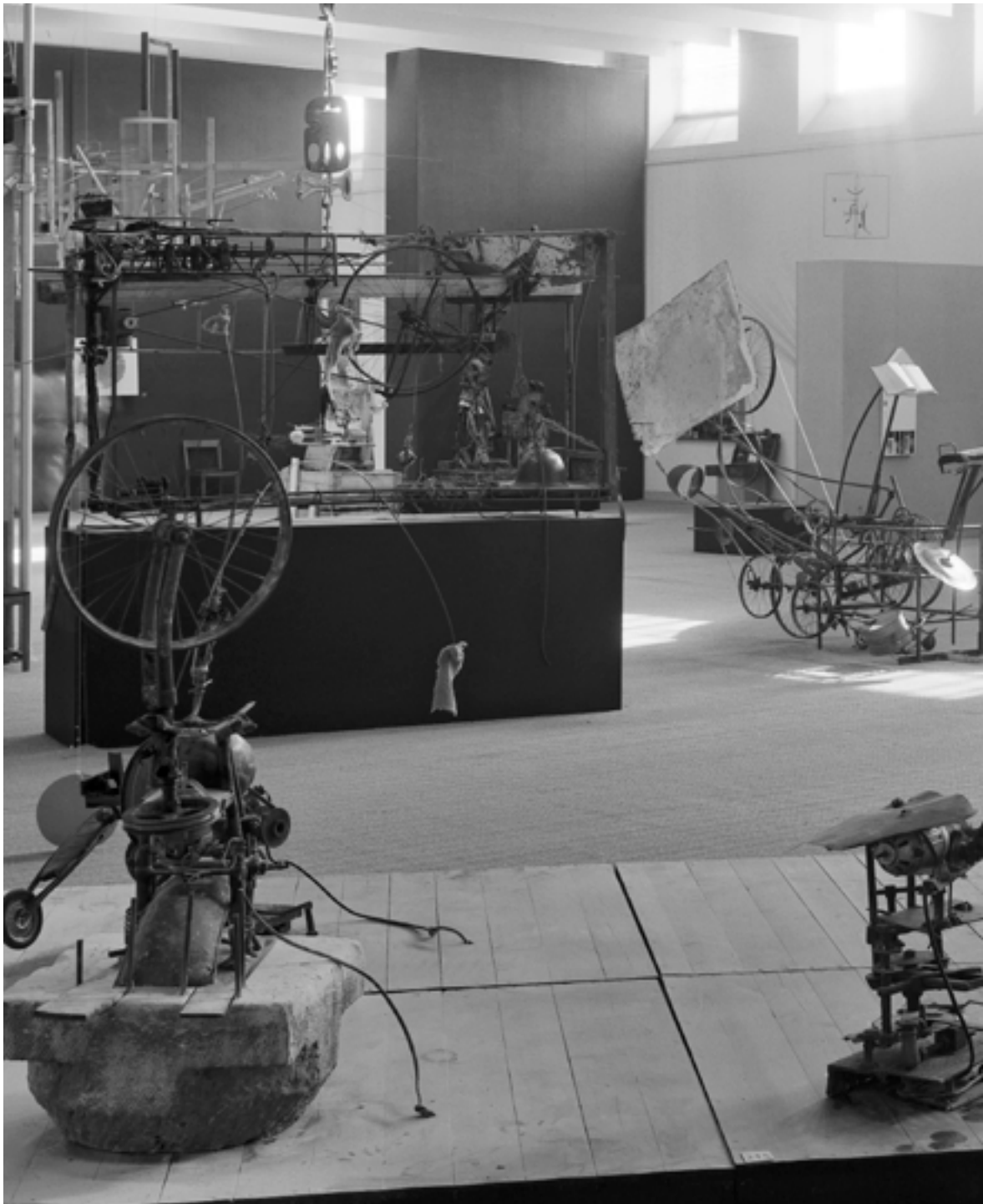


leaves in spring”.<sup>27</sup> In the second, darker room, where the light source was limited to a few small windows along the ceiling, Tinguely’s sculptures, most of which were black and made of scrap metal, appeared caught in perpetual, futile motion.<sup>28</sup>

Another collection of notes, held together by a cover sheet specifying the theme – *Dynamics* – contains several lists of possible participants for the exhibition.<sup>29</sup> The lists vary somewhat, but several names are mentioned repeatedly, and it is clear that only a handful of artists were being considered at this stage: “Munari, Bury, Duchamp, Agam, Tinguely, Moholy-Nagy, Calder, Man Ray, Gabo, Pevsner, Ultvedt, Schöffner”.<sup>30</sup> The final exhibition was structured around generous presentations of a few key oeuvres, accompanied by individual works by a large number of artists, and this was probably the result of a compromise between Hultén and Spoerri. In a letter from Spoerri to Hultén dated 11 October, 1960, Spoerri stresses the importance of presenting the broadest possible range of movement in art: “Moreover, I believe that such an exhibition must show at least one piece by everyone working in this field.”<sup>31</sup> In subsequent correspondence, in which Hultén presents the exhibition concept to potential partners, he repeats Spoerri’s argument as though it were his own. The exhibition was to give a comprehensive picture of kinetic art.

### The exhibition in theory

For a long time, the ambition was to show mobile art along with what was described as its “periphery”.<sup>32</sup> Older automats, mechanical toys, fireworks and racing cars would make the show more attractive to a wider public, and link kinetic art to technological progress in general.<sup>33</sup> Although such things were not included in the end, with the exception of the car, the discussions show that *Movement in Art* presented a number of objects whose identity as art was not entirely unequivocal. The archive sources also point to an awareness of the exhibition as a contribution to art theory. In a letter to Gray Walter at the Neurological Institute in Bristol, Hultén asks if they could borrow a few of the Institute’s “robot turtles”, adding that it would be interesting “to be able to present them as works of art” in the exhibition.<sup>34</sup> Rather than displaying objects that artists had defined as art, in line with the logic of *objets trouvés* or ready-mades, the museum director himself wanted to present ordinary objects as works of art, without the artist as a go-between. Hultén has explored this





problem for some time, as his detailed definition of the term ready-made in the first issue of the magazine *Kasark* in 1954 would suggest. Here, Hultén explained that this was an English term that had been adopted in the French language: “The art term ready-made has been defined as ‘a factory-made object that is designated as art by the artist’s choice.’”<sup>35</sup> In the subsequent issue of *Kasark*, he clarified that the term came from Duchamp, and the definition from André Breton.<sup>36</sup> The approach recurred later in several of the Museum’s exhibitions while Hultén was the director, including *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Change the World!* in 1969, and *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981* in 1971, and seems to suggest a fairly radical attitude to the then debated boundary between art and non-art.

*Movement in Art* was shown in spring, summer and autumn 1961, which is three years before Arthur C. Danto presented his theory on an art concept based on recognition from the art scene, and eight years before Joseph Kosuth corroborated this approach (in relation to the emerging conceptual art) in a series of articles titled “Art After Philosophy”.<sup>37</sup> The art concept based on institutional recognition, rather than on skill or formal qualities, was still in its cradle when *Movement in Art* opened. Discussions on whether the exhibition should begin at Moderna Museet or the Stedelijk Museum further indicate the precarious situation. Spoerri argues in a letter to Hultén dated 11 October, 1960, that it would be not only more practical, but also more strategic to allow the exhibition to open in Amsterdam first. Since the Stedelijk was a more established institution of art, the question of whether the objects were art or not may not turn into a problem: “because the problem is not, as you say, showing things that are not art, but proving that it is art. And if we start in Amsterdam, then that matter will already be clarified; it would be different at your museum.”<sup>38</sup>

The discussions preceding the exhibition show that they perceived themselves to be operating in a transitional period. In the short text “How does one wish a museum of modern art to function?” which accompanied a letter to the Dutch art collector Pieter Sanders on 4 December, 1962, Hultén refers both to the new art and the changing role of art museums.<sup>39</sup> With arguments that could just as well have been incorporated in the much later criticism aimed at Peter Bürger’s yet to be written theory of the avant-garde, Hultén describes how contemporary artists related to early 20th century art.<sup>40</sup> Hultén writes:

Many of the discoveries which were made around the turn of the century were so pioneering that it is only now their real meanings are beginning to be understood. The new art is often accused of copying. Father and son, of course, can appear identical for the person who does (not) take the trouble of looking closer.<sup>41</sup>

Even if both the material and methods launched in the 1910s and 1920s recur in the 1950s and 1960s, they meant something else now: “One takes over a form, but gives it new tasks and importance.”<sup>42</sup> According to Hultén, the art museum’s task was to uncover this relationship, that is, to show and reflect on how contemporary art could be understood in relation to history. This was also why Hultén insisted that a collection was important even to museums of modern art. Hultén never saw any conflict at this time between the museum as a stage for active artists and the museum’s role as a collecting institution.<sup>43</sup>

Like other contemporary narratives about 20th century art up to then, Hultén’s essay in the catalogue for *Movement in Art* is an account of intra-artistic developments. As opposed to more influential descriptions of what belonged to the concept of *modernism* at the time, such as Clement Greenberg’s *Modernist Painting*, published the same year, Hultén did not consider it to rely on purification and separation between different media.<sup>44</sup> Futurism’s attempts to depict movement were described in Hultén’s text as being linked to cubism’s way of visualising the viewer’s movement around an object, which, in turn, opened up for Duchamp’s moving sculptures, such as his *Bicycle Wheel* (1913/1960).<sup>45</sup> Thus, futurist depictions of movement in painting could be connected with a straight line to Tinguely’s motorised sculptures. In this version of mobile/modern art history (these terms seem interchangeable to Hultén at the time) the transition from illustrated movement to actual movement was decisive. While the futurists could give the impression of movement in their paintings, their works themselves were inert. In Duchamp’s *Bicycle Wheel*, however, movement was real. This is also the context that gives Eggeling’s experiments with film as an artistic medium in the early 1920s such a key role in the exhibition.

Film pointed towards what contemporary debate referred to as the “fourth dimension” of art. In notes and published texts, Hultén describes “the time factor” as the real novelty in modern art, and that this is what sets mobile art apart from classical art.<sup>46</sup> In this narrative, Duchamp’s oeuvre represents a decisive step – the transition from



Contact sheet with Jean Tinguely and his work  
*Cyclograveur* (1960) at Moderna Museet, 1961

manually operated to motorised movement. In a previous presentation of Duchamp, Hultén had explained how his artistic practice visualised different phases in the history of kinetic art: *Bicycle Wheel* was described as “probably the first modern work of art that directly uses physical movement to express its meaning”, while *Rotary Glass Plaques* (1920/1960) were mentioned as “the first mechanical art object in modern times”.<sup>47</sup> From here, it was just a small step to an entirely conceptually-based notion of art. With the motorisation of movement, it became independent of the artist. According to the same logic, the so-called *Édition MAT* could be highlighted as a contributor to the history of mobile art.<sup>48</sup> *Édition MAT* had been developed by Daniel Spoerri and consisted of multiples by artists such as Duchamp, Mack, Tinguely and Victor Vasarely, which were shown and sold at a uniform price. From 1959 until the early 1960s, *Édition MAT* was shown at a few exhibitions around Europe.<sup>49</sup> This version of the history of modern art is more interdisciplinary than Greenberg’s. It does not climax with monochrome painting but continues towards the expanded, open art concept that was being formulated alongside this historicising of modernism in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However, Hultén still outlines a schematic evolution in his essay for the exhibition catalogue, where one tendency seems to presage the next, according to a predictable logic.

In hindsight, and regardless of these grand aspirations, *Movement in Art* cannot reasonably be seen as a panorama of either early 20th century avant-garde or contemporary art. Instead, the exhibition featured a very specific sample of prevailing art tendencies, linking them particularly to Eggeling’s early experimental films, Duchamp’s moving sculptures, and Man Ray’s multiples. Against the background of the contemporary scene, the exhibition can be seen as an active stand for abstract art, based on a depersonalised machine aesthetic, and opposed to parallel tendencies such as Abstract Expressionism and *art informel*, where lines and colour fields were assumed to be more emotionally charged. In somewhat simplified terms, the various styles of abstraction were crystallised in the late 1950s and early 1960s at the two *Documenta* exhibitions on either side of *Movement in Art*. *Documenta II* (1959) showed various artistic movements from 1945 and onwards but has gone down in history as the exhibition where American Expressionists, spearheaded by Jackson Pollock, was introduced in Europe.<sup>50</sup> The subsequent *Documenta III* (1964) focused instead on movements such as Pop art, *Nouveau*

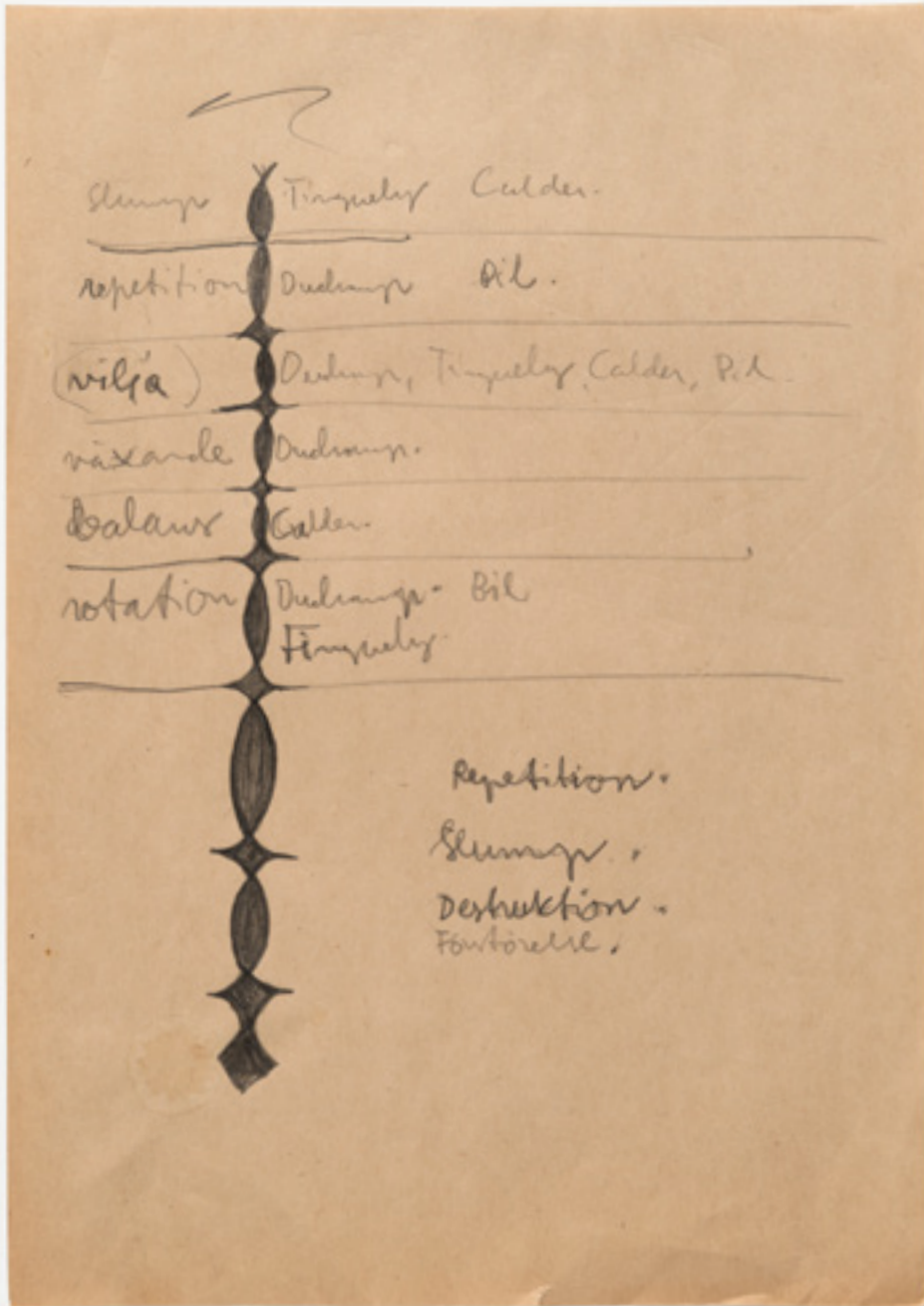
*réalisme*, and Fluxus, and an entire section was devoted to art categorised as *Licht und Bewegung* (light and movement).<sup>51</sup>

In a local context, the sample of contemporary art presented at *Movement in Art* can be seen in relation to Swedish concrete art. In exhibitions in the 1950s, Hultén, together with colleagues such as Ulf Linde, Oscar Reutersvärd, and Hans Nordenström, had launched this “objective” branch of Swedish 1940s and 1950s art.<sup>52</sup> In an essay Hultén submitted to the short-lived magazine *Prisma* on 20 September, 1949, he discussed the difference between concrete and abstract art. Drawing comparisons between Paul Klee’s *Insect* (1919) and Kandinsky’s *Incandescence voilée* (1928), he claims that abstract art is still based on nature but an abstraction of it, whereas concrete art is a universe in itself – as its own reality.<sup>53</sup> In a later issue of the magazine *Konstrevy*, Ulf Linde makes some observations in the studio of the Swedish concrete artist Eric H. Olson, demonstrating how this depersonalised abstraction could ultimately pave the way for a form of movement art. He calls Eric H. Olson’s works, which consist of tinted rectangular glass or acrylic sheets joined in various constellations, “colour mobiles” and compares them to “clockworks”. “In some sense, they are also a kind of machine”, Linde writes, and continues:

... they operate according to a specific optical mechanism. When you move before them, the colours change according to the laws of “interference of thin membranes”. What happens is that right-angled patterns appear from nowhere only to constantly change, in both colour and shape.<sup>54</sup>

The “time factor” that Hultén described in 1955 as characteristic of mobile art was already present in concrete art, according to this reasoning. Movement was not, then, localised exclusively in the work and its parts, but was understood in a wider sense to include the viewer’s movements around the works in the exhibition space.<sup>55</sup> According to this approach, movement is expanded into an interpretative theoretical perspective (rather than a physical factor in the work as such), which, strictly speaking, can be applied to all forms of art. Hultén’s own theorising on the theme of the exhibition, in which he tries to find a tenable definition of the concept of movement and its various manifestations in art, also shows how elastic this concept became. Eventually, Hultén concludes that all 20th-century art is generated by a desire for movement.





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

The argument grows so inclusive that it almost loses its meaning, and yet it is in this broader understanding of the theme of movement that the exhibition contributes to art history in a way that remains relevant to this day. If we interpret the exhibition on the basis of its spatial design, rather according to Hultén's attempts to write the history of 20th-century art in the catalogue essay, we can examine how the radical abstraction of concrete art relates to various forms of activation of the exhibition space. The physical movement of the works in the exhibition in 1961 encouraged visitors to respond physically. They could set Calder's mobiles turning, and were expected to start Tinguely's constructions. This exceedingly concrete interaction between visitors and works also ultimately activated the space between the works. Rather than a narrative about the history of art that unfolds when one work, as in a predictable chain, is linked to the next, the exhibition appears like a more comprehensive *situation*. This aspect of the exhibition connects it to certain other exhibitions in the late 1950s and early 1960s that took the form of total installations, with the individual works as components in a totality.<sup>56</sup> *Movement in Art* presented one version of the history of modern art that does not entirely agree with the version that later became dominant. By placing the concept of *movement* above *abstraction*, the various tendencies in early-20th-century art could fairly easily be related to an understanding of art that included unconventional media and materials. In that story, the expanded concept of art the 1950s and 1960s does not constitute a break with 20th-century art thus far, but a continued exploration of already established interests.

Föremål i den mobila konstens periferi

tinglasat /klockorna/  
kyrkklockor, klockspel  
skorrhjulet  
gungor  
vågen  
symmaskinen  
fiskbeten  
löparde bandet  
tomteblås /kompl. fyrverkeri/  
svängdörrar  
lasor  
soluret  
hängsmåken  
trapetsor, romerska ringar

*Fingelstråmmen*

Restaurangidé Tokanten

1. In the introduction to the book published in connection with Moderna Museet's 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Olle Granath, the Museum's director 1980–1989, noted that the 1960s had become “practically mychical” in stories about the Museum, see Olle Granath, “Ett museum är ett museum är ett museum”, *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, eds. Olle Granath and Monica Niecekels, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1983, p. 7.

2. In a letter to the then director of Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, Willem Sandberg, dated 14 October, 1960, Hultén wrote: “This is supposed to be our biggest manifestation in three or four years in this house. I am only here for six years so maybe this will be the biggest exhibition I ever make”. MMA MA E5:7.

3. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti reads his poem *Zang Tumb Tumb* about the Battle of Adrianople and extracts from the Futurist Manifesto (1909), while Naum Gabo gives us a short passage in Russian from The Realistic Manifesto, written in Moscow in 1920. The album also includes a recording from Jean Tinguely's self-destroying contraption *Homage to New York*, which was performed in the sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art in New York on 17 March, 1960.

4. See, for instance, Hans Hayden, *Modernismen som institution. Om etableringen av ett estetiskt och historiografiskt paradigm*, Stockholm, Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2006, p. 190 and footnote 25; Hans Hayden, “Double Bind. Moderna Museet as an Arena for Interpreting the Past and the Present”, *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, eds. Anna Tellgren and Martin Sundberg, Stockholm: Moderna Museet and Göttingen: Steidl, 2008, pp. 188–189.

5. See Hultén's essay in the exhibition catalogue, Karl G. Hultén, “Kort framställning av rörelse i konsten under 1900-talet”, *Rörelse i konsten*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no. 18, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1961, n.p.; and even more clearly in “Den ställföreträdande friheten eller Om rörelse i konsten och Tinguelys metamekanik”, *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, pp. 1–33.

6. Hultén refers to a “predecessor section” in a collection of his notes which is titled “Dynamik” and which I will be revisiting below, and in a letter from him to E. Rathke, Kunsthalle Allestrasse, Düsseldorf, 27 December, 1960. MMA PHA 4.2.59. This part of the exhibition, left of the entrance, is not properly documented, which could indicate that it was regarded as being more peripheral. Going by the list of exhibited works in the exhibition catalogue and notes in the archive, including the above-mentioned “Dynamik”, however, I conclude that the following works were shown here: Giacomo Balla's *Verlicità astratta* (1913), Raymond Duchamp-Villon's *Horse* (1914), and Francis Picabia's *Voilà la femme* (1915), *Chambre forte* (1917) and *Volant qui régularise*, (1917–18).

7. The instructions for the installation of *Stockroom* (which is called *Rumskonstruktion* in the exhibition catalogue) are in the Moderna Museet archives, see Allan Kaprow, “Stockroom”, undated. MMA MA E5:6. In the exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum, the extensive installation *an Exhibit* by Richard Hamilton, Victor Pasmore, and Lawrence Alloway was also

included, having first been shown as an autonomous exhibition at the Hatton Gallery, Newcastle, in June 1957. See also letter from Richard Hamilton to Daniel Spoerri, 24 November, 1960, and 26 January, 1961. MMA MA E5:6. For more information on this exhibition/installation, see *Exhibition, Design, Participation. 'an Exhibit' 1957 and Related Shows*, eds. Elena Crippa and Lucy Steeds, Exhibition Histories Series, London: Afterall Book and Koenig Books, 2016.

8. Pamela M. Lee has described *Movement in Art* as an expression of the wide reach and popularity of kinetic art in the early 1960s, Pamela M. Lee, *Chronophobia. On Time in the Art of the 1960s*, Cambridge Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 2004, p. 98.

9. *Vision in Motion – Motion in Vision* took place from 21 March, 1959 to 3 May, 1959 at the Hessenhuis in Antwerp, an exhibition space operated by the Belgian artist group G58, see Thekla Zell, “The ZERO Travelling Circus. Documentation of Exhibitions, Actions, Publications 1958–1966”, *Zero* (exh. cat.), eds. Dirk Pörschmann and Margriet Schavemaker, Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 2015, pp. 31–32. See also Andreas Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, Hon & Moderna*, Stockholm: Bokförlaget Langenskiöld, 2016, pp. 101–102. *Vision in Motion – Motion in Vision* featured works by artists including Robert Breer, Pol Bury, Heinz Mack, Bruno Munari, Otto Piene, Dieter Roth, Jesús Rafael Soto, Daniel Spoerri and Jean Tinguely, which was repeated in *Movement in Art*.

10. Several of the artists who participated in *Dynamo 1* were also presented in *Movement in Art*, including Bury, Mack, Piene, Roth, Soto, and Tinguely. Spoerri was to participate in the exhibition, but cancelled three days before the opening; his name is in the catalogue, however, see Thekla Zell, *Zero*, 2015, pp. 31 and 37.

11. See the correspondence between Pontus Hultén and Yvaral (alias Jean-Pierre Vasarely) and Le Parc, 4 April, 1961, and 17 April, 1961, and the group’s manifesto “Proposition sur le mouvement”, which was issued by Galerie Denise René and published in conjunction with *Movement in Art* (“Ce texte a été diffusé à l’occasion du mouvement au Musée d’Art Moderne de Stockholm – 1961”). It was sent by García Miranda, Horacio Garcia Rossi, Julio Le Parc, François Morellet, Francisco Sobrino, Joel Stein och Yvaral. This text was attached to the letter from Yvaral and Le Parc to Hultén, 4 April, 1961. MMA PHA 4.2.59.

12. For a discussion on this, based specifically on *Movement in Art*, see Annika Öhrner, *Barbro Östlihn & New York. Konstens rum och möjligheter* (diss.) Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam Förlag, 2010, pp. 146–147; Annika Öhrner, “Moderna Museet in Stockholm. The Institution and the Avant-Garde”, *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries 1950–1975*, eds. Jesper Olsson and Tania Ørum, Boston, Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2016, p. 116; Lars Gustaf Andersson, John Sundholm, and Astrid Söderbergh Widding, *A History of Swedish Experimental Film Culture. From Early Animation to Video Art*, Stockholm: National Library of Sweden, 2010, pp. 101–102.

13. *Zero 3* was published by Mack and Piene, and includes “Garden Party” by Billy Klüver, and “Dynamic Labyrinth. Auto-theatre Spectacle” by Daniel Spoerri, which were also reprinted in the exhibition catalogue for *Movement in Art. Zero* was published between 1958 and 1961. *Zero 3* was the last issue and was presented on 6 June, 1961, at an event organised by Heinz Mack, Otto Piene, and Günter Uecker at the Galerie Schmela in Düsseldorf, *ZERO. Edition, Exposition, Demonstration*, see also Thekla Zell, *Zero*, 2015, pp. 56–57. *Zero 3* is also in Hultén’s library at Moderna Museet.

14. Thekla Zell, *Zero*, 2015, p. 22.

15. The Moderna Museet archive contains an invitation from Restany to Hultén for the “Festival of New Realism” at Galerie Muratore in July–September, 1961. In the invitation, Restany accounts for the founding of the group and its activities to date. Arman, César, Francois Dufrêne, Raymond Hains, Yves Klein, Martial Raysse, Mimmo Rotella, Niki de Saint Phalle, Spoerri, Tinguely and Jacques de la Villeglé participated in this exhibition. MMA PHA 5.1.47.

16. For Tinguely’s influence on what eventually became *Movement in Art*, see, for example, Hultén’s presentation of Tinguely’s practice in *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955. This issue of the magazine *Kasark* was published to coincide with the exhibition Hultén had organised together with Nordenström and Reutersvärd at Galerie Samlaren in Stockholm in 1955, to which I will return below. The text by Hultén in *Kasark* was basically identical with his text in the catalogue for *Movement in Art*. Hultén had met Spoerri, most likely in April 1960, at the so called *Édition MAT* (“Multiplication d’Art Transformable”) which Spoerri organised throughout Europe in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In a letter to Sandberg dated 14 October, 1960, Hultén explains how he came into contact with Spoerri and involved him in the work on *Movement in Art*; letter from Pontus Hultén to Willem Sandberg, 14 October, 1960. MMA MA E5:7. For Spoerri’s influence and the role of *Édition MAT* in *Movement in Art*, see the discussion below.

17. *Biennials and Beyond. Exhibitions that Made Art History, vol. 2, 1962–2002*, ed. Bruce Altshuler, London: Phaidon, 2013, p. 27, and Antoon Melissen, “ZERO’s going round the world!!’ Birth and growth of a transnational artists’ network”, *Zero*, 2015, p. 187, and footnote 43. Another example is Janna Schoenberger, “Jean Tinguely’s *Cyclograveur*: The Ludic Anti-Machine of *Bewogen Beweging*”, *Sequitur*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2016, <http://www.bu.edu/sequitur/2016/04/29/schoenberger-tinguely/> (18 August, 2016).

18. I am basing this on the material in the Moderna Museet archives, and it is possible that material in the archives of the Stedelijk Museum and the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art may give another picture of how the exhibition was created. The Moderna Museet archives, however, contains substantial correspondence between Hultén, Spoerri and Sandberg, which gives a good picture of how the exhibition took shape, and their respective roles in this process.

19. My translation from French: “Sandberg que j’ai visité à Amsterdam veut que je lui fait une grand exposition Mouvement. Avec 13 salles.

Katalogue (sic.), Affiche et tout.” Letter from Daniel Spoerri to Pontus Hultén, undated. MMA PHA 5.1.47. Also, Spoerri stated in an interview in 1972 that it was he who presented the idea for the exhibition to Sandberg, who was favourable to the proposal, whereupon the exhibition *Bewogen Bewegung* was carried out, “De Overgetelijken deel 2”, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_wPay-hsUrY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_wPay-hsUrY) (12 October, 2016). See also Andreas Gedin’s discussion based on this interview, Andreas Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, Hon & Moderna*, 2016, p. 106, footnote 220.

20. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Willem Sandberg, 14 October, 1960. MMA MA E5:7.

21. Patrik Andersson, *Euro-Pop. The Mechanical Bride Stripped Bare in Stockholm, Even* (diss.), Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2006, pp. 34–95; “Rörelse i konsten. The Art of Re-assembly”, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 78, issue 4, 2009, pp. 178–192; Hans Hayden, *Modernismen som institution*, 2006, s. 190–191 och footnote 25–26; Hans Hayden, ”Dubbel bindning”, *Historieboken*, 2008, s. 188–189; Annika Öhrner, *Barbro Östlihn & New York*, 2010, s. 146–147.

22. The exhibition was shown in Amsterdam on 10 March–17 April, titled *Bewogen Beweging* (50 000 visitors), in Stockholm on 17 May–3 September (70 000 visitors), and finally in Humlebæk outside Copenhagen on 22 September–29 October as *Bevægelser i kunsten* (23 000 visitors). The visitor numbers are from a letter from Knud W. Jensen, director of Louisiana, to Pontus Hultén, Willem Sandberg and Daniel Spoerri, 4 November, 1961. MMA PHA 4.2.59.

23. Letter from Willem Sandberg to Pontus Hultén, 20 April, 1961. MMA PHA 4.1.52.

24. The Moderna Museet archives include a document that seems to have been used as a template for letters to museum directors; it also contains instructions on how to adapt it when addressing artists. A short description of the exhibition is followed by a direct request: “We are now contacting you in the hopes that you will kindly assist us with your expertise on this topic and its local connections. We would be grateful for any images, information on previous exhibitions and catalogues for these and suggestions concerning artists and their works . . . Are you familiar with any artist who may perhaps have created mobile works of art that have not progressed beyond the conceptual stage, but which it would be possible to realise here at the Museum? Is there, in your cultural sphere, a rich regeneration of young artists whose experiments in this field have still to be presented in exhibition spaces?” In the margin, Hultén has made the following note by hand: “re-establishing contacts, new artists, new museums, organisations”; and circled, at the top of the sheet is: “Institute of Contemporary Art, London”. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

25. Pontus Hultén, “Dynamik”. MMA PHA 4.2.60. This is also confirmed in a letter from Pontus Hultén to E. Rathke, where Duchamp, Calder and Tinguely (mentioned in that order) are described as the “Hauptpersonen” (protagonists) of the exhibition; letter from Pontus Hultén to E. Rathke, Kunsthalle, Allestrasse, Düsseldorf, 27 December, 1960. MMA

PHA 4.2.60. A car of the make Bugatti was indeed shown at the exhibition, one of few objects that were cordoned off.

26. Pontus Hultén, “Dynamik”. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

27. *Rörelse i konsten*, 1961, p. 17. The text in the catalogue has no sender, but according to a draft version in the archives it was written by Sandberg. MMA PHA 4.2.60. The preserved correspondence with and around Calder in the Moderna Museet archives reveals that Hultén was a “guest director” for the exhibition *The Machine* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York as early as 1957, an exhibition that did not open until 1968, see letter from Abram Lerner to Pontus Hultén, 1 November, 1957. MMA 5.1.6; see also *The Machine. As Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age* (exh. cat.), ed. Pontus Hultén, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1968.

28. Notwithstanding this darker note, Hultén always referred to Tinguely’s mechanical sculptures as both free and happy, ever since his earliest presentations of the artist. Primarily, Hultén’s presentation of Tinguely in *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, pp. 30 and 31, comes to mind.

29. These notes are undated and seem to consist of both simple meeting notes (comments like “Ulf (Linde) came up with this” give the impression of a dialogue committed to paper), to-do-lists (“Write to:”), and lists of participating artists and the catalogue approach. Pontus Hultén, “Dynamik”. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

30. Note in MMA PHA 4.2.60. In a more comprehensive list, the names have been sorted into what appears to me to be an older and a younger generation. What is remarkable about this list, however, is that the older generation has considerably more works (a total of 45), while the younger lists only 13 possible works. In the actual exhibition, the ratio was the opposite.

31. My translation of: “apres (sic.) je trouve que dans une exposition pareille il faut montré (sic.) de chaqueun (sic.) qui travaille dans ce domaine au moins une œuvre.” Letter from Daniel Spoerri to Pontus Hultén, 11 October, 1960. MMA PHA 5.1.47.

32. Note under the heading of “Objects in the periphery of mobile art”. MMA PHA 4.2.60.

33. “Material och frågeställningar för cirkulärbrev”. MMA PHA 4.2.60; Letter from Pontus Hultén to SUETRO’s Panorama Play Land at the Beach Management, San Francisco, 29 July, 1959; Letter from Pontus Hultén to H. Orth, Art Director, Whitney at the Beach, San Francisco, 29 April, 1960; Letter from Pontus Hultén to Herbert Kastengren, Swedish AB Philips, 7 September, 1960. MMA PHA 4.2.59.

34. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Gray Walter, Neurological Institute, Bristol, U.K., 3 October, 1960. MMA PHA 4.2.59.

35. K.G. Hultén, “Ready-Made”, *Kasark*, no. 1, 1954, p. 7.

36. Pontus Hultén, *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, p. 7. See also the correspondence between Hultén and Duchamp on these questions; Hultén sent a letter on 1 December, 1954, which Duchamp returned with his answers in the margin. MMA PHA 5.1.10.

37. Arthur C. Danto, “The Artworld”, *The Journal of Philosophy*, vol.



61, no. 19, 1964, pp. 571–584; Joseph Kosuth, “Art after philosophy”, *Studio International*, vol. 178, no. 915, 1969, pp. 134–137; “Art after philosophy. Part 2”, *Studio International*, vol. 178, no. 916, 1969, pp. 160–161; “Art after philosophy. Part 3”, *Studio International*, vol. 178, no. 917, 1969, pp. 212–213. These thoughts were later developed into an institutional theory of art by George Dickie; for an earlier version, see Dickie, “Defining Art”, *American Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1969, pp. 253–256. See also my account of this discussion in relation to the history of Moderna Museet, Anna Lundström, *Former av politik. Tre utställningssituationer på Moderna Museet 1998–2008* (diss.), Göteborg, Stockholm: Makadam Förlag, 2015, pp. 26–28 and 100–102.

38. My translation from French: “parceque le probleme aujourd'hui n'est pas, comme tu me l'a ecrit, de montrée que c'est pas de l'art, mais au contraire, de provée qu'il s'agit de l'art ... et en commancant a amsterdam on aurait officialisée la chose, qui aurait changée chez toi.” Letter from Spoerri to Hultén, 11 October, 1960. MMA PHA 5.1.47. See also Patrik Andersson, *Euro-Pop*, 2001, pp. 80–81. This concept also occurs in a comment by Sandberg on his choice of title: “I choose this title because I want to avoid the word art. As soon as people see that the exhibition takes place in my museum they will understand.” Letter from Willem Sandberg to Pontus Hultén, 20 January, 1961. MMA PHA 4.1.52.

39. The reason for this letter was that Hultén was planned to succeed Sandberg at the Stedelijk Museum, and Sanders was promoting this. Letter from Pontus Hultén to Pieter Sanders, 4 December, 1962. MMA PHA 4.1.52.

40. See, for example, Benjamin Buchloh, “Theorizing the Avant-Garde”, *Art in America*, November, 1984, p. 19, which was a response to the English translation of Peter Bürger’s *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984, published in German in 1974.

41. Pontus Hultén, “How does one wish a museum of modern art to function?”, attached to a letter from Pontus Hultén to Pieter Sanders, 4 December, 1962. MMA PHA 4.1.52.

42. Ibid.

43. For texts where Pontus Hultén discusses the relationship between the collection and contemporary art, see for example “Sandberg och Stedelijk Museum”, *Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam besöker Moderna Museet Stockholm*, Moderna Museet exhibition catalogue no 19, Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1962, p. 5; Yann Pavie, “Entretien avec Pontus Hultén”, *OPUS International*, vol. 61, no. 24–25, 1971, pp. 56–64. In a debate in the second half of the 1990s, the museum was severely criticised for having lost touch with the contemporary art scene. Hultén’s directorship was repeatedly held up as an ideal, and the early activities of the museum were reduced to its involvement in contemporary art. Hultén’s interest in the museum as a collecting institution and his active processing of the relationship between the art of his time and its history were ignored. See my discussion of this in Anna Lundström, *Former av politik*, 2015, pp. 92–96. See also Hayden’s account of how the then relatively newly established category of modern art museums plays

an active role in legitimising and historicising the art of the earlier avant-garde movements, Hans Hayden, *Modernismen som institution*, 2006.

44. Clement Greenberg, "Modernist Painting", *The New Art. A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battock, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1966, pp. 100–110. This text was originally presented in a radio broadcast in *The Voice of America, Forum Lectures*, 1961.

45. Pontus Hultén, *Rörelse i konsten*, 1961, n.p.

46. Pontus Hultén, "Dynamik", undated. MMA PHA 4.2.60. Hultén had used this expression already in 1955: "That works of art continuously change, that it has taken the time factor (the fourth dimension) directly in its service, must mean the annulment of the artistic laws of old. It implies the total renunciation of the sacred values of older art", Hultén, "Den ställföreträdande friheten", *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, p. 1. See also Hultén, "MOUVEMENT – TEMPS ou les quatre dimensions de la PLASTIQUE CINÉTIQUE", *Le Mouvement*, Paris: Galerie Denise René, 1955, n.p.

47. Pontus Hultén, *Kasark*, no. 2, 1955, pp. 7 and 9. This interpretation is repeated in a TV feature on the exhibition, broadcast on 11 June, 1961. The presentation of the museum is accounted for in the feature, and this is discussed by David Rynell Åhlén, *Samtida konst på bästa sändningstid. Konst i svensk television 1956–1969* (diss.), Mediehistoriskt arkiv nr 31, Lund: Lunds universitet, 2016, p. 137.

48. *Edition MAT* was presented in the exhibition catalogue for *Movement in Art*, and the exhibition concept was justified thus: "a work of art with a highly conceptual content will sometimes let itself be reproduced without losing its meaning", Pontus Hultén, *Rörelse i konsten*, 1961, n.p.

49. In Stockholm, an *Edition MAT* took place at Galleri Vallingatan 42 in April 1960. The participating artists were Yaakov Agam, Josef Albers, Pol Bury, Marcel Duchamp, Heinz Mack, Frank Malina, Bruno Munari, Man Ray, Dieter Roth, Jesús Rafael Soto, Jean Tinguely och Victor Vasarely. "Till Pontus Hultén, Moderna Museet från Galleri Vallingatan 42", 31 March, 1960. MMA PHA 5.1.47.

50. Charlotte Klonk, *Spaces of Experiences. Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 179–180.

51. The section *Licht und Bewegung* featured works by Yaacov Agam, Hermann Goepfert, Günter Haese, Harry Kramer, Otto Piene, Heinz Mack, Günter Uecker, Nicolas Schöffer, Jesús Rafael Soto, Jean Tinguely och Groupe de recherche d'art visuel de Paris (Horacio Garcia Rossi, Julio Le Parc, François Morellet, Francisco Sobrino, Joel Stein and Yvaral); *Documenta III. Malerei und Skulptur* (exh. cat.), eds. Arnold Bode, Siegfried Hagen and Alfred Nemeček, Kassel: Alte Galerie, Museum Fridericianum, Orangerie, 1964, pp. 403–412.

52. See primarily the exhibition *L'Art suédois 1913–1953*, which was shown at Galerie Denise René in spring, 1953, organised by Pontus Hultén and Oscar Reutersvärd with support from the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm and the Swedish Institute in Paris. The exhibition included works by Gösta Adrian-Nilsson, Olle Bærtling, Christian Berg, Olle Bonnier, Otto G. Carlsson,

Siri Derkert, Ted Dyrssen, Viking Eggeling, Arne Jones, Erik Olson, Karl-Axel Pehrson, Lennart Rodhe, Lars Rolf, and Otte Sköld, see *L' Art Suédois 1913–1953. Exposition d'art suédois, cubiste, futuriste, constructiviste. Mars–avril 1953* (exh. cat.), eds. Karl. G. Hultén and Oscar Reutersvärd, Paris: Galerie Denise René, 1953. In a letter to Sandberg, dated 18 December, 1952, Hultén suggests that the exhibition could go on to the Stedelijk Museum. This is the first contact between Sandberg and Hultén found in the Moderna Museet archives. See also letter from Pontus Hultén to Willem Sandberg, 18 February, 1953. MMA PHA 4.1.52. The issue *Kasark*, no. 1, 1954, is also relevant.

53. Pontus Hultén, “Klee kontra Kandinsky”, unpublished article, returned from the magazine *Prisma* on 20 September, 1949. MMA PHA 3.26.

54. Ulf Linde, “Föänderlig färg”, *Konstrevy*, no. 3, 1961, pp. 85–86. See also Ulf Linde, *Spejare. En essä om konst*, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1960.

55. See Lawrence Alloway’s concept of how abstraction is connected to the movement of the works, which in turn leads to the participation of the spectator; Lawrence Alloway, “The Spectator’s Intervention”, originally published in the French magazine *Art d’aujourd’hui* in November, 1955, and now in English translation by Catherine Petit and Paul Buck, *Exhibition, Design, Participation*, 2016, pp. 170–172.

56. See for example the text by Daniel Spoerri mentioned above, “Dynamic Labyrinth. Auto-theatre Spectacle”, which was an exhibition draft and, as such, very similar to *Dylaby (Dynamisch Labyrinth)*, which was shown at the Stedelijk Museum in 1962. From the materials in the Moderna Museet archives, it is clear that what later became *She – A Cathedral* was referred to in the planning stage as both *Dylaby II* (letter from Pontus Hultén to Martial Raysse, 15 April, 1966. MMA MA F1a: 32) and *Labyrinth (The Labyrinth)*, letter from Pontus Hultén to Harry Mattsson, 1 April, 1966. MMA MA F1a: 32).