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Representation and Regionalism: Moderna Museet and the Construction of a Narrative of Swedish Women Artists

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Abstract

The relation between Stockholm's Moderna Museet and regional developments, with a focus on women artists, was the interest of a recent research project. The aim of the research group Representation and Regionalism was to shed light on the situation in Sweden and to compare Moderna Museet with regional museums with substantial collections of 20th century art: Göteborgs konstmuseum, Malmö konstmuseum, and Norrköpings konstmuseum. Representative of government authority, Moderna Museet is responsible for 20th century and contemporary art made nationally and internationally. But a closer look at how the collection had largely been acquired – namely at Stockholm art galleries – does not represent art production nationwide but rather one that is centered in the capital. This might provoke further probing into the question of the museum's display of national art, as well as what art history it re-presents - adhering to the center and neglecting the periphery. Furthermore, we focused on the absence of women artists in the collections. Our intention has been to contribute to diverse aspects of gender studies and to facilitate another take at representation and regionalism. Nevertheless, we have been able to pinpoint many problems that concern all artists (i.e. the fact that most artists are represented through no more than a single work) – especially working in a country whose art scene is more or less dominated by one city. Questions regarding national identity are closely linked to how an image is constructed in the capital. The project Representation and Regionalism is the starting point for this article, it aims to highlight future possibilities that will help to understand the development of great historical narratives.

The Origin of the Research Project

It is hardly a new observation that women artists are represented with less works in art museums than their male colleagues. However, it might be of greater interest to learn that imbalance can be seen in other aspects as well, such as where the art works are acquired. I want to bring up this often-discussed gender topic, by considering it alongside other adjacent questions of representation. It has been the interest of the recent research project *Representation and Regionalism* – to question, how representation and region can be articulated with a discussion on gender. In a centralized country such as Sweden, the national museum for modern and contemporary art, Moderna Museet in Stockholm, has played an influential role since 1958. What I want to present is how this national museum might be analysed in relation to three regional museums by taking women artists as a comparative issue with a close look on how the collections developed during the 20th century.

Let me begin by situating the context of the research project. When Anna Tellgren (curator of photography at Moderna Museet) and I (then research assistant at the museum) discussed possible collaborations with Jeff Werner, at the time head of research at Göteborgs konstmuseum, we agreed to have a closer look at the development of art museum collections in Sweden. The problem, as we saw it, was that a Stockholm-perspective and -focus was prevalent in art criticism and general art histories of Swedish art, despite the fact that Swedish regions and their museums have different stories to tell. The project emanated from a previous research project at Moderna Museet that looked at women artists whose works had recently been acquired as part of the project *The Second Museum of Our Wishes* – launched on the occasion of Moderna Museet's 50th anniversary in 2008.² Our research focus began to shift – from the art works themselves to the positions of the artists and their relation to collections and museum politics in general.³ In a way, this shift mirrored the general shift in gender studies – i.e. as visible in the pioneering works of Linda Nochlin, Griselda Pollock and others.⁴

We decided to pursue a gender perspective when looking at the four different museums. In addition to Göteborgs konstmuseum and Moderna Museet, we chose Norrköpings konstmuseum and Malmö konstmuseum. Our objectives were to examine how the collections had developed: What reasons may have conditioned these developments? What particularities could be found and how could these be compared? Finally, how Swedish art history was presented in relation to its regions? As all four museums have significant collections of Swedish art, this became our focus whilst international art played a minor role. Three researchers were invited to participate: Linda Fagerström for Malmö, Andrea Kollnitz for Norrköping, and Eva Zetterman for Gothenburg, while I was responsible for Stockholm. We collaborated closely with the museums, which were all very helpful in the difficult task of sourcing archive material and in overcoming documentary problems. For instance, the installations of the art works in the permanent collection are not as well documented as that of temporary exhibitions. In many respects archival groundwork had first to be carried out for each of the museums. A synthesis of this individual research has yet to be undertaken. So far, a list comprising all women artists in the four collections has been compiled. This paper, therefore, is a first step towards a more comparative perspective and will hopefully highlight some important questions.

The Collection of Moderna Museet

A Foundational Myth

As a government authority – as national museum – responsible for 20th century and contemporary art, Moderna Museet's stipulated goal is to collect and present art from Sweden as well as Nordic and international art.⁵ The museum was inaugurated in 1958 and was a result of the fact that Nationalmuseum, which had been responsible for all art historical periods since its beginnings in 1792, did not have enough space for contemporary art. Moderna Museet was to collect and show art since 1900 while Nationalmuseum took care of art prior to 1900. The collection was thus divided chronologically between the two museums.⁶ This is obviously a challenging task and processes of selection and rejection are constantly necessary, resulting in a specific narrative of what is considered important (Swedish) art. Thus, the museum presents its own narrative, a version that – as I will show – adheres to the capital and neglects the periphery – that is, the other Swedish regions. To promote and legitimise this story, what you might term *myths* are created and used. These myths serve the purpose of explaining the choices made – in some ways, it is a covert defence. Maybe one could argue that the necessity to choose is one reason behind the invention of myths. I will use one such myth as a starting point: Önskemuseet, The Museum of Our Wishes.

This was an exhibition mounted in 1963 and organised by The Friends of Moderna Museet (Moderna Museets Vänner). The aim was to show art, available on the market, which would fit perfectly in the collection and allow the museum to mount a display of distinguished 20th century art.⁷ Artists included famous men – of the 176 works displayed, three were by women artists.⁸ Of the more than thirty works bought, not a single one was made by a woman artist.

The imbalance of representation is of course obvious in this case. However, what I want to consider, is the role that this exhibition played in the future development of the museum. It became a consistent reference in the literature on the museum, the works acquired are presented as the masterpieces, and the concept itself has been reused recently in The Second Museum of Our Wishes as well as in other museums internationally (such as Museum der Wünsche in MUMOK in Vienna in autumn 2011). Onskemuseet established a strong relationship between exhibition practice and collection development policies. Designed as an exhibition to influence the enhancement of the permanent collection – it came to be treated as a foundational myth. In the case of Moderna Museet, temporary exhibitions have always played an important role in defining the museum's policy. Rather than styling itself as a classical museum, structured around the display of its permanent collection, it can better be understood as a Kunsthalle. Since the split in 1958 from Nationalmuseum, there has always been a difference between the museums: whilst Moderna Museet prioritised temporary exhibitions (in terms of visibility, funding, focus in general), research on the collection was neglected; Nationalmuseum on the contrary remained closely engaged with art historical research. On the collection research.

Acquisition of Contemporary Art

The interest in contemporary art can be observed by considering the date of purchase of works by women artists. Acquisition dates are close to the date the work was made, which means that Moderna Museet always acquired works around the time of their first public exhibition, i.e. in a

gallery. It is rare to find works with long time spans between their making and their purchase. Moderna Museet was always quick to buy and incorporate new art into the collection. This is important when it comes to the construction of a narrative, especially since contemporary artists are less well known. Instead of following previous narratives, the museum was actively involved in creating its own framing narrative, rather than let it be defined by the already existing collection.

However, the historical narrative can only be constructed in retrospect. To choose established artists is less of a risk, but it also limits the possibilities of creating a frame since much is set already. Still, it seems odd when the museum buys directly from art schools, as was sometimes the case, but then desists from continuing to pursue their careers. What information did the museum rely on to make its choices? Art criticism surely played an important role. This relationship would be interesting to address in future studies – so as to see if there is a correlation between what was on view in the galleries, what was reviewed by art critics, and what was purchased. And what did Moderna Museet ignore and why? Women artists were not exhibited at the museum as often as male; therefore few purchases were made in connection with an exhibition. It is furthermore of importance to note that even though Moderna Museet was quick to acquire new art, what might be termed *contemporary consecration*, it only rarely followed up such acquisitions through further purchases. Indeed few artists have many works in the collection; mostly they are represented by no more than one or two pieces. There is a small number of artists of whom there are many works in the collection, and who have been or have become established, and so have been bought over several decades. 12

Place of Purchase

If one considers all the purchases made during the 20th century of works by women artists alone – be they Swedish or international – one can observe that almost every purchase was made through a gallery in Stockholm. This was one of the results that intrigued me the most. Situating Moderna Museet in a national context, this clearly begs the question: is the national museum a regional museum – dedicated to the art of Stockholm and surrounding area? How representative is the collection when it comes to art from the whole country? And what about international art not shown in Stockholm's galleries?¹³ This focus on the capital has never changed. It can be easily understood during the first decades when Stockholm was the most important for Swedish art, but at least since the 1980s the art scenes in Malmö and Gothenburg have been flourishing – with close connections to important art schools; not to mention the changes brought about by enhanced mobility and information culture. Even though this is a result that needs closer scrutiny (for instance one needs to consider what the galleries in the capital do represent), one can safely assume that the galleries in Stockholm do not equally represent all the artists working in Sweden.

Even during the last decade the acquisition procedures have not changed much for women artists. Even though they are included more frequently in group exhibitions and even though solo exhibitions are mounted to a much greater extent than during previous decades, the amount of acquisitions has not risen correspondingly. Neither has a project such as *The Second Museum of our Wishes* made a great impression in terms of works. Be that as it may, impressions can be made in many ways: There is greater awareness and one work can make a great difference – it can lead to

new displays and narratives in the collection (Carolee Schneemann), it can trigger the desire to organise exhibitions (Lee Lozano), and it can motivate new research in general.

Politics and Social Relations

The relation to women artists resides on a tradition going back to the early directors' whose importance is already visible in *Onskemuseet*. From the beginning, these directors were art critics or artists, i.e. with direct connections to the contemporary art world. Except for one all directors at Moderna Museet have been male. Furthermore, the agenda was set right from the start by Otte Sköld, then director of Nationalmuseum and one of those who made Moderna Museet happen, and during the formative years in the 1960s by Pontus Hultén. They promoted art with a political edge. Otte Sköld wrote in 1957: "It is of course fully legitimate for an artist to experiment and seek for new aesthetic effects in new materials and forms, but this simple aesthetic play and the good taste shall not simply be mistaken for art that has, I dare say, a higher cause than the merely decorative and ornamental."¹⁴ Sköld thought of the museum as a place for "art propaganda" – the political connotation is deliberate. Moderna Museet always valued art with a political, leftist, touch and preferred art with figurative-narrative qualities to conceptual and abstract/decorative art. This is all the more interesting as the 1970s was a highly politicized time in the history of Moderna Museet. It was the decade when feminist art and exhibitions were on the agenda everywhere in Sweden. Yet it is also the decade that proved least favourable for the acquisition of women artists by the museum and Moderna Museet hardly showed any works by women artists in temporary exhibitions during these years. Important Swedish touring exhibitions were turned down because, according to Barbro Werkmäster - a leading Swedish feminist art historian -, "there was no Picasso among the women artists".15

The agenda set by Sköld in the 1950s, followed up by Hultén until he quit in 1973 and moved on to Paris and the Centre Pompidou, has persisted until today. Nordic art was initially important, but it soon became surpassed by international and especially American art. The only clear break from these initial policies came with the nomination of a foreign director, the British curator and art historian David Elliott. He directed the museum from 1996 to 2001 and with him a new focus on international art became obvious, i.e. not as focused on America anymore. Whilst politics was still on the agenda, the questions addressed in exhibitions such as *Wounds* (1998) and *After the Wall* (1999) were of global/East European interest.

Social relations of another kind matter when it comes to donations. Artists whose works have been purchased were keener to donate works as well.¹⁷ The Friends of Moderna Museet have played an important role in the shaping of the collection. But when it comes to women artists, they have hardly played a role at all. They only donated some few works by Swedish women artists once, in 1953 when the association was founded. The number of works privately donated has been constant over the years and not very high. However, when it comes to international art by women artists, donations are equal to the number of acquisitions. This might be related to the fact, that international art often is more expensive than Swedish art. Fewer purchases can be made by the museum itself therefore private funding is more important. But it may also indicate that it might be more rewarding, or prestigious to the eyes of the general public, if a donor provides funding for international art.

Catalogues and Icons

Scarce documentation makes it more or less impossible to reconstruct how the collection was presented and how the display varied over the years. Other sources, like catalogues, become important and give some answers on how the work of women artists has been discussed. The fact that only one catalogue raisonné has been published of the collection – back in 1976 – underlines the self-understanding of Moderna Musset as a Kunsthalle rather than as a museum. That is, work on the collection has been carried out in silence. It is no surprise that reproductions of works by male artists dominate – a constant fact in the books published on the collection between 1957 and 2008. However, what is remarkable is another tendency: as Swedish male artists are replaced by and by through international male artists, they are also replaced through international women artists. For instance, Eva Hesse with only two works in the collection is deemed more important for the museum's image than Hugo Zuhr or Torsten Renqvist – two random examples of male artists with more than a hundred works each in the collection.

Some women artists, such as Meret Oppenheim and Niki de Saint Phalle, are closely associated with Moderna Museet and their works in the collection are often on loan and reproduced. In fact, the joint project *She – A Cathedral*, built in 1966 by Saint-Phalle, Per Olof Ultvedt and Jean Tinguely, has made an international public not only aware of the museum, but also established a positive view on it and of Sweden generally regarding its openness towards women artists. Niki de Saint Phalle could be described as *iconic*, overcoming the gender gap in terms of significance. Interestingly enough Moderna Museet did not collect her work to a great extent: two works were bought in the 1960s, a retrospective was organized in 1981 (to celebrate the 15th anniversary of *She*) whilst other works were donated by the artist herself and later on by Hultén, her long-time friend. No doubt, her relation with Moderna Museet has been good and continuous.

These results make it clear that Moderna Museet sees itself as an international museum, and it ignores its regional basis. Or, the regional basis is not acknowledged and denigrated as a fact through an international profile. It also makes clear that the amount of works is not always relevant to judge an artists' importance, and that the museum uses its collections in different ways to create a profile of its own.

Moderna Museet in Relation to Three Regional Museums

The other participating museums in Malmö, Gothenburg, and Norrköping are smaller and regionally funded, with different aims and responsibilities. There are certain similarities, i.e. most artists are represented with few works, their careers have not been followed over time, and women artists are underrepresented in temporary exhibitions. Also, personal ideologies have played an important role and meant a lot for the museum, not least if the director was a woman herself. Even though this did not necessarily lead to more purchases, it put women artists on the agenda in different ways and also made them more visible in the collection.²⁰

Most important for future comparative work is a list we have compiled comprising every woman artist in the four museums including the number of pieces present in each collection.²¹ To merge four lists is simple enough, however it provides an important tool for future research. It provides data for comparisons on new levels and it sheds a different light on Moderna Museet as a national museum.²² Of the almost 1,500 women artists in the four collections, only 3 % are

represented in all four museums. Some of them are canonised (i.e. part of Swedish general art histories, as Lena Cronqvist and Sigrid Hjertén), others are not and mainly known for their graphic works (as for example Annie Bergman and Elsa Björkman-Goldschmidt). It is a notable fact that only nine of all artists can be found at all three regional museums but none at Moderna Museet. One might interpret this as a sign that Moderna Museet's collection is representative of artists from all these regions. However, one must add that, 50 % of all artists are not found at Moderna Museet. They are represented in one or more of the other museums. So, even though Moderna Museet represents many artists (35 % of all women artists are found at Moderna Museet only), many are left out. Furthermore, there is no need to distinguish between the museums on the east or the west coast since the numbers indicate no such geographic difference.

In order to draw more certain conclusions from the list, much more research is necessary. At this point, it seems hard to claim that Moderna Museet is a "regional museum" (it is, of course, the capital region and as such of great importance in Sweden), even though it is evident that many national artists are missing in its collection. As shown, the local purchases remain difficult to understand and point towards an understanding as "regional museum". What it comes down to in discussions and debates, is how the notion of quality is employed as a justification of the acquisitions made. These questions have of course been central to feminist art history, at least since Linda Nochlin raised the question why there were not been any famous women artists in 1971.²³ Ulf Linde, art critic and former curator at Moderna Museet, reported that, in the 1970s when the commission for purchases returned from a tour in the country without any new works, it simply meant that they just had not found anything that was good enough.²⁴ Similarly, Olle Granath, director during the 1980s, argued that choices were made following a "gut feeling". 25 In the case of women artists, it seems to be – as Jeff Werner has noted – of importance whether this instinct is located in a male or female person.²⁶ There may be many reasons for the differences between the museums, and the exclusion or inclusion of certain artists in a collection. Different needs, agendas, and tasks provide for variations, all regional museums have local responsibilities, they are just not as apparent (or transparent) at Moderna Museet since it is also a national museum.

All museums provide for different frameworks. Even though Moderna Museet represents many women artists, this does not always mean that a proper framework is at hand. Most artists are represented through single works, which means that their own oeuvre is never a framework to rely on. For artists in the collection working someplace else, a regional framework might be lacking. Instead, the museum must find other ways, which of course is a usual procedure (after all, regional or monographic exhibitions are not common). However, it might remain questionable whether a single work by an artist from a context little known in Stockholm, might make a difference. In such vast collections as these, how are the employees to keep track of everything, especially when works of art are made by artists hardly known in Stockholm anyway. This risk seems to be less apparent at the other museums since they do not have to purchase nationally. So in a sense, the regional basis might be of advantage. Perhaps, one might say, this also implies a responsibility: if the regional museum has many works by an artist little known in the capital, then this museum might exhibit the artist, try to arrange for touring exhibitions, and look out for possible loans from Moderna Museet – making the national museum aware of these regional artists as well.

Moderna Museet between Region, Nation, and World

There is no doubt that Moderna Museet has played a pivotal role in Swedish art history since its founding in 1958. Through important curators it established itself as a place for contemporary art, and through its exhibitions and collections it made an impression. All the same, its self-understanding has competed with its task. Focus has shifted from Swedish and Nordic art toward international art, a shift that began early on in its history. Even though Swedish art has always been collected and is crucial, this is not the image conveyed by the museum. This shift might have led to less interest in regional art. Moderna Museet sees itself as responsible for the presentation of international art in Sweden, that is, as a national museum with an international task. This is also in the fact that Moderna Museet has been a node for Swedish art abroad. For instance, it has arranged exhibitions and been responsible for the participation at the Venice biennale. This responsibility marks a difference compared to the three regional museums. It underlines that *national* should be seen in relation to *international* rather than *regional*.

This has implications for the narrative of Swedish art. Firstly, Swedish art (especially by women) is not seen as important as international art. Secondly, Swedish art is compared to international art. The narrative that is constructed is compared to international tendencies and for the Swedish artists it is important to have international relations. This might explain why Swedish pupils of Henri Matisse were acknowledged while other artists were ignored – Isaac Grünewald and Sigrid Hjertén were preferred to, let's say, Gösta Adrian Nilsson.²⁷ The story Moderna Museet tells is related to international art and tendencies; the regional museums do so to a limited extent – presenting a regional narrative in relation to a national one. The list illuminates the fact that Stockholm is a region too, albeit a capital one, and that Moderna Museet focuses on regional art.

It is evident that even slight changes might alter the course of great narratives. These great, in my case I would say *capital* narratives, have to be questioned, altered and extended in different ways all the time. To do this from a regional perspective, or a gender perspective at that, are options chosen out of many. Our research project has made it possible to shed light on the established narratives and how they relate to each other. As usual, an awareness of the problem is a first step on the way to presenting multiple narratives. Omissions need not always be dealt with through massive acquisitions in a strategy of 'filling holes', that might not even be necessary and I would certainly not propose to buy works of art by women artists only to make the relation more balanced. Representation works on many levels. As the example Niki de Saint Phalle shows: a single work can make a difference if it has great visibility and becomes part of a canon. In fact, being an international artist at Moderna Museet makes visibility more likely than being Swedish, either male or female. This means that gender is less important than geographic background in the national museum since it wants to convey the image of an international collection.

Notes

- The result of our research project has been published in the book *Representation och regionalitet. Genusstrukturer i fyra svenska museisamlingar*, Kulturpolitisk forskning no. 3, Anna Tellgren and Jeff Werner (eds), Stockholm, The Swedish Arts Council 2011. This article relies on my research, see M. Sundberg, "Innanför och utanför tullarna: Moderna Museet", pp. 26–53.
- For a summary on this project, see John Peter Nilsson (ed.), *Det andra önskemuseet/The Second Museum of Our Wishes*, Stockholm/Göttingen 2010. See also M. Sundberg, "Collection Strategies: Some Thoughts on How European Museums Deal with Gender Imbalance", *MP. An Online Feminst Journal*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2010, 18–22.
- See my articles on Dorothea Tanning, Louise Bourgeois, and Carolee Schneemann: M. Sundberg, "The Metamorphosis of Dorothea Tanning: On the painting Insomnias", *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, Stockholm, 2010, vol. 79, no. 1, 18–32; M. Sundberg, "Pillar A Gateway Figure? On a Work by Louise Bourgeois and her Relationship with Art History", *emaj electronic Melbourne art journal*, Melbourne, Issue 5, 2010, 1–16; M. Sundberg, "A One-Work-Artist? Carolee Schneemann and the Reception of Her Work", *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, Taylor & Francis, Stockholm, vol. 80, no. 3, 2011, 168–179.
- ⁴ Especially Griselda Pollock's research has been an important inspiration, see for example Griselda Pollock, Differencing the Canon. Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories, London 1999; and Encounters in the Virtual Feminist Museum. Time, Space and the Archive, London 2007.
- 5 Cf. "The Authority. Swedish Code of Statutes" comprising the "Ordinance concerning instructions for Moderna Museet" as issued in 2007 by the Swedish government for the museum. http://www.modernamuseet.se/en/Moderna-Museet/About/The-authority (2012-03-13).
- The history of Moderna Museet, as well as its complicated relation to the "mother institution" Nationalmuseum, has been discussed in depth in the publications *The History Book. On Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, Anna Tellgren (ed.), Stockholm/Göttingen 2008, and Per Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum 1792–2002*, Stockholm 1992.
- See Ulf Linde, "Memoarer", in Olle Granath and Monica Nieckels (eds), Moderna Museet 1958–1983, Stockholm 1983, pp. 59–65.
- A sculpture by Germaine Richier was already a part of the collection, a painting by Marie Laurencin was in a private collection in Stockholm and donated some years later. The third artist, Sophie Täuber-Arp, was not part of the collection. For more information on the exhibition, see Maria Görts, "Routine and Selection. The Genesis of the Moderna Museet Collection", *The History Book* 2008, pp. 11–32.
- This seems to be a kind of trend, with an important statement such as *elles@centrepompidou* (Paris 2009) being an early example of similar exhibitions and a new take on the collections.
- This might be underlined through the fact that Nationalmuseum most of the time has recruited professors in art history as directors, while Moderna Museet has had artists and art critics. The current director of Moderna Museet, Daniel Birnbaum, is the first to hold a PhD.
- Iréne Winell-Garvén's doctorate thesis Vägen till parnassen. En sociologisk studie av kvinnligt konstnärskap i Sverige 1864–1939 (Göteborg 2005), using Pierre Bourdieu's approach, was an important source for the art field in Sweden before World War II as well as an inspiration for our research project.
- For example, Lena Cronqvist and Eddie Figge are two artists who also have close social relations to the museum. Figge created the foundation for the development of a new museum in 1988, raising the funds for an architectural competition subsequently won by Rafael Moneo. See *The History Book* 2008, p. 363.
- One might also ask, regarding our globalised world and the fact that many artists work abroad in the case of Sweden today, Berlin seems to be captivating what effects this might have on the collection of Moderna Museet? Will it continue to collect Swedish art even though many now work elsewhere? Some, surely, will be followed, but what about the emerging and less known artists?
- "Det är naturligtvis fullt legitimt för konstnären att leka experimentellt och söka estetiska effekter i nya former och material, men den lätta estetiska leken och det smakfulla bör inte utan vidare förväxlas med den konst som har, jag vågar kalla det en högre syftning än den rent dekorativt ornamentala." Otte Sköld, "Ett museum för modern konst", Moderna Museet. En konstbok från Nationalmuseum, Bo Wennberg (ed.), Stockholm 1957, p. 27f.

- Important exhibitions on women artists were mounted in Gothenburg in 1973 and 1975, and those that came to Stockholm were either shown at Liljevalchs konsthall (1980) or Kulturhuset (1981). For further discussion, see Sundberg 2011, p. 45f.
- Hultén's private connections, his friend Billy Klüver in New York, played a major role in establishing the link with American artists such as Robert Rauschenberg and Sam Francis. See Marianne Hultman, "Our Man in New York. An Interview with Billy Klüver on his Collaboration with Moderna Museet", *The History Book* 2008, pp. 235–256.
- It is very common to find that when the museum purchases a work directly from the artist, the artist offers another work as donation.
- See Birgitta Arvas et al. (eds), Katalogen över Moderna Museets samlingar av svensk och internationell 1900-talskonst, Stockholm 1976.
- ¹⁹ See Sundberg 2011, p. 28, for a detailed list.
- Compare the other essays in the research project, especially on Norrköpings konstmuseum, where Birgitta Flensburg, during her period as director 1987–2003, presented many women artists. See Andrea Kollnitz, "Museiidentitet och genus: Norrköpings konstmuseum", in Tellgren and Werner (eds) 2011, pp. 54–79.
- ²¹ See Tellgren and Werner (eds) 2011, p. 139–165.
- Artists at Moderna Museet only: 438 (35 %), artists in all four museums: 46 (3 %), artists in the three regional museums (Moderna Museet excluded): 9, East coast only: 32, West coast only: 26, artists except at Moderna Museet (at one, two or all three museums): 705 (50 %), women artists total: 1446.
- The question of quality in relation to gender has been discussed in depth, see for example classical essays such as Linda Nochlin's "Why have there been no great women artists?" (1971) and Nanette Salomon's "The Art Historical Canon: Sins of Omission" (1991). For a Swedish view, see for example Anna Lena Lindberg, "Vem tillhör konsthistorien? Om konstvetenskap och feminism", in Anna Nyström et al. (eds), Konstfeminism. Strategier och effecter I Sverige från 1970-talet till idag, Helsingborg/Stockholm 2005, pp. 117–127.
- This included male artists as well. Ulf Linde in an interview with the author, August 27, 2007, conducted in relation to research on *The History Book* 2009. See Maria Görts 2008, p. 29.
- See also Vanja Hermele's illuminating study on the situation today, where for instance the former director Lars Nittve is interviewed regarding gender issues at Moderna Museet. Vanja Hermele, Konsten – så funkar det (inte), Stockholm 2009.
- ²⁶ Jeff Werner, "Fyra museer och en magkänsla", in Tellgren and Werner (eds) 2011, p. 17.
- Gösta Adrian-Nilsson has 36 works in the collection, Isaac Grünewald 98, and Sigrid Hjertén 19.