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Exhibiting Art in a European Periphery? International Art in Sweden during the Cold War

Katarina Wadstein MacLeod
Södertörn University, katarina.macleod@sh.se

Marta Edling
Södertörn University, marta.edling@sh.se

Pella Myrstener
Södertörn University, Pella.myrstener@sh.se

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Cover Page Footnote

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Exhibiting Art in a European Periphery? International Art in Sweden during the Cold War

Katarina Wadstein Macleod
Södertörn University

Marta Edling
Södertörn University

Pella Myrstener
Södertörn University

Abstract

The project *Exhibiting Art in a European Periphery? International Art in Sweden during the Cold War* aimed to investigate international exhibitions in Sweden during the postwar period from circa 1945 to the end of the 1980s. The main objective was to find information beyond preconceived ideas of what is important, interesting, or simply good art. In this article, we present our method for searching through the archives and some of the findings and insights generated.

Abstract

Projektet *Konstutställningar i en europeisk periferi? Internationell konst i Sverige under det kalla kriget* syftade till att undersöka internationella utställningar i Sverige under efterkrigstiden från cirka 1945 till slutet av 1980-talet. Huvudsyftet var att hitta information bortom förutfattade meningar om vad som ansetts viktigt, intressant eller helt enkelt bra konst. I den här artikeln presenterar vi vår undersökningsmetod för arbetet i arkiven och några av de fynd och insikter som projektet genererat.

Katarina Wadstein MacLeod is professor of art history, Södertörn University. In her research on 19th and 20th century art she has dealt with thematic studies on the female body, domesticity, center and periphery in exhibition studies. Amongst her books are From Flux to Festivity: International Art in Lunds konsthall, 2022 Bakom Gardinerna: Hemmet i konsten under nittonhundratalet, Atlas 2018.

Marta Edling is professor of art history at Södertörn University, Stockholm. Since 2018 she is researching artistic positions and collaborations in the Nordic region 1945–89 focusing on the role of national and regional artistic networks and cross-border contacts inside and outside of the Nordic region.

Pella Myrstener is PhD Student in art history at Södertörn University. In her PhD thesis she investigates the transnational circulation of art exhibitions in Stockholm and Gothenburg 1945–1969, the institutional history of art museums and the conditions for postwar internationalization of contemporary art.

Situated at the northeastern edge of Europe, the Nordic countries, including Sweden, performed a political balancing act between the West and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. As a nation, Sweden maintained trade and cultural relations with countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and these international contacts were also seen in art exhibitions. Yet, in art history, this rich stream of exhibitions has gone unnoticed.

The Cold War period in Sweden was characterized by the rapid establishment of museums and publicly funded institutions of modern and contemporary art throughout the country.¹ As a result, after the Second World War and during the rest of the twentieth century, there was an increase in places to exhibit art. The number of exhibitions consequently multiplied. There were exchanges and collaborations between artists and art institutions across Europe but also with countries from further afield, such as Latin American nations and the United States. Yet art historical scholarship on the Swedish scene have tended to underpin the idea of international with Western, Eurocentric, and Anglo-American connotations. Furthermore, in exhibition studies, it is predominantly the art scene in Stockholm, and not those in smaller Swedish cities, that has attracted attention, with a greater focus on canonical homogeneity than heterogeneity. For example, while Moderna museet, with its well-known director Pontus Hultén, and Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, the first public museum in Sweden, have attracted substantial research interest, it is clear that this is only the tip of the iceberg regarding exhibition studies.²

¹ For an overview of new art galleries internationally, see, for example, Michael Brawne, *The New Museum* (London: Architectural Press, 1965).

² Patrik Andersson, *Euro-Pop: The Mechanical Bride Stripped Bare in Stockholm* (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2001); Kristoffer Arvidsson, *Det universella språket: efterkrigstidens abstrakta konst = The Universal Language: Post-War Abstract Art* (Göteborg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2018); Eva-Lena Bergström, *Nationalmuseum i offentlighetens ljus: framväxten av tillfälliga utställningar 1866–1966* (PhD diss., Department of Culture and Media Studies, Umeå universitet, 2018); Andreas Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, Hon & Moderna* (Stockholm: Langenskiöld, 2016); Tintin Hodén, *Motsättningarnas museum: samproduktionen av museideal i den offentliga debatten om Moderna museet 1972–2013* (PhD diss., Institutionen för kultur och samhälle, Linköpings universitet, 2020); Hiroko Ikegami, *The Great Migrator: Robert Rauschenberg and the Global Rise of American Art* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014); Anna Lundström, *Former av politik: tre utställningssituationer på Moderna museet 1998–2008* (PhD diss., Stockholms universitet: Makadam förlag, 2015); Anna Tellgren, Martin Sundberg, and Johan Rosell (eds.), *Historieboken: om Moderna museet 1958–2008*, 1st ed. (Stockholm: Moderna museet, 2008); Annika Öhrner, "Niki de Saint Phalle Playing with the Feminine in the Male Factory: Hon - en katedral," *Stedelijk*

The project *Exhibiting Art in a European Periphery? International Art in Sweden during the Cold War* aimed to investigate international exhibitions in Sweden during the postwar period from circa 1945 to the end of the 1980s.³ The project took as its starting point this historiographical bias and an observation of the discrepancy between previously researched exhibitions and the variety of exhibitions unearthed in the archives. We selected eight museums and public art galleries in Sweden: three in Stockholm, three in Gothenburg, one in Lund and one Malmö.⁴

The Method of "Everything"

In this article, we present our method for searching through the archives and some of the findings and insights generated. Our starting point was the dictionary definition of the term "international," which, according to the *Longman Concise English Dictionary*, does not distinguish importance according to belonging but instead denotes something "... affecting or involving 2 or more nations" or someone "known, recognized or renowned in more than 1 country." Taking the dictionary definition literally suggested an exploratory approach and the "method of everything" when collecting data.

A "method of everything" is a contradiction in terms; the whole point of a method is to navigate the empirical material. Nevertheless, we required a method that allowed us to find unknown data we did not know we were looking for, and we needed to search for exhibitions we had never heard of.

Studies no. 7, 2018: 1–16; idem, "The Moderna Museet in Stockholm – The Institution and the Avant-Garde," Tania Ørum and Jesper Olsson (eds.), *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries, 1950–1975* (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2016).

³ The project was funded by the Swedish Research Council between 2018 and 2021. The three project members were Katarina Wadstein MacLeod (Principal Investigator), Marta Edling (project member), and Pella Myrstener (PhD student).

⁴ We researched the following institutions: Liljevalchs konsthall (Liljevalch's Art Gallery), Moderna museet (Modern Museum), Nationalmuseum and Konstakademien (the Royal Academy of Fine Arts) in Stockholm, Göteborgs konstmuseum (Gothenburg Art Museum), Göteborgs konstförening (Gothenburg Art Society) and Göteborgs konsthall (Gothenburg Art Gallery) in Gothenburg, and Malmö konsthall (Malmö Art Gallery) and Lunds konsthall (Lund Art Gallery) in the county of Skåne in southern Sweden. Some of the institutions, for instance, Lunds konsthall (1957) and Malmö konsthall (1973), were inaugurated during the period. Others delegated their authority, such as Nationalmuseum, which delegated the collecting and exhibiting of modern and contemporary painting and sculpture to the newly opened Moderna museet in 1958, or had their authority taken away, for instance, Göteborgs konstförening. In 1967, it was taken over by the municipality and became Göteborgs konsthall.

Evidence of exhibitions, such as exhibition catalogs, leaflets, press releases, minutes of meetings, and insurance files, lay in the museum archives.

Within digital humanities and cultural sociology there are well developed methods for searching large quantities of data in which a common trait is the dependency on digitalized sources. We acknowledged that the typical approach of mining “big data” facilitates a heuristic approach. However, quantitative methods do not necessarily prescribe the use of “big data.” The answer lies not in the number of exhibitions but in how to approach, construct, and process the information. Recognizing the benefits of a broadened interpretative horizon provided by the digital access and iterative procedures, we wanted to test how to explore analog materials with a similar kind of relational and “crosswise” analysis.⁵

Our starting point was therefore the “archive’s irreducible undecidability.”⁶ Our method aimed to decontextualize the data from presupposed narratives and archival structures.⁷ The analog material, derived from the eight art institutions, spanned a period of circa forty years. To compile the information, we used the Microsoft Excel program to register different entries according to the parameters fundamental to our initial research questions on the geographical origin of international art exhibited in Sweden.

Time and Place

The first parameter was time and place. We recorded data on all exhibitions in these selected venues

⁵ See, for example, Paul B. Jaskot, “Commentary: Art-Historical Questions, Geographic Concepts, and Digital Methods,” *Historical Geography* 45, no. 1 (2017): 92–99, muse.jhu.edu/article/716034; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 37–44.

⁶ Barbara A. Biesecker, “Of Historicity, Rhetoric: The Archive as Scene of Invention” (2006) in Lynée Lewis Gaillet, Diana Eidson, and Don Gammill (eds.), *Landmark Essays on Archival Research* (New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 161. Invaluable assistance was offered to the project by Laura Braden, Assistant Professor at the Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication Department of Arts and Culture Studies in Rotterdam. She helped us conceptualize the method in the initial phase and shared expert advice on how to use the Excel format for the quantitative survey of analogue materials. Braden also helped with processing the early results and invited the project team to present at her department in Rotterdam, offering a collegial and creative dialogue to progress the project.

⁷ Hui Wu, “Historical Studies of Rhetorical Women Here and There: Methodological Challenges to Dominant Interpretive Frameworks,” in *ibid.*, 130–144.

during the time frame. In total, this produced 596 presentations of art.⁸ While the period was clearly defined, it still required us to consider exhibitions that spanned different historical periods, such as *Från Bonnard till våra dagar; franska konstnärer* [From Bonnard to the Present Day, French Artists] at Lunds konsthall in 1963. Our solution was to include the exhibition if it contained objects by living artists.

The second parameter was searching for information on the geographical origin of each exhibition. This too presented a methodological challenge. Often the origin of the exhibition already appeared in the title. However, when exhibitions showed art or objects from many countries, things became more complicated. An artist’s nationality is not always given but changeable depending on contexts. People migrate between countries, and it is unclear whether an artist like the Bulgarian-born Christo (1935–2020) should be referred to as Bulgarian or French when included as such, despite not having citizenship. The pragmatic solution was to use the description in the exhibition material; if included in a group show exhibiting French art, we ticked the box marked France; if referred to as Bulgarian, that box was ticked. Either way, the point was to track cross-border contacts and avoid methodological nationalism.⁹ In other words, it was the presentation of art and objects that was the topic of our search, regardless whether this was the artist’s place of birth or residency. Furthermore, we only noted those countries represented and not with how many objects. The point was to detect the mixture of international art and not to count whether it was evenly distributed. Also, one work by a certain artist might have as much impact as several works by another. It all depended on each individual case and context.

Time and Place Findings

Although we aimed to avoid methodological nationalism, it still turned out that the origin of the art and

⁸ Lunds konsthall, 123 exhibitions; Malmö konsthall, 55; Nationalmuseum, 87; Moderna museet, 80; Liljevalchs konsthall, 52; Konstakademien, 37; Göteborgs konstmuseum, 147; Göteborgs konsthall, 15.

⁹ Anna Amelina (ed.), *Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Research Methodologies for Cross-Border Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

artists was a far stronger narrative than we had initially thought. The importance of the nation-state for framing exhibitions during the period simply cannot be underestimated. This was, of course, not a new tendency. The nation as an organizing principle dates back to at least the world exhibition from the mid-nineteenth century. Carol Duncan has demonstrated the importance of nation-states in museum displays, for example, in the opening of the Louvre to the public in the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Therefore, organizing exhibitions according to national identity was anything but new. Nevertheless, it was surprisingly dominant. At Nationalmuseum, there were between 1944 and 1969 forty-seven exhibitions (out of seventy-nine in total) advertising the nation in their title. At Lunds konsthall, about half the exhibitions between 1957 and 1989 had the national origin in their title, ranging from advertising the sender, such as *Dansk utställning* (1977) [Danish Exhibition], *Aktuellt italienskt* (1964) [Contemporary Italy], or *Konst från Kuba* (1968) [Art from Cuba], to using nation as a characteristic, such as *De vilda tyskarna* (1989) [The Wild Germans].¹¹ This tendency remains constant until the 1980s, when it begins to wane.

Our quantitative survey confirmed previously recognized patterns: the large number of exhibitions of French art was thus expected, but more surprising was that Italian and Spanish art came close in numbers.¹² However, numerically speaking, exhibition history emerged as far more complicated than a simple flow between, for example, France and Sweden. The most striking of the revealed patterns was the large number of exhibitions of Nordic art: over half of the international exhibitions presented in Stockholm displayed art from other Nordic countries, and above all from Denmark, with three times as many exhibitions of Danish art as of French art and twice as many as Norwegian art. Interestingly, there were a few more

exhibitions showcasing Finnish art than French art.¹³ Our analysis provided other surprising findings, such as the previously unresearched exhibitions from Eastern Europe. From the beginning of the 1960s, the patterns started to diverge somewhat across the different venues and locations. In the south of Sweden, new public galleries were created, and at Lunds konsthall, around thirty exhibitions showcased Eastern European art, revealing new interests and collaborations. Polish artists stand out, accounting for thirteen exhibitions between 1957 and 1989, half the number compared to their French counterparts.¹⁴ Exhibitions showing non-European art proved to be Western-orientated but not exclusively. The US and the other North American countries accounted for the highest number of exhibitions, on a par with Italy until the late 1960s and then overtaking it. However, they lagged far behind Nordic or French art.¹⁵ Throughout the period, there were also exhibitions showcasing Latin American art.¹⁶ Others displayed Soviet, Asian, or African art, although they were only in single digits.

Visual Media

The third parameter was visual media. With a timeframe from the mid-1940s to the end of the 1980s, it was a given that visual media would span painting, sculpture, graphic arts, photography, film, installation art, architecture, and design and craft. However, during the data collection, it became clear that the art on display presented unforeseen varieties. The exhibition materials ranged from the visual arts listed to objects such as city planning, advertising, printed matter, and book illustrations, alongside children's drawings, regional foods, and consumer products.

¹⁰ See, for example, Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995).

¹¹ Another example is *Sydafrikansk epos Ernest Cole* (1971) [South African Epos Ernest Cole].

¹² The data collected shows thirty-five exhibitions in Stockholm and Gothenburg between 1945 and 1969, and Italian and Spanish art were showcased in twenty-seven and twenty-five exhibitions respectively.

¹³ Danish, Norwegian, and Finnish art featured in 130, 78, and 53 exhibitions respectively.

¹⁴ At Lunds konsthall, there were between 1957 and 1989 thirteen exhibitions of Polish art, twenty-seven exhibitions of French art, twenty-three exhibitions of Danish art, nineteen exhibitions of Italian art, nine exhibitions of Norwegian art, nine exhibitions of East German art, and five exhibitions of West German art.

¹⁵ We noted a total of fifty-nine exhibitions showcased US art and fifty-two displayed Italian art.

¹⁶ Between 1945 and 1969, twenty-four exhibitions in Stockholm showcased Latin American artists. In Gothenburg, it was only six, and in Lund and Malmö, Latin American artists were represented thirty-three times.

Identifying materials appears easy, for instance, differentiating between painting and architecture. Yet we had to consider the following: is, for example, a soft textile piece made by the American artist Claes Oldenburg a sculpture or a textile work? How do we classify media such as Magdalena Abakanowicz's textile art installations? Again, we decided to adhere to the descriptions in the exhibition material in as far as they were possible to find. Oldenburg's work was thus typically described as sculpture and Abakanowicz's as textile. Also, within this parameter, we decided to count the types of materials and not the numbers. In other words, the number of photographs included in each exhibition was not important; we only noted their presence as a medium. We listed the following categories: painting, sculpture drawing, graphic art, glass, textile, ceramics, jewelry, silver, architecture, mixed media, photography, installation art, and conceptual art. We also created a miscellaneous category where we placed objects with no clear designation in either the exhibition material or the art museums' archival orders. This category contained objects such as folklore objects, food, wine, advertising, and industrial design.

Visual Media Findings

Several patterns emerged. Some of our expectations were confirmed, such as painting as the dominant medium, with nearly half the exhibitions (323 of 596) displaying paintings. However, we did not anticipate the second-most frequent medium to be graphic arts, which accounted for a third of the exhibitions.

A recurring pattern is the art form already appeared in exhibition titles, such as *Nutida tjeckoslovakisk grafik* (1946) [Contemporary Czechoslovakian Graphic Art], *Nutida italiens arkitektur* (1953) [Contemporary Italian Architecture], *Japansk keramik* (1958) [Japanese Ceramics], *9 Amerikanska fotografer* (1959) [9 American Photographers], *Bildvävnader från Harrania*, *Ateljé Ramses Wissa Wassef* (1966) [Tapestries from Harrania, Atelier Ramses Wissa Wassef], *Målverk*, *Isländska*

konstnärer (1983) [Painting, Icelandic Artists], and *Ung dansk skulptur* (1989) [Young Danish Sculpture].¹⁷

Another pattern that the “method of everything” revealed is the truly heterogenic nature of artistic media, which goes beyond any known narrative of art museums and galleries. Finding conceptual art, installation art, craft, or happenings follows a narrative within art history and exhibition studies, but it is harder to know how to interpret exhibitions containing such diverse objects as paintings, books, food, wine, and industrial design. We realized that the wide variety of objects was in itself more important than how often each medium was presented.

One conclusion drawn from these findings is the fluid nature of what was labeled an art exhibition during this period, with some bordering on industry fairs and national promotion. A telling example is the 1947 exhibition *Ungern i arbete* [Hungary at Work] at Liljevalchs konsthall in Stockholm, which was commissioned by the Hungarian government. At Liljevalchs Art Gallery, the same room contained modern art alongside modern technology, craft, food, and objects from the shoe and fashion industry. An example of the promotion of national culture is the 1979 exhibition *Kinesiska barn målar* [Chinese Children's Painting] at Malmö konsthall, presented during the International Year of the Child.

As the 1970s drew to a close, the exhibitions were more frequently advertised as contemporary art, even if the notion of art was challenged by exhibitions such as *Deutsche Puppentheater* [German Puppet Theater] at Malmö konsthall in 1976. Furthermore, the art form as such was also a fluid denominator. Concealed behind exhibitions such as *Moderna gobelänger och aktuell grafik från Polen* [Modern Tapestries and Current Graphic Art from Poland] (1967)] was experimental installation art.

¹⁷ *Nutida tjeckoslovakisk grafik* was showcased at Nationalmuseum, *Nutida italiens arkitektur* at Liljevalchs, *Japansk keramik*, *9 Amerikanska fotografer*, *Bildvävnader från Harrania*, *Ateljé Ramses Wissa Wassef*, and *Målverk* at Lunds konsthall, and *Ung dansk skulptur* at Malmö konsthall.

Organizers

While the parameters national origin and visual media were the starting point for the data collection, we soon realized we had taken for granted the institutions' role in organizing exhibitions; that is, we had not considered their function beyond that of an exhibition organizer. The data collected reflected instead the many ways of organizing exhibitions. This realization was a direct result of the "method of everything" revealing exhibitions of such a varied nature, as represented in the second parameter, "visual media". We therefore needed to understand how these were composed, why, and by whom. We thus had to add organizers as a fourth parameter so we could better understand the nature of international art exhibitions. By following the money, we found an impressive range of ideological factors, sometimes clearly evident in the exhibition titles and sometimes not at all.

Again, mapping organizers seems straightforward: you note who initiated or curated an exhibition, which institution housed the exhibition, and who paid for it. Yet once again, there are layers of contributions not immediately evident. One such example is the relationship between a Swedish representative from an art organization who provides an introductory text for a catalog and the cultural institute that produces this catalog to promote its nation. However, for the purpose of our study, it sufficed to note the nature of the organizations involved, for instance, Swedish art institutions, commercial galleries, art associations, or a ministry of national culture.

Organizers Findings

The main insight gained from the data collected is the heterogeneity of the organizers. There seems to be no end to the different nature of rationales behind exhibitions during the period and across the different institutions. Yet what is even more remarkable is that all the institutions researched share this heterogeneity. The variety seems therefore specific to the period and the art institutions in general.

Some organizers were a given, such as the museums themselves or independent critics and curators. However, what is noteworthy from today's

perspective is all the other bodies that our mapping reveals. One frequent exhibition organizer turned out to be commercial galleries that showcased their artist in another country. One such example is the French gallerist René Denis's exhibition *Klar form* [Clear Form] at Liljevalchs Art Gallery in 1952, which displayed the international geometric abstraction she promoted. Another frequent type of organizer is artists' associations, such as the Swedish Fine Art Print Society, which put on the *Nordisk grafik* [Nordic Graphic Art] at Lunds konsthall in 1971

Yet the most unexpected was exhibitions for people in need of either social justice or financial aid. One kind of exhibition was organized by nongovernmental organizations, such as Svalorna (Swallows), which, in 1971, showcased at Lunds konsthall art and crafts from India, whereby all profits went to fight poverty in India. Another example is *Art against/contre Apartheid*, funded by the UN and organized by independent artists to challenge the South African apartheid regime of the time.¹⁸ While these types of organizers exist, there are not many of them. In contrast, exhibitions organized by states and ministries of culture from all geographical areas made a strong impression throughout the research period. The British Council stands out as particularly active. It sent exhibitions such as *Engelska barnmålningar ålder 4–15 år* [Drawings by English Children, 4–15 Years Old] (1947) to Nationalmuseum in Stockholm. In addition, the touring exhibition *Henry Moore: Sculpture and Drawings* was displayed at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm in 1952. Yet another example is exhibitions from Cuba. The Cuban embassy sent touring exhibitions to Sweden; for example, *New Cuban Art* (Konst från nya Kuba) was showcased at Lunds konsthall in 1975 and at Kulturhuset (the House of Culture) in Stockholm in 1976. The exhibition catalog's foreword was written by Fidel Castro.

During the period, some trends reflect the changing nature of the national and international art scene. For example, in the earlier decades, there were a

¹⁸ Katarina Wadstein MacLeod, «Art contre/against Apartheid at Lunds Konsthall: an Entangled History of Art and Solidarity from Paris to Pretoria», *Art@s Bulletin* vol. 11, 2 (Fall 2022).

greater number of exhibitions with art from private collectors.¹⁹ In contrast, during the 1970s and 80s, we see more exhibitions with an explicit political and ideological content, such as anti-racist or feminist perspectives.²⁰

Conclusion

In our project title, we asked: is Sweden a European periphery? The question mark was rhetorical as a center-periphery conundrum must always be understood through historical distance.²¹ Our research has demonstrated that artistic exchanges between the Nordic countries dominated the Swedish scene, thus debunking any preconceived view that metropolitan cities were dominant. Instead, the importance of regional and so-called horizontal relations became clear.

Our project has also demonstrated that the center is always where people are actively showing art, be it in Stockholm, Gothenburg, or Lund. A typically portrayed movement from the center to the periphery is Parisian art displayed in Gothenburg: people in the metropole endorsing a regional gallery with art. This, however, is really only one side of the story. Cities such as Lund and Malmö became important places for Polish artists from Warsaw. Likewise, the French gallerist Denis René used the Nordic countries to promote her art internationally so she could compete in the Parisian market.²² Our material also shows movements where it is much less clear

how the center-periphery logic can be applied, becoming redundant even. For international artists based in Paris during the 1960s, Lunds konsthall offered a sizable art institution—one unattainable in Paris—for exhibiting art exploring Fluxus, happenings, and concrete poetry.²³

The “method of everything” has helped map the extreme variations in objects on display and the types of exhibitions organized, ranging from children’s drawings to famous painters, and from curated concept exhibitions to national marketing. They span objects for sale in the name of aid organizations to objects for sale for commercial galleries. One conclusion drawn from these findings is the evasive nature of the publicly funded art gallery and museum during this period. They served as both an agent in setting up exhibitions and a vehicle for a variety of other interests. They did not need to make a profit, yet they sold artworks. They had no political agenda yet showcased clearly political and ideological exhibitions.

The “method of everything” has been a way of putting information on exhibitions in perspective. We have aimed to find information beyond preconceived ideas of what is important, interesting, or simply good art. Instead, what we have demonstrated is the true variety of aesthetics, organization, and origins of cross-border art exhibitions and have challenged the already known, established, and canonized.

¹⁹ For example, Nordic art from Herman Gotthardt’s collection donated to Malmö Museum: exhibition at Liljevalchs konsthall, March–April 1945, Stockholm; Bo Wennberg (ed.), *Modern konst ur Ragnar Moltzaus samling, Oslo - L'art moderne dans la collection Ragnar Moltzau* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1956).

²⁰ Chilean women’s textile art as a form of demonstration for the right to live (1979) or the 1986 exhibition at Lunds konsthall of work by the anti-racist organization the Black Atlanta Printmakers.

²¹ For periphery and location, see Piotr Piotrowski, *In the Shadow of Yalta: Art and the Avant-Garde in Eastern Europe, 1945–1989* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 224–225; for the value and symbolic power of periphery-center, see Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, “Symbolic Domination and Artistic Geography in Italian Art History,” trans. Maylis Curie, *Art in Translation* 1, no. 1 (2009): 5–48; for periphery as a matter of time rather than geography, see Foteini Vachlaur, “Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery,” *Visual Resources* 32, no. 1–2 (2016): 9–24, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973762.2016.1132500>; for periphery and center as an attitude in art history, see Partha Mitter, “Decentering Modernisms: Art History and the Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery,” *The Art Bulletin* no. 4 (December 2008): 531–548, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20619633>.

²² Marta Edling, “From Margin to Margin? The Stockholm Paris Axis 1944–1953,” *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History* no. 1 (February 2019): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00233609.2019.1576764>

²³ Katarina Wadstein MacLeod, “Troubling Peripheries: Pierre Restany and Superlund,” *Journal of Art History* vol. 90, no. 1 (2021): 13–24, 23 Feb. 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00233609.2021.1884597>; idem, “Superlund: Lunds konsthall och det centrala i det periferia,” *Periskop: forum for kunsthistorisk debat* no. 20 (2018): 90–109.