

July 19, 2010

**Second Report: The Stockholm type boxes
Prepared by the Andy Warhol Art Authentication Board**

(1) Stockholm type boxes, 1968

Warhol's exhibition at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm (February 10-March 1968) was the third museum exhibition dedicated to his work during the 1960s. Unlike the first two exhibitions—at the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) in Philadelphia (1965) and the ICA in Boston (1966)—the Stockholm exhibition was neither a survey of his work nor a retrospective so much as a contemporary manifestation of Warhol's work in different media. This is reflected in the title of the exhibition, “Andy Warhol: Screens, Films, Boxes, Clouds and a Book, 1968.” It included two series of paintings that Warhol made especially for the exhibition (ten Ten-Foot Flowers and ten Big Electric Chairs), as well as sculptures (Brillo Soap Pads Boxes, represented by 500 cardboard Brillo Soap Pads cartons, supplied by the Brillo manufacturer in Brooklyn, and eight clear plastic, inflatable Clouds), wallpaper (Cow Wallpaper mounted on the exterior of the museum), film (Chelsea Girls), prints (two Marilyn portfolios), a poster designed by Warhol and printed in Sweden (SAS Passenger Ticket), and a book rather than an exhibition catalogue per se.¹

¹ This book, the famous Moderna Museet “catalogue,” which Olle Granath later referred to as a “mobile object” (in conversation with Neil Printz, Stockholm, December 17, 2008), consists of an assortment of quotations that Granath culled from interviews with Warhol, followed by three consecutive portfolios of photographs: of Warhol's work by miscellaneous photographers; Factory photographs by Billy Name; and a selection of photographs by Stephen Shore. It does not record the works in the exhibition.

The Stockholm exhibition was prepared by Pontus Hultén, Director of the Moderna Museet, and Kasper König, an independent curator (now director of the Museum Ludwig, Cologne), who worked directly with Warhol in New York. In Sweden, Hultén worked with the art critic Olle Granath (later Director of the Moderna Museet, 1980-1989; now Permanent Secretary of the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts), the graphic designer John Melin (who designed numerous publications for the Moderna Museet during Hultén's tenure as Director; now deceased), and the film curator Anna-Lena Wibom (Hultén's wife and later Director of the Swedish Film Institute). The Stockholm exhibition was undertaken with limited financial resources and organized in a relatively concentrated period of time between the summer of 1967 and early 1968. In January 1968, König arranged for the transport of most of the exhibition's contents by boat to Sweden—the 500 cardboard Brillo Soap Pads cartons, Cow Wallpaper, and plastic Clouds were shipped as “display goods” with the “art works”: two print portfolios and four rolls of unstretched Ten-Foot Flowers and Big Electric Chair canvases.

A spirit of resourcefulness, improvisation, and collaboration informed the preparations for the exhibition and its presentation. For example, when Warhol's films, which were to be shown alongside his paintings in the museum's galleries during the exhibition, failed to arrive from Warhol's studio, Hultén and Wibom arranged to have footage from circus films screened in their place. Rather than helium, the Clouds were inflated with air, so that they rested on the ground rather than floating. Likewise, the stacks of 500 Brillo cartons were re-arranged after weekly concerts in the galleries. This was entirely in keeping with the experimental character of Hultén's curatorial style, in which the work of art was typically incorporated into a broader interdisciplinary or

documentary project. According to Olle Granath, when Warhol attended the opening in Stockholm, he was pleased with the exhibition.²

After Stockholm, the exhibition traveled to Amsterdam; Bern and Kassel; Oslo; and Berlin. Installation photographs from Stockholm and the other museums participating in the exhibition tour, as well as museum receipts and shipping invoices, provide no indication that Brillo Soap Pads boxes made of wood or any material other than cardboard were included among the cardboard boxes. The visual and documentary evidence supports the first-hand recollections of Olle Granath. He has affirmed that only cardboard Brillo Soap Pads boxes were exhibited in Stockholm in 1968.³

The painted and printed plywood Brillo box sculptures that Warhol made in 1964 for his exhibition at the Stable Gallery in New York were based on a design by the painter James Harvey. The cardboard cartons that the Brillo factory supplied to the

² Kasper König's letters to Pontus Hultén documenting the progress of Warhol's exhibition for the Moderna Museet are on file in Hultén's archives at the Moderna Museet (hereafter cited as Hultén Archives). Olle Granath has published an account of the Stockholm exhibition, "With Andy Warhol 1968," in Andy Warhol: A Guide to 706 Items in 2Hours 56 Minutes, ed. Eva Meyer-Hermann (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2007): pp. 00:10:00-00:13:00. Catalogue published on the occasion of the exhibition "Other Voices, Other Rooms," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam (October 12, 2007-January 13, 2008), Moderna Museet, Stockholm (February 9-May 4, 2008).

³ See Granath, Other Voices, Other Rooms, p. 00:12:00. On three occasions—in a telephone conversation with Sally King-Nero on May 15, 2002; in a telephone conversation with Neil Printz on November 30, 2007; and in conversation with Neil Printz in Stockholm on December 17, 2008—Granath also affirmed that only cardboard boxes and no "hard" boxes were exhibited in Stockholm in 1968. Granath confirmed this account to the newspaper Expressen (May 30, 2007): "We never had any Brillo boxes built to be exhibited in 1968. We purchased 500 Brillo boxes in corrugated carton from the [Brillo] factory in New York, and those were the ones we showed." In response to a query from the Estate of Andy Warhol, on December 19, 1993, Kasper König wrote: "All Brillo boxes came directly as cardboard [König's emphasis] boxes from the Brillo company in Brooklyn—They were the real stuff—only for display!" (See section 3.) In conversation with Neil Printz on November 11, 2007, however, König noted that he never saw the exhibition in Stockholm.

Stockholm exhibition differed from the Stable Gallery boxes in one principal detail. At the corner of each of the four sides on the cardboard containers is a blue insert with the notations “1A400; 24/18; Pad Giant.” The substitution of real Brillo Soap Pads cartons for the box sculptures made by Warhol in 1964 reflects both the limited resources and improvisatory spirit of the Stockholm exhibition. It would have been prohibitively expensive for the Moderna Museet to ship a large quantity of Warhol’s box sculptures from New York or to fabricate copies for the exhibition in Sweden. Moreover, according to Olle Granath, the idea for the Stockholm exhibition had been to exhibit 300 to 500 boxes, many more than the approximately 100 sculptures Warhol produced in 1964. The serial profusion and presentation of the 500 boxes in Stockholm visibly reinforced the way Warhol had massed his sculptures at the Stable Gallery in New York so that they filled an entire room (figs. 1 and 2).

Further, the substitution of real Brillo Soap Pads cartons for his own box sculptures was not without precedent in Warhol’s practice. An installation photograph from the 1966 Boston exhibition shows a group of ten Brillo Soap Pads boxes mounted on a shelf above a doorway. The boxes reveal the same “Pad Giant” insert as the Stockholm boxes and were probably cardboard cartons (fig. 3). Indeed, Warhol’s “worry about keeping the Brillo boxes ‘clean’—rather than having them come out of the show virtually ruined, as the boxes so often do” is the subject of a letter from the director of the Boston ICA to Warhol, written on September 14, 1966. This surely accounts for the unusual installation of the boxes on a ledge over a doorway rather than on the floor, and suggests why Warhol might have substituted cardboard cartons for his box sculptures. The previous year, when Warhol planned to include a group of eighty box sculptures in a

1965 exhibition at the Jerrold Morris Gallery in Toronto, Canadian customs had determined that they did not qualify for a duty-free exemption as sculptures, and the works were withdrawn from the exhibition. This may also have influenced Warhol's decision to use real Brillo Soap Pads cartons in his subsequent exhibitions in Boston, Stockholm, and in a 1969 group exhibition, "New York 13", at Vancouver Art Gallery (fig. 4). The substitution of real cartons for box sculptures is not cited in the entries in either the Boston or Vancouver catalogues. The flattened box flaps visible in the Vancouver installation photograph indicates that they are cardboard boxes like those exhibited in Stockholm in 1968.

In 1968, Pontus Hultén had a small number of Brillo Soap Pads box sculptures made in Sweden, based on the cardboard cartons shown in Stockholm rather than on the 1964 sculptures by Warhol. Olle Granath recalls seeing a stack of about ten "hard" boxes in Hultén's office at the Moderna Museet some time between the spring and August of 1968. According to Granath, he understood that Hultén had a "special agreement" with Warhol that authorized him to produce "some of these boxes."⁴ It is not known whether the boxes were made at the Moderna Museet or elsewhere in Sweden. In a 1969 ledger at

⁴ Granath, May 15, 2002, December 3, 2007, and December 17, 2008. In a December 4, 1998 letter to Arch Gillies, then President of the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Granath wrote: "I got my boxes from Pontus Hultén in the spring of 1968 after having helped him do Andy Warhol's show at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm." In later conversations on December 3, 2007 and December 17, 2008, Granath recalled seeing the boxes in late August. In *Expressen*, May 30, 2007, Granath stated: "Hultén did, with Andy Warhol's blessing, have a number of boxes made. No more than 15. But these were never part of the exhibition. They were made later, after the close of the exhibit." On August 11, 2007, Granath wrote to Claudia Defendi in response to her questions: "I do regret that I cannot give you the exact number [of Stockholm type boxes] since I had nothing to do with the production of these boxes. But when Pontus Hultén gave me three boxes, in the early autumn of 1968... they were all piled up in his office. It could have been ten, it could have been twelve but not more."

the Moderna Museet, an entry for “Brillo Boxes (Screen Print),” dated August 28, suggests that they were executed under the auspices of the museum, if not on its premises. It is likely that this ledger entry records the date when the invoice for the Brillo screen print had been paid by the Moderna Museet, but that the boxes were produced somewhat earlier, probably during the spring or summer of 1968, as Olle Granath has stated on several occasions.

The precise number of Brillo boxes produced by Hultén in 1968 is not recorded, but the recollections of Granath and Ulf Linde (a curator at the Moderna Museet) indicate that approximately ten to fifteen wood boxes were made at this time.⁵ To date, the Authentication Board has been able to document six such boxes. These six boxes, produced by Hultén in 1968 (hereafter referred to as Stockholm type boxes) may be distinguished from the Brillo boxes made by Warhol for his exhibition at the Stable Gallery, New York in 1964 (hereafter referred to as Stable Gallery boxes) by the following characteristics: (1) design; (2) dimensions; (3) materials and construction; and (4) surface preparation and finish.

The design of the Stable Gallery boxes is based on an earlier Brillo Soap Pads box carton prototype and does not include the “Pad Giant” insert; the Stockholm type boxes are based on the Brillo Soap Pads cartons exhibited in Stockholm in 1968 and include the “Pad Giant” insert in an upper corner of each of its four side-faces. The tops of the Stable Gallery boxes are printed with a smaller and modified version of the design that appears on each of the four side-faces; only the bottom surface has no design. The Stockholm type boxes have no designs on the top and bottom surfaces.

⁵ See fn. 2 and fn. 3. In Expressen, (May 30, 2007), Linde stated “I did see some ten wooden Brillo boxes in connection with the exhibition. There were no more than that.”

The Stable Gallery boxes were constructed by a cabinet maker in New York, based on Warhol's specifications. They measure 17 x 17 x 14 inches (which converts to approximately 43.2 x 43.2 x 35.6 cm). The Stockholm type boxes, constructed in Europe, measure 44 x 44 x 36 cm (which converts to approximately 17 3/8 x 17 3/8 x 14 1/4 inches).⁶ This slight variation in size probably derives from the fact that the Stockholm type boxes were made in Europe from one of the cardboard cartons exhibited at the Moderna Museet.

The Stable Gallery boxes are constructed of plywood; the Stockholm type boxes are constructed of particle board.⁷ The six sides of each Stable Gallery box are abutted; the six sides of each Stockholm type box are mitered at the edges. All six sides of both Stable Gallery and Stockholm type boxes are hand-painted white, but the painted surfaces of the Stockholm boxes are smoother and more opaque. It seems likely that the Stockholm boxes were painted and sanded multiple times to achieve a high degree of finish before they were printed.

In 1970, Warhol authorized the Pasadena Art Museum to produce a set of 100 Brillo Soap Pads boxes (at its own expense) for the retrospective of his work at the

⁶ The centimeter dimensions of the Stockholm type boxes are the average of two such boxes measured by the Moderna Museet's Chief Conservator, Lars Byström. These dimensions were included in a November 2007 report written by the museum's Director, Lars Nittve, with Byström, that compared examples of Brillo boxes produced by Hultén in 1968 and in 1990, including the six Brillo boxes owned by the Moderna Museet (see below). The dimensions of each box, however, are quite close in size, and are as follows: (1) 44 x 44.2 x 36.4 cm; and (2) 43.9 x 43.9 x 36.1 cm.

⁷ In the *Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné*, the support medium of these works is cited as Masonite. See Georg Frei and Neil Printz, Editors, Sally King Nero, Executive Editor, *Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné. Volume 2A: Paintings and Sculptures 1964-1969* (New York and London: Phaidon Press, 2004), cat. nos. 721.1-721.94. Particle board is a more general term, which refers to any compressed board made of wood fibers, including the brand name Masonite.

museum. He then donated these boxes to the museum. A signed letter documents Warhol's authorization, and specifies two conditions: first, that the boxes tour with the exhibition of his work beginning at the Pasadena Art Museum; and second, that "all one hundred boxes will remain in the permanent collection of the Pasadena Art Museum after the show." The boxes were produced in California, to the specifications of 20 x 20 x 17 inches, visibly larger than the Stable Gallery boxes.⁸ The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné has identified as many as sixteen additional Brillo boxes, identifiable as Pasadena type boxes, beyond the set of 100 boxes belonging to the Pasadena Art Museum, that were given as gifts or sold.⁹ Contemporaneous with the Pasadena type boxes, Warhol authorized the Los Angeles County Museum to produce a set of 100 Kellogg's Corn Flakes boxes at its own expense that he donated to the museum. Like the Pasadena type Brillo boxes, the Los Angeles type Kellogg's boxes were made visibly larger than the Kellogg's boxes that Warhol produced in 1964.¹⁰

The Authentication Board has not found any comparable documentation to indicate that the boxes produced in 1968 were made with Warhol's approval or his knowledge. In a November 2007 report, the Moderna Museet has stated that "These boxes [the Stockholm type boxes] are, according to records and catalogue texts,

⁸ The letter is addressed to John Coplans, signed by Warhol, and dated April 10, 1969. The specifications appear in a letter and an invoice from the printer.

⁹ See Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné. Volume 2A: Paintings and Sculptures 1964-1969 (2004), cat. nos. 723-738.

¹⁰ A letter from the Director of LACMA to Warhol documents his gift. The Stable Gallery Kellogg's boxes measure 25 x 21 x 17 inches; the Los Angeles type Kellogg's boxes measure 27 x 24 x 19 inches.

constructed with permission of the artist.”¹¹ However, the Authentication Board has found no record of Warhol’s permission either in Hultén’s papers or in the archives of the Moderna Museet to substantiate this statement.¹²

As previously noted, Olle Granath has stated that when he first saw the Stockholm type boxes in the spring or summer of 1968, he understood that Hultén had a “special agreement” with Warhol that authorized him to make these boxes.¹³ Given the personal friendship that existed between them, the improvisational character of the Stockholm exhibition, and the earlier date of the Stockholm type boxes relative to the Pasadena type and Los Angeles type boxes, it is possible that some sort of informal, verbal agreement may have taken place between Hultén and Warhol in early 1968. The Authentication Board has been unable either to establish or invalidate this possibility.

Finally, Hultén’s intentions with regard to the 1968 Stockholm type boxes are not clear, since they were produced after Warhol’s exhibition at the Moderna Museet and only a limited number of examples were made. Of the six Stockholm type boxes known to exist, three were given to Granath as “souvenirs” for having helped Hultén with the

¹¹ See fn 6: report by Moderna Museet Director, Lars Nittve, and Chief Conservator, Lars Byström. The statement cited above is also quoted in Eileen Kinsella, “The Brillo-Box Scandal,” *Art News* (November 2009): 94-99, p. 98.

¹² The Board has also conducted a search of the archive of Warhol’s papers at the Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, in reference to documents relating to Pontus Hultén, the Moderna Museet, Stockholm, and the Brillo box sculptures. However the Warhol Archive in Pittsburgh is massive, and only about half of the material in its archives has been catalogued to date. Nonetheless, no documentation has been found thus far that would either substantiate or invalidate the claim that Warhol granted Hultén permission to produce Brillo box sculptures in 1968.

¹³ Granath to Sally King-Nero, May 15, 2002. On November 30, 2007, he stated that he understood from Hultén that “Warhol had authorized some of these boxes.”

Moderna Museet exhibition.¹⁴ Hultén kept the other three for his own use; two served as bedside tables for his children.¹⁵

(2) Malmö type boxes, 1990

In 1985, Hultén, the conceptual artists Daniel Buren and Sarkis, and the poet and art historian Serge Fauchereau founded the Institut des Hautes Etudes en Arts Plastiques (IHEAP), an advanced studio program in Paris, that was based on such models as the Bauhaus and Black Mountain College. In late 1989, under the auspices of IHEAP, Hultén began to work on an omnibus exhibition of twentieth-century art for the Russian Museum in Leningrad, that he called “Le Territoire de l’Art.” For the exhibition in 1990, Hultén arranged to have a set of Brillo boxes produced in Malmö, Sweden (hereafter referred to as the Malmö type boxes.) With the 1968 Stockholm type boxes, the 1990 Malmö type boxes constitute the second and larger body of Brillo box sculptures that were produced under Pontus Hultén’s direction.

In early 1990, carpenters at the Malmö Konsthall constructed the boxes and painted them white, using one of the cardboard cartons exhibited in Stockholm in 1968 as a prototype.¹⁶ They were printed by Bengt Andersson, a silkscreen printer who had

¹⁴ Granath, December 3, 2007. See also fn. 4: Granath’s December 4, 1998 letter to Arch Gillies.

¹⁵ Anna-Lena Wibom in conversation with Neil Printz, Stockholm, December 16, 2008. Of the three that Hultén kept, one was later given to the printer who silkscreened the Malmö type boxes. (See section 3.)

¹⁶ See *Expressen*, May 30, 2007. Björn Springfeldt, Director of the Moderna Museet (1989-96), confirmed this account to Neil Printz in an email on April 27, 2008, and a telephone conversation on May 11, 2009. Springfeldt began working at the Moderna Museet as an Associate Curator in July 1968, and “continued to collaborate [with Hultén] until the end of Pontus’ life,” as he wrote in his email. From 1985 to 1989, he was the Director of the Malmö Municipal Art Gallery. On Hultén’s behalf, he contacted its chief

worked with the graphic designer John Melin and his partner Anders Osterlin. Melin introduced Hultén to Andersson, who provided him with one of the 1968 Stockholm type boxes to use as a basis for his screens. An invoice from the printer, dated May 7, 1990, to Hultén at IHEAP documents both the date of production and the number of boxes printed: 105 in all. From Malmö, the boxes were shipped to Stockholm, where they were stored at the Moderna Museet.¹⁷

The design of the 1990 Malmö type boxes duplicates the 1968 Stockholm type boxes, including the “Pad Giant” insert that appears on the cardboard cartons exhibited in Stockholm in early 1968. Likewise, the top surface of the Malmö type boxes is painted but left blank, like the Stockholm type boxes. As with the Stockholm type boxes, the Malmö type boxes are made of particle board rather than plywood. The Malmö type boxes can be distinguished from the Stockholm type boxes, as follows: (1) sides of the Malmö type boxes are abutted at the edges; the sides of the Stockholm type boxes are mitered; (2) the sides of the Malmö type boxes are joined by nails that appear to have been inserted with a nail gun; the Stockholm type boxes were nailed by hand; and (3) the white paint on the surface of the Malmö type boxes appears to have been applied with a

technician, Arne Göransson, to have the boxes constructed. Springfeldt then contacted the designer John Melin to arrange for the silkscreening.

¹⁷ This account was provided by the printer of the Malmö type boxes Bengt Andersson in a telephone conversation with Neil Printz and Sally King-Nero on November 11, 2007, and in conversation with Neil Printz on October 28, 2009. It is supported by documents in the Hultén Archives and provided by Andersson to the Board. Bo Nilsson, Chief Curator of the Moderna Museet (1990-91), recalled seeing the boxes in production in Malmö in 1990, and remembered them both before and after they had been printed (in a telephone conversation with Neil Printz on May 5, 2009.)

roller; the surfaces of the Stockholm type boxes have been painted by hand and are highly finished, probably as a result of sanding and multiple coats of paint.¹⁸

In contrast to the Stockholm type boxes, Hultén’s purposes in producing the Malmö type boxes remain clear. To the individuals involved in their production or aware of their production, the Malmö type boxes made expressly for “Le Territoire de l’ Art” were exhibition “scenography.”¹⁹ Moreover, they believed that there had been an “old authorization” from Warhol to Hultén permitting him to produce copies of the Brillo boxes. Bengt Andersson, the printer of the Malmö type boxes, observed that both John Melin and Hultén led him to believe that the 1990 boxes were an “effort to complete the series” initiated in 1968.²⁰

The production of authorized copies, designated as “replicas,” of an artist’s work is not surprising in the context of Hultén’s curatorial history. In 1961, Ulf Linde made the first replica of Marcel Duchamp’s Large Glass (1915-23) for Hultén’s exhibition “Art in Motion” at the Moderna Museet. Duchamp inscribed the 1961 replica as a “copie conforme,” and donated it to the Moderna Museet in 1963. During 1991 and 1992, Linde made another replica of the Large Glass for Hultén’s 1993 Duchamp exhibition at the

¹⁸ These distinctions are based on side-by-side examinations of a 1964 Stable Gallery box, 1968 Stockholm type box, and a 1990 Malmö type box, conducted by the Authentication Board on November 27, 2007. A prior report by Lars Nittve, Director, and Lars Byström, Chief Conservator, Moderna Museet, dated November 2007, comparing two Stockholm type boxes with the six Malmö type boxes owned by the Moderna Museet and a seventh Malmö type box, noted essentially the same distinctions between the surface preparations of each type of box sculpture.

¹⁹ In conversations with Neil Printz, Björn Springfeldt and Bo Nilsson each used essentially the same terms—i.e., “exhibition scenography” (Springfeldt, May 11, 2009) and “scenography for the show” (Nilsson, May 5, 2009)—in their respective accounts of the Malmö type boxes.

²⁰ Bengt Andersson, November 20, 2007 and January 29, 2010. Björn Springfeldt used the expression “old authorization” (May 11, 2009).

Palazzo Grassi, Venice. This posthumous replica was produced with the authorization of Duchamp's widow, Alexina (Teeny) Duchamp. In a 1996 interview with Hans Ulrich Obrist, Hultén recalled a Duchamp exhibition that he had organized in a bookstore in 1960: "At the bookstore, we did a small show—we didn't even have a Box-in-a-Valise (1941-1968), but managed to come up with replicas. Duchamp later signed everything. He loved the idea that an artwork could be repeated. He hated 'original' artworks with prices to match."²¹

During the summer of 1968, after Warhol's exhibition, when the Stockholm type boxes were made, carpenters at the Moderna Museet reconstructed Vladimir Tatlin's lost Model of a Monument to the Third International (1919-20) for a Tatlin exhibition at the Moderna Museet. In fact, the exhibition consisted entirely of reconstructions of Tatlin's work, due to the fact that loans were unavailable from Russian museums. The emphasis on documentation and reconstructions led Hultén to describe the project as "conceptual." As he later commented to Obrist: "We reconstructed Tatlin's Tower in 1968, using the museum's own carpenters, not specialists brought in from the outside. This approach to installing exhibitions began to create a phenomenal collective spirit—we could put up a new show in five days."²²

²¹ Interview with Pontus Hultén, 1996 (first published in *Artforum*, April 1997) in Hans Ulrich Obrist, A Brief History of Curating (Zurich: Ringier Kunstverlag AG, 2008), p. 34.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-44. See also Nathalie Leleu, "The Model of Vladimir Tatlin's Monument to the Third International: Reconstruction as an Instrument of Research and States of Knowledge." Tate Papers, Autumn 2007. For Leleu's text and other related papers on the subject of the replica in modern sculpture, see "Inherent Vice: The Replica and its Implications" in Modern Sculpture Workshop, held at Tate Modern on October 18–19, 2007, and supported by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation: <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/tatepapers/07autumn/>

Björn Springfeldt, Director of the Moderna Museet from 1989 to 1996, has recalled:

Pontus came from a time when art was [the] bearer of ideas, not of economical values, and he had reconstructions made of works by Duchamp—all later acknowledged by Duchamp and signed as copies conforme—as well [as] of works by Tatlin, and when Pontus asked me to do a show for blind people I had copies made of sculptures (to be exhibited in a black room) by Brancusi and Giacometti (with inscription on the copies that they were copies and should be destroyed after the show), which also happened...

Springfeldt added that he understood “that the reproductions should be destroyed after Territorium Artis—after having made their point as idea.”²³

When “Le Territoire de l’Art” was on view in Leningrad (May 31-July 16, 1990), it seems likely that as few as ten Malmö type boxes were included. This number is based on several of the exhibition lists prepared by Hultén’s secretary at IHEAP,²⁴ and on the recollections of Olle Granath, who visited the exhibition. At the time, Granath noticed the differences in facture between the boxes he owned and the boxes exhibited in Leningrad. He described the latter as “poorly executed,” and observed that this distressed him because he thought that Warhol had always cared about the way his work looked.²⁵

The catalogue for the Leningrad exhibition is modest. The boxes that were exhibited are not identified or individually catalogued. In their place is an installation view of the 1968 Stockholm exhibition, showing the cardboard boxes massed in an irregular stack. The image is accompanied by a brief biography of Warhol and the following legend, written by Hultén:

²³ Email to Neil Printz, on April 27, 2009.

²⁴ See Hultén Archives, Moderna Museet.

²⁵ Granath in conversation with Neil Printz, on December 17, 2008.

L'idée du "ready-made" (voir la Roue de bicyclette, 1913, de Marcel Duchamp) est ici poussé encore plus loin. L'artiste a choisi l'objet le plus résolument banal et, en l'accumulant, a produit un effet d'abandon hallucinant qui a surtout comme objet une totale absence de sens qui peut ressembler, par exemple, au chant grégorien.

[The idea of the "ready-made" (see the Bicycle Wheel, 1913, by Marcel Duchamp) is pushed still farther here. The artist has chosen the most resolutely banal object, and in accumulating it, has produced an effect of hallucinatory abandon that above all has as its object a complete absence of meaning, which might be said, for example, to resemble a Gregorian chant.]²⁶

Hultén's entry indicates the degree to which he viewed Warhol's work through the perspective of Duchamp's example. Following the logic of Duchamp and taking it to another power, Hultén interpreted Warhol's 1964 Stable Gallery box sculptures not as factored works of art but as repeatable ready-made objects, that were interchangeable with real Brillo Soap Pads cartons or replicas.

Shortly after "Le Territoire de l'Art", Hultén lent forty-five of the 105 Malmö type boxes to a retrospective of Warhol's work organized by Steingrim Laursen for the Louisiana Museum in Humlebaek, Denmark (September 22, 1990-January 6, 1991). This was the second of three Warhol exhibitions organized by Laursen for the Louisiana Museum. The forty-five boxes were stacked on a broad platform in the middle of one of the museum's galleries, under an accumulation of Silver Clouds (fig. 5). On the loan form for the works, the word "répliques" has been added in parentheses by an unknown hand.²⁷ The catalogue, however, does not identify them as such; the entry simply records

²⁶ Le Territoire de l'Art (Paris and Leningrad: Institut des Hautes Etudes en Arts Plastiques and Musée Russe, 1990), p. 62. Translation by Neil Printz.

²⁷ See Hultén Archives, Moderna Museet; and exhibition records, Louisiana Museum, Humlebaek. According to Bo Nilsson, who assisted Laursen with loans from Swedish collections, including the Malmö type boxes, Laursen was aware that these boxes were

the works as “Boxes, 1964/Kasser [boxes]/ Private collection.” A reproduction elsewhere in the catalogue shows a single 1964 Stable Gallery box, identified as “Brillo-karton 1964” and cross-referenced to the catalogue entry.²⁸

In 1992, Hultén organized an expanded version of the Russian exhibition as “Territorium Artis” for the new Kunst–und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn. This exhibition, on view from June 19 to September 20, 1992, was more ambitious, better funded, and received powerful institutional and political support. For example, in one of several letters in Hultén’s archives from Vernon Walters, the American Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany at this time, addressed to the directors of major American museums, he wrote: “I understand that Mr. Hultén informed you of Chancellor Kohl’s personal interest in this project, and I would like to add that President Bush also has expressed his interest in and support of this exhibit.” Installation photographs indicate that probably all of the 105 Malmö type boxes were exhibited in Bonn (fig. 6), although the catalogue reproduces only a 1964 Stable Gallery box, and the entry records the works as “Brillo Boxes 1964/silkscreen on wood/Each: 43,5 x 43,5x35,6 cm/ Private collection”—much as they were recorded in the Louisiana Museum catalogue. Hultén also includes a slightly modified version of the annotation from the Leningrad catalogue that relates Warhol’s Brillo boxes to “the idea of readymade (Duchamp)”.²⁹

replicas produced in 1990. Copies of wall text and the checklist from the Louisiana exhibition have not been found. In conversation with Neil Printz, when asked if the museum would have identified the Brillo boxes as replicas on the wall text and checklist, Nilsson replied that it was unlikely (May 5, 2009).

²⁸ Andy Warhol (Humblebaek: Louisiana Museum, 1990), pp. 6, 73.

²⁹ Pontus Hultén, Territorium Artis, (Bonn: Kunst–und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland and Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1992), pp. 358-59, cat. no. 184. The

Thus, on three occasions between 1990 and 1992, Malmö type boxes, produced in 1990, were publically exhibited: approximately ten in Leningrad in 1990; forty-five in Denmark from 1990 to 1991; and all 105 in Bonn in 1992. The production of the Malmö type boxes for the exhibitions in Leningrad and Bonn may have been a logical extension of curatorial practices embraced by Hultén. However, the Malmö type boxes were not acknowledged as having been produced in 1990, instead they were conflated with the 1964 Stable Gallery boxes; nor was the Estate of Andy Warhol ever notified of the existence of the Malmö type boxes. This violated the very protocols that Hultén and the Moderna Museet had put in place with respect to the replicas of the work of Duchamp and Tatlin. Moreover, the confusion of Warhol's 1964 Stable Gallery box sculptures with ready-made Brillo Soap Pads cartons and the absence of transparent and rigorous guidelines relating to the production and exhibition of copies of Warhol's work from 1990 to 1992 created the conditions that allowed subsequent distortions of fact to go undetected for many years, until after Hultén's death in 2006.

(3) Subsequent events, 1994-2007

full statement reads: "The idea of readymade [Hultén's emphasis] (Duchamp) is put further here. The artist has in a totally resolute way chosen the most banal mass-fabricated object which he then accumulated with a hallucinating carelessness, obtaining a monumental effect of self-interrogation." The same page also cites a 1977 interview with Warhol: "I did all the [Campbell's soup] cans in a row on a canvas, and then I got a box, and then it looked funny because it didn't look real. I have one of the boxes here [now in the collection of the Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh]. I did the cans on the box, but it came out looking funny. I had the boxes already made up. They were brown and looked just like boxes, so I thought it would be great just to do an ordinary box." The measurements recorded in Bonn are closer to those of the 1964 Stable Gallery boxes than the Malmö type boxes, which Lars Byström of the Moderna Museet recorded in November 2007 as 44.4 x 44.2 x 36.2 cm.

In December 1994, the Estate of Andy Warhol first became aware of the fact that Hultén had produced Brillo Soap Pads boxes when the Belgian art dealer Ronny Van de Velde submitted ten Brillo boxes acquired from Hultén to the Estate for authentication. At this time, Christie’s London offered a single Stockholm type box for sale on December 1, 1994, lot 54, as an undated White Brillo Box “acquired directly from the artist by the present owner in the 1960’s.”³⁰

In response to questions from the Estate about the ten boxes submitted for review, Hultén signed the following statement in mid-December:

Hereby the undersigned, Pontus Hultén, declares that he has sold twenty “Brillo Boxes” from his own collection to Ronny Van de Velde, Antwerpen, Belgium [however, only ten were submitted to the Estate at this time]. These “Brillo Boxes” were produced in Stockholm in 1968, according to Andy Warhol’s instructions. These “Brillo Boxes” were included in the exhibition “Andy Warhol” at the Moderna Museet, Stockholm, February-March 1968.

At the same time, the Estate also contacted Kasper König, who informed them that “All Brillo boxes came directly as cardboard [König’s emphasis] boxes from the Brillo Company in Brooklyn—They were the real stuff—only for display!” König, however, did not attend the opening or see the exhibition in Stockholm. On December 29, 1994, Hultén offered a more detailed statement:

The Brillos [in 1968] were stacked in front of the entrance rather high (see photo in second edition of book [the Moderna Museet catalogue published in May 1969]). There were ca. 100 wooden brillo-boxes made in Sweden according to Andy’s instruction (“why don’t you make them there?”) As the hundred did not seem enough in the rather big space some cardboard Brillo-boxes were added in the upper part of the stack and in back. These came from the Factory. I still have one such cardboard box here... As far as I remember the show did not travel. Andy gave the Brillo-boxes to me. They were stored for many years at the

³⁰ All eleven boxes appear to be Malmö type boxes, although this has not been corroborated by examinations conducted after 2007, when information about these boxes came to light and their distinguishing characteristics were first identified.

museum. I recuperated them when I moved to Los Angeles. I don't think the museum today owns any Brillo-boxes The two paintings that Andy gave to the museum [a Ten-Foot Flowers and Big Electric Chair painting] are still in the collection and some other paintings were given and bought later.

Thus, in the two statements provided to the Estate in December 1994, Hultén asserted that: (1) all of the Brillo Soap Pads boxes he had produced were made in 1968; (2) they were made “according to Andy Warhol’s instructions”; and (3) they were included in Warhol’s exhibition at the Moderna Museet in 1968. Hultén consistently maintained this version of events until his death in 2006. Based on his statements, the Estate authenticated the ten boxes submitted in late 1994. The Andy Warhol Art Authentication Board was established in 1995. Between 1995 and 2007, when information pertaining to the 1990 Malmö type boxes first came to light (see below), the Board authenticated fifty-seven Brillo Soap Pads boxes produced by Hultén as 1968 Stockholm type boxes.

In 1995, Hultén donated six Malmö type boxes to the Moderna Museet. The official minutes of the Museum record the gift.³¹ In late 1995, all six were included in an exhibition at the Rooseum in Malmö. The boxes were assigned a 1964 date in the catalogue. When a visitor to the Rooseum inquired about these works, the response was contradictory and confused. Initially, the Rooseum informed him that that the boxes were “replicas,” probably produced in 1990. Subsequently, both the Rooseum and the Moderna Museet informed him that they had been made in 1968, after the exhibition at the Moderna Museet.³² In 1996, however, the Moderna Museet de-accessioned all six

³¹ The Moderna Museet minutes, dated June 19, 1995, simply record the six boxes as follows: “Gift to the museum’s collections from Pontus Hultén, Paris: Andy Warhol/Brillo Boxes/MOMSk 253.” The last is the accession number.

³² On October 23, 1995, the Director of the Rooseum wrote: “We put 1964 in the catalogue because we had received this information from the Moderna Museet’s staff ... I believe those which are at the Rooseum are replicas which Pontus Hultén received

works, although no account of why this occurred is recorded in the museum's official minutes.³³ The Board has learned, however, that Hultén's boxes had been identified as later replicas.³⁴ Unfortunately, this information went unrecorded, and Hultén's boxes, which remained in the museum's storage, were re-incorporated into the collection five years later. In November 2001, the Moderna Museet re-accessioned Hultén's six boxes and assigned them new accession numbers.³⁵

In November 2005, Hultén donated his private collection consisting of approximately 700 works of art to the Moderna Museet. A special exhibition and catalogue in 2004, The Pontus Hultén Collection..., marked the coming gift, as well as the dedication of a Pontus Hultén Study Gallery at the museum. The catalogue

permission to make for an exhibition of the Moderna Museet's collections at the Hermitage in Leningrad in the beginning of the 1990s, but I am not certain." On November 29, a different Roseum staff member wrote: "When the boxes came here, it was apparent that they were not from 1964, and during an investigation it appeared that they dated to 1990. Shortly after we had received that information, it was nonetheless demonstrated, which is the latest finding, that these boxes date to 1968, to which we at once changed the label in the museum." and on January 12, 1996, a Moderna Museet curator wrote: "1. The boxes were made in conjunction with the Warhol exhibition at the Moderna Museet, 1968. 2. They were manufactured after the exhibition's closing."

³³ The Moderna Museet minutes for November 11, 1996 read: "Deaccessioned from the collection: Andy Warhol/Brillo Boxes/MOMSk 253."

³⁴ David Elliott, Director of the Moderna Museet (1996-2001), wrote in an April 15, 2009 email to Neil Printz: "As far as I remember it the boxes had not been accessioned before I arrived and my information from Olle Granath ... was that they were replicas (of replicas) and therefore not authentic. I left them well enough alone as documentary material and not in the art collection."

³⁵ The new accession numbers are MOM/ 2001/226:1-6. Lars Nittve, Director of the Moderna Museet since 2001, who provided the accessioning and de-accessioning records from 1995 and 1996, noted in a May 6, 2009 email to Neil Printz: "There are no traces, even in the minutes, regarding the November 2001 re-accessioning." David Elliott wrote on April 15, 2009: "... although I left Stockholm in October 2001 I can't imagine I would suddenly have decided to accession them as a parting shot..." It would thus seem likely that Hultén's six boxes were re-accessioned during an interregnum between the directorships of Elliott and Nittve. In his August 11, 2007 to Claudia Defendi, Granath refers to the six boxes in the collection of the Moderna Museet as "Malmö boxes."

reproduces one of the cardboard Brillo boxes exhibited in 1968 and one of the six Malmö type boxes that he had donated to the museum in 1995. In the catalogue, the cardboard box is identified as an “original box” and dated 1964; the Malmö type box is dated 1968. The same note citing the “idea” of Duchamp’s ready-made that had appeared in the Leningrad catalogue in 1990, and in a slightly modified version in Bonn in 1992, accompanied the reproductions. Hultén’s recollections of Warhol’s exhibition Moderna Museet in 1968, which appear in the catalogue, quote the statement of December 29, 1994 that Hultén had provided to the Andy Warhol Estate verbatim.³⁶

In 1998, when one of the editors of the Catalogue Raisonné interviewed Hultén about the Stockholm exhibition, Hultén informed him that 100 wood boxes had been made in Malmö in 1968 “according to Warhol’s instructions.” Since the 100 boxes were not enough to fill up the large space at the museum, according to this account from Hultén, 400 Brillo cartons were sent from the factory in New York.³⁷ A later review by

³⁶ The Pontus Hultén Collection... (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 2004), pp. 360-67. Hultén writes: “The idea of the ready-made (like Roue de Bicyclette, 1913, by Marcel Duchamp) is pursued even further here. The artist has selected the most definitively banal of objects, and by stacking it up, has produced an effect of breathtaking recklessness whose primary subject is a total absence of meaning, which might call a Gregorian chant to mind, for example.” (p. 367)

³⁷ Georg Frei, co-Editor of Volumes 1 and 2 of the Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné, interviewed Hultén in Paris on March 3, 1998. Hultén informed Frei that the boxes had made by Gösta Svensson in Malmö. In conversation with Neil Printz on April 14, 2009, Svensson—a printer who often worked with John Melin—stated that he had printed both the cover for the 1968 Moderna Museet catalogue as well as the SAS Airplane Ticket, and worked on the 2005 catalogue of the Pontus Hultén collection for the Moderna Museet, but that he had not printed any Brillo boxes for Hultén in 1968. On August 23, 1996, Frei examined the Warhol works in the collection of the Moderna Museet for the Catalogue Raisonné. He examined only one of the six boxes that Hultén had donated in 1995, having been informed by a staff member of the museum that all the others were the same and should be seen as “replicas.” This was three months before the boxes were de-accessioned, and no reference was made to the fact that the boxes had been produced in 1990.

the Catalogue Raisonné editors of the installation photographs from Stockholm and the exhibition tour, however, indicated that Kasper König's 1994 account, in which he asserted that only cardboard boxes provided by the Brillo factory had been exhibited, was probably correct. In 2002, when the manuscript of Volume 2 of the Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné was being prepared for publication, both Hultén and Olle Granath were contacted by an editor of the Catalogue Raisonné. Hultén never directly responded to questions concerning whether or not the boxes produced in 1968 had been included in the exhibition. Granath confirmed König's account, and informed the Catalogue Raisonné that the boxes produced in 1968 were made after the exhibition.³⁸

Based on König and Granath's respective accounts, when Volume 2 of the Catalogue Raisonné was published in 2004, it noted that Warhol's Brillo Soap Pads box sculptures were represented in the Stockholm exhibition and its tour by cardboard "facsimiles" that "functioned both as an exhibition set and as a prototype that was used to produce a set of approximately one hundred wood boxes fabricated in Sweden at this time." Although the Catalogue Raisonné differed from Hultén on one point, concerning whether or not the Brillo boxes produced in 1968 had been included in the Stockholm exhibition, no information or documentation had come to light as yet that would indicate

³⁸ Sally King-Nero, Executive Editor of Volume 2 of the Catalogue Raisonné, spoke by telephone with Pontus Hultén on April 4, 2002 and with Olle Granath on May 15, 2002. Moreover, after two of the three boxes that Hultén had given him failed to sell at Christie's, New York, on November 20, 1998, Granath wrote to Arch Gilles, then President of the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, noting: "A couple of years ago at least one box from the same series belonging to Pontus Hultén was sold with a certificate from your foundation. It was probably imprudent of me not to ask you for the same authorization." (December 4, 1998) In early 1999, Granath submitted these two boxes to the Andy Warhol Authentication Board. He subsequently sold the third box. Its new owner submitted the box to the Authentication Board in 2004. On none of these occasions, did Granath make any mention of the boxes that Hultén had produced in 1990.

that most of the boxes produced by Hultén had, in fact, not been made in 1968, as he maintained, but in 1990. Accordingly, ninety-four Brillo boxes, identified as “Stockholm type” and dated 1968, were included in Volume 2A of the Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné: Paintings and Sculptures 1964-1969.³⁹

In 2007, a year after Hultén’s death, when a Malmö type box that had been authenticated by the Authentication Board in October 2006⁴⁰ was consigned to the Swedish auction house Stockholms Auktionsverk for inclusion in its April sale, the Board received two letters. The first from the Swedish art dealer Per-Olov Björson, dated April 17, 2007, referred to “a number of fake Brillo Boxes ... launched on the Scandinavian market lately,” and added that “It seems that Mr. Pontus Hultén is behind some of the versions.” The second letter, dated April 20, 2007, from a representative of the Stockholm auction house stated: “It has come to our knowledge that this box may have been executed in Malmö 1990 by order of the late Mr. Pontus Hultén, former Director of the Moderna Museet in Stockholm. Some of our customers have pointed out to us that 125 boxes were made before an exhibition in St. Petersburg and in Bonn.”⁴¹ This was the first time that the Authentication Board received any indication that Pontus Hultén’s previous assertions and the public record regarding the Stockholm boxes might be open to question. A series of articles published in the Swedish newspaper Expressen reported

³⁹ Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné. Volume 2A: Paintings and Sculptures 1964-1969 (2004), cat. nos 721.1-721.94.

⁴⁰ This work was submitted to the Authentication Board in October 2006. It was the last of the boxes produced by Hultén to be authenticated by the Board, and identified as a Stockholm type box, dated 1968.

⁴¹ Letter to the Authentication Board from Per-Olov Björjeson, April 12, 2007; and letter to the Authentication Board from Ander Lundström, Stockholms Auktionsverk, April 20, 2007.

on these allegations, at the end of May,⁴² and the Authentication Board began its initial investigations at the beginning of June.⁴³

(4) Summary

- Pontus Hultén produced two different sets of Brillo Soap Pads boxes. Neither set was based directly on the box sculptures that Warhol made for his 1964 exhibition at the Stable Gallery, New York. Rather, they were copies of the cardboard cartons supplied by the Brillo factory to the 1968 exhibition of Warhol's work, organized by Hultén for the Moderna Museet in Stockholm.
- At the upper corner of each of the four side-faces of the Brillo boxes produced by Hultén, a semi-circular blue field with the notation "1A400; 24/18; Pad Giant" appears. This differentiates their design from Warhol's 1964 Stable Gallery box sculptures.
- Hultén produced the first set of Brillo boxes between the spring and summer of 1968 after Warhol's exhibition at the Moderna Museet (February-March). This set consisted of approximately ten to fifteen boxes. To date, six examples of these 1968 boxes, designated hereafter as Stockholm type boxes, have been documented. Of these, Hultén gave three as gifts to Olle Granath, and kept three for himself.

⁴² See Expressen, May 30-31, 2007.

⁴³ In a June 8, 2007 memo circulated among Authentication Board members, the Board initiated its review of the questions regarding the Stockholm boxes raised by the articles in Expressen at the end of May. On June 27, 2007, the Board drafted a statement to the owners of Brillo boxes produced by Hultén, informing them that the Authentication Board and Catalogue Raisonné were beginning a "formal investigation" of the allegations in Expressen. The Board discussed these questions at their meeting on July 10, 2007.

- In 1990, Hultén produced a second and significantly larger set of 105 Brillo boxes. These boxes were made in Malmö for the exhibition “Le Territoire de l’Art”, organized for the Russian Museum in Leningrad. Only a small number of these boxes, hereafter known as Malmö type boxes, were exhibited in Leningrad, but all 105 Malmö type boxes appear to have been shown in a second, expanded version of the exhibition, called “Territorium Artis”, organized by Hultén in 1992 for the Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn. Between the Leningrad and Bonn exhibitions, forty-five of the 105 Malmö type boxes were included in a retrospective of Warhol’s work at the Louisiana Museum, Humlebaek, Denmark, in late 1990.
- The 1968 Stockholm type boxes can be differentiated from the 1990 Malmö type boxes by their facture and finish. The edges of the Stockholm type boxes have mitered corners and appear to have been nailed by hand; the edges of the Malmö type boxes are abutted and appear to have been joined by a nail gun. The surfaces of the Stockholm type boxes appear to have been painted by hand, sanded, and repainted, giving them a smooth, opaque finish; the Malmö type boxes appear to have been painted with a roller.
- Hultén’s curatorial philosophy embraced the making of replicas, and he brought the perspective of Duchamp’s ready-made to Warhol’s box sculptures. However, Hultén did not identify the 1990 Malmö type boxes as replicas, and did not inform the Estate of Andy Warhol that he was producing them.
- The boxes produced by Hultén first came to the attention of the Estate of Andy Warhol in December 1994, when Hultén began to sell them, and a group was

- presented to the Estate for authentication. At this time, Hultén stated that the boxes were all made in 1968, “according to Andy Warhol’s instructions,” and that they had been included in the Warhol exhibition at the Moderna Museet in 1968. Hultén would maintain this version of events until his death. In so doing, he misrepresented these works and falsified their history to the Estate of Andy Warhol, the Andy Warhol Art Authentication Board, the Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné, and to the dealers, collectors, and museums who acquired these boxes.
- Exhibition sets of Brillo Soap Pads and Kellogg’s Corn Flakes boxes were produced with Warhol’s authorization in 1970 for the Pasadena Art Museum and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, respectively. However, no written documentation has been found that would establish that Warhol authorized the Moderna Museet to produce a set of Brillo Soap Pads boxes in 1968. Given the friendship between Warhol and Hultén, it is possible that a verbal agreement existed between the two. The Authentication Board, however, can neither verify nor invalidate Hultén’s claim.
 - On the basis of its research, the Andy Warhol Art Authentication Board has come to the following conclusions: (1) there are two versions of the Brillo boxes produced by Pontus Hultén—a small group of Stockholm type boxes produced in 1968, and 105 Malmö type boxes produced in 1990; (2) the Stockholm type boxes are related to the 1968 Warhol exhibition at the Moderna Museet, Stockholm, and the Board will designate the Stockholm type boxes hereafter as “exhibition related copies” (3) the Malmö type boxes were produced by Hultén for the 1990 exhibition “Le Territoire d’Art” that he organized for the Russian Museum in

- Leningrad, and the Board will designate the Malmö type boxes hereafter as “exhibition copies;” (4) neither the Stockholm type boxes nor the Malmö type boxes were made by Andy Warhol, to his specifications or under his supervision; and (5) there is no known documentation that Warhol authorized their production.
- The Board recommends that the information in this report be included in the Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings, Sculptures, and Drawings.

Figures

1. Andy Warhol exhibition, Stable Gallery, New York, 1964
2. Andy Warhol exhibition, Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 1968
3. Andy Warhol exhibition, Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, 1966
4. “New York 13”, Vancouver Art Gallery, 1969
5. Andy Warhol exhibition, Louisiana Museum, Humlebaek, 1990
6. “Territorium Artis”, Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn 1992