The Business of Art Museums: Jeff Koons and the Guggenheim Bilbao

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For many students studying abroad, embracing the opportunity to engage with cultures different from their own is often a top priority. My experience studying in Madrid, Spain, during the spring semester of 2024 aligned with this principle and, fortunately, there were multiple avenues by which one could explore local and national histories. This included access to several highly regarded and well-known art museums, such as Madrid's Prado Museum and the Reina Sofía, which house works of esteemed Spanish artists including Pablo Picasso and Salvador Dalí. Additionally, in northern Spain, an equally renowned collection lies at the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao. Since 1997, this has become a "must-see" destination, as mentions of the city's inimitable architecture and rich Basque culture are commonplace among Spaniards and foreigners alike. Given this emphasis, it was shocking to a Pennsylvania college student who had traveled across the Atlantic for immersion in Spanish language and culture when the first work exhibited to visitors upon their arrival to the Guggenheim Bilbao is *Puppy* (1992, Fig. 1) by contemporary artist Jeff Koons (b. 1955), who was born and raised in York, Pennsylvania. This presentation of the artist's work in the context of the Basque region raises intriguing questions about the presence of American institutions and artists abroad, as well as to what extent, if any, local cultures can coexist with international art influences. In turn, this essay surveys a broad history of Bilbao, the Guggenheim, and Koons, proposing that rather than symbolizing Basque prosperity, as suggested by the museum, the Guggenheim Bilbao instead strengthens the Guggenheim brand itself and dominates

Basque culture, as evidenced by the presence of Koons and his sculptures at the museum.

Before analyzing the Guggenheim's interactions with Bilbao and its local officials, it is necessary to understand the city's history as well as its status and goals at the time of the museum's inception in the late 1990s. Geographically, Bilbao is found in the northwest Iberian Peninsula and stands as one of the largest cities in Spain and the metropolis of the semi-autonomous Basque region.[1] This region is known for its uniqueness, with artistic cuisine such as pintxos, a downtown populated with skyscrapers that contrast the surrounding lush mountains, and its own language, Euskara, spoken alongside Spanish. Historically, however, Bilbao was most known for its success during the Industrial Revolution, resulting from the extensive production along the left bank of the Nervión River, which runs through the city's center. This bank was "dominated by iron mines, blast furnaces, shipyards and muddy slums."[2] By the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Bilbao effectively established itself as a financial power, and even during the Spanish Civil War of the late 1930s, the city's banking and insurance sectors persevered.[3] Nevertheless, by the 1980s and 90s, as the region's natural resources became depleted and a European financial crisis persisted, the furnaces and mines closed, transforming the city into "industrial ruins."[4] Under these circumstances, local leaders recognized the need for economic revitalization. City officials sought to create an economy that relied on services rather than industry, with a regeneration plan "that was estimated at $1.5 billion and which would be realized over the span of twenty years."[5] There were several objectives to this ambitious revitalization plan; it sought not only to improve infrastructure and financial services, but also to combat the image of terrorism that the Basque separatist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) had cultivated in the region, while maintaining the highly valued nationalistic identity of Basques as separate from the Spanish. To accomplish this, Bilbao looked outside of the country for financial and cultural contributions towards its revitalization efforts, including a level of reliance on "high-profile architects with international reputations," such as Canadian-American architect Frank Gehry (b. 1929), who designed the Guggenheim Bilbao from 1993–1997.[6] Therefore, it is within this context of Bilbao having demonstrated its ability to form its own reputation and local identity

on a national stage but then redefining its public image through international connections to foreign entities that conversations with the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation (SRGF), based in New York City, began to emerge.

Bilbao was clearly ready for major changes by the 1990s, but questions of how and why the decision to construct a monumental museum was made merit further investigation. Notably, the answer begins with considering the desires of the Guggenheim Foundation during this time, rather than those of Bilbao. Thomas Krens (b. 1946), director of the Foundation from 1988 to 2008, primarily determined these needs. The first demand he saw for the Guggenheim was of securing additional exhibition space. Krens had roughly 10,000 pieces of art under his control, many of which could not be properly displayed in the "spiral galleries" of the New York City Guggenheim location, which American architect Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959) constructed in the 1950s.[7] Krens also prioritized improving the Guggenheim's financial state. Around 1991, the Foundation faced over fifty million dollars of debt, partly due to Krens's own penchant for collecting expensive works and launching construction initiatives.[8] With these aspirations for more space and sufficient funds to support his expansionary vision for the Guggenheim and after a business trip to Madrid, Krens "began inquiries in numerous cities about the possibility of establishing a Spanish Guggenheim satellite."[9] However, Krens was of the opinion that Bilbao was "a small and culturally undistinguished city."[10] How then did Bilbao end up as the site of the Foundation's first effort to expand beyond the United States to showcase its breadth of modern and contemporary art to audiences beyond New York City?[11]

Importantly, the Basques were much more than passive pawns in the Guggenheim's dealings, and they had clear intentions of harnessing the museum's influence. Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) leaders actively approached Krens amidst their revitalization efforts in the hopes of distancing the city from its history of industry and terrorism so as to become recognized worldwide as a flourishing cultural environment.[12] Before contact with the Guggenheim, "Bilbao's publicity efforts were overshadowed, even in their home country, by the upcoming World Exposition in Seville and the Olympics in Barcelona, both to take place in 1992," contributing to Basque officials' eagerness to collaborate with a "giant US art

institution."[13] Krens took Bilbao's enthusiasm as an opportunity to finally solidify his vision, one that aligned with having "a regional government…underwrite a grandiose US project" and had been of little interest to other Spanish cities.[14] Despite his lackluster review of Bilbao at that time, Krens was certain people would happily travel to the city to see the art of the Guggenheim collection.[15] He was also certain the PNV would pay the over two hundred million dollars estimated for the total cost of constructing and running this new museum, plus an additional twenty million dollar down payment.[16] Essentially, the final agreement between the museum and the Basque Government established that "SRGF would maintain complete artistic and administrative control over the new Bilbao Museum, while the Basques would pay for everything."[17] This arrangement, in which the museum, financed by Bilbaínos, would be governed from New York, enabled the Guggenheim Foundation, with Krens at the helm, to acquire much-needed funds and maintain control over crucial decisions, particularly during the four-year construction period prior to the museum opening in 1997. These decisions included determining which works and artists the new location would exhibit.

As previously mentioned, one such artist who is predominantly featured at the Guggenheim Bilbao is Jeff Koons, whose unique style and reputation for commercializing art situate him as particularly relevant to discuss in conjunction with the business venture of a new museum. Koons, a contemporary American artist, emerged in the New York art scene during the 1980s, along with numerous young and innovative artists. He initially gained attention for presenting artwork that critiqued American consumer culture.[18] Specifically, he engaged with the readymade, referring to "the store-bought utilitarian object (urinal, shovel, bottle rack) consecrated as art by being displayed in a gallery or museum," a concept first proposed and realized by French Dadaist Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968).[19] In 1980, for instance, Koons's first solo exhibition of note, on view at New York's New Museum of Contemporary Art and titled *The New*, comprised primarily of vacuum cleaners showcased in vitrines (Fig. 2).[20] However, among the artists developing alongside him, "he alone has survived and thrived in the decades since," largely due to his shift away from this original content matter.[21] Throughout the 1990s, Koons started to

generate what art historian and critic Eric Gibson terms, "industrially produced pop imagery," and became most recognized for his playful and oversized sculptures such as *Balloon Dog* (1994–2000) (Fig. 3).[22] According to art historian Katie Kresser, "all of Koons's work (believe it or not) is an attempt to recapture childhood."[23] From this vantage point, the inclusion of Koons's sculptures at the new Guggenheim in Bilbao appears to be a logical way of introducing a reflection of American culture internationally, in a lighthearted manner and on a monumental scale.

However, many scholars and critics have not looked this favorably upon Koons, with comments ranging from criticisms of the kitsch, or tacky, quality of his artwork, to proclamations that his pieces and businessman persona belong far away from any museum.[24] For example, Koons's *Made in Heaven* series (Fig. 4), initiated in 1989, includes photographs and sculptures of himself and his then-wife and former adult film actress, Ilona Staller, which faced serious backlash for their "gaudy narcissism—in the cheerfully salacious swagger with which Koons shows his lady love and himself in our faces."[25] Attention was not only paid to the perceived egotism Koons conveyed through specific works but also to the questionable elements of his overall mode of operation. In particular, art critics have highlighted his short-lived Wall Street career of the early 1980s as essential to understanding Koons's practices.[26] One said practice is the physical creation of Koons's artworks, which critic Jed Perl likens to assembly line productions, noting that in 2014, there were "some 128 people employed in Koons's studio," which resulted in art that conveyed a "factory-produced impersonality."[27] Another area in which Koons appears to embody characteristics of "an astute entrepreneur rather than an artist" is the advertisement and sale of his pieces, for which he has been described as an "affable pitchman…willing to abase himself just a little in the interests of self-promotion."[28] These tactics have likely grown, at least in part, out of the necessity to convince museums, collectors, and the public that his artworks are worth their steep prices, which, before the turn of the century, started at a few million dollars and have since increased to tens of millions of dollars.[29] If through this style of operation Koons has effectively turned his art into a "tradable commodity," does he in turn celebrate the commercial culture he had once condemned?[30] These narratives surrounding Koons complicate the

Guggenheim's decision to display his work in Bilbao and call into question whether the Foundation truly appreciated his artistic worth, or if his financial or promotional value proved more appealing.

At the very least, there are certainly some notable parallels between an apparent objective of the Guggenheim Foundation, specifically under Krens, and that of Koons: the expansion of a brand abroad. As briefly addressed earlier, Krens held "strong opinions about the multinational future of museums."[31] He sought to draw press activity to the establishment and opening of the Guggenheim Bilbao, "provoking international interest" in the city and, in turn, in the museum and its influence.[32] More specifically, the Guggenheim Foundation adopted key strategies "taken from consumer product marketing which uses a developed brand identity as a means of gaining a wider audience/customer base through a program of franchising."[33] Although Koons is an individual, rather than an institution, he has engaged similarly in marketing, and since "1980 Koons was objectifying himself—making his own persona."[34] This persona included "taking this idea [of the connection between art and money] to a whole new level," one in which he would go where the money went, including out of the country.[35] Beyond this commonality, Koons's works in Bilbao function in various ways to directly bolster the Guggenheim as a museum brand. The critical functions that Koons's art serve in promoting the Guggenheim become evident when using measures implemented by Niall G. Caldwell, Senior Lecturer in Marketing at the University of North London, that draw on consumer product marketing to discuss museum brands.

The first measure is the "perceived quality of the museum experience," which Caldwell explains is considered by scholars to be "the single most important factor in determining the strength of a brand."[36] Perceived quality refers to "the customer's perception of the overall quality of a product or service," and "may differ from the actual or objective quality."[37] By this measure, the less-than-ideal reviews from art critics and historians regarding the quality of Koons's works may not concern the Guggenheim as much as how the general public perceives him. Sure enough, Koons is adept at catering to the "average museumgoer" with a tendency to portray "the literal and the obvious," which provides viewers with a sense of comfort that "dispels anxiety and lifts guilt," especially when

confronted by experimental art practices within modern and contemporary art.[38] Even the "sophisticated museumgoing audience" appreciates Koons's art as a "guilty pleasure" in the sense that no historical knowledge or deep reflection is required to understand or enjoy it.[39] This accessibility has secured Koons with the support of many devoted followers who constitute what Perl dubs the "Koons cult."[40] These fans who fervently wait in line to see Koons's exhibitions have cultivated a nearly "criticism-proof" status for his works.[41] Overall, Koons's ability to please the museumgoer, who takes on the role of the "customer" in this scenario, positions him as an ideal artist for the Guggenheim to utilize in bolstering the perceived quality of their "product," or the art displayed in Bilbao, thereby further strengthening the museum brand on an international stage.

Another measure Caldwell provides to evaluate the success of a museum's marketed image is "brand name awareness."[42] This category entails "name recall and name recognition," and a high level of awareness is most achieved through advertisements, but may also result from various forms of mass media or personal recommendations.[43] Koons not only brings his own level of identifiability with him to the museum, having collaborated with brands like H&M and appearing on magazine covers for companies such as *Vanity Fair*, but his work has also become entrenched within the Guggenheim Bilbao's promotional strategies.[44] This publicity occurs most blatantly through the presence of Koons's *Puppy* (Fig. 1). An over forty-foot-tall flower sculpture, developed and installed for various museums since 1992, but constructed in front of the Guggenheim Bilbao for its 1997 opening, *Puppy* "stands guard" at the front of the museum.[45] Evoking joy and curiosity for visitors and passersby alike, this enormous sculpture has become an emblem and logo of the museum and a landmark in Bilbao, even appearing as a featured location on Google Maps (Fig. 5). The Guggenheim Bilbao has capitalized on the prominence of this now iconic sculpture, reproducing its image on shirts, bags, stationaries, and mugs for the in-store and online gift shops (Fig.6) so that anyone across the globe can purchase this merchandise, consequently increasing the visibility of the museum through its dissemination. Ultimately, the Guggenheim's commission of Koons's *Puppy* during their early years in Bilbao proves to be a strategic choice motivated by capital

investment and financial return that enhances the museum's brand name awareness and therefore strengthens the overall franchise.

A final evaluative category to consider in examining the effect of Koons's art on the state of the Guggenheim Bilbao's reputation is "brand name associations and identity."[46] Caldwell broadly defines this measure as encompassing "anything 'linked' in memory to a brand."[47] Undeniably, the complex architecture of the "extraordinary building" that is the Guggenheim Bilbao (Fig. 7), designed by Gehry, will be forever linked to the Guggenheim brand.[48] This building, with an exterior constructed of glass and titanium, is so large it "dwarfs the city's old landmarks" and has been likened to a rose, a volcano, and a ship, among other imaginative descriptions.[49] The "spirals of the architecture" were put in direct competition with Wright's New York construction, but appear to have succeeded, as the Guggenheim Bilbao was already considered a "masterpiece" prior to its completion in 1997.[50] Concerning Koons, his artwork operates in conversation with these impressive architectural marvels of the museum building, leading him to become "linked in memory" to the Guggenheim Bilbao. *Tulips* (1995–2004, Fig. 8), for instance, is "a bouquet of multicolor balloon flowers blown up to gargantuan proportions" and part of Koons's *Celebration* series, containing representations of commercially produced materials associated with festivities and exhibited in museums around the world.[51] Arriving at the Guggenheim Bilbao in 2008, eleven years after its opening, the sculpture's "immaculate, reflective stainless-steel surfaces" that appear "meticulously, mechanically polished and groomed" evoke the lustrous quality of the titanium museum exterior.[52] *Tulips* continues to be significant to the brand name identity and architectural dialogues occurring within the Guggenheim Bilbao, as demonstrated by its placement in Gallery 303, where visitor's experience of this work was recently enhanced by "the opening of the original skylight" in celebration of the museum's twenty-fifth anniversary in 2022.[53] Not only was Koons highlighted as a signature artist in the collection during the significant milestone recognition of museum history that an anniversary comprises, but his work's positioning directly under a large skylight connects this work to other elements essential in experiencing the building's architecture: glass and light. These features allow for *Tulips*' colors to shine in a way that mirrors the varying reflections visible on the exterior of the building

(Fig. 7). The Guggenheim also demonstrated its pride in associating with Koons by presenting *Jeff Koons: A Retrospective* in 2015 in Bilbao, an exhibition originally held at New York's Whitney Museum of American Art.[54] Since the opening of the Guggenheim Bilbao, the museum has repeatedly indicated its continued interest in cementing Koons and his artworks within the legacy of its brand, believing he will bolster its image in conjunction with the iconic architecture.

Notably, however, the Guggenheim Bilbao's calculated relationship with Koons aligns with only part of the museum's mission statement, while another key element is arguably hindered by this bond and similar ones. Under its Strategic Plan, the Guggenheim Bilbao's mission first expresses its aim

> to collect, preserve, and research modern and contemporary art…to contribute to the knowledge and enjoyment of art and the values that it represents, within a unique architectural landmark, as an essential part of the Guggenheim network.[55]

The previously discussed roles and corresponding evaluations of Koons's works in Bilbao certainly coincide with these intentions, but the mission also emphasizes the museum's function as "a symbol of the vitality of the Basque Country" (Fig. 9).[56] Given the commanding presence of Koons and other foreign artists at the museum, this claim evokes a sense of tension that is difficult to reconcile. This assertion that the Guggenheim is responsible for a "revitalization" of Bilbao is consistent with what scholars have deemed the "Bilbao effect," or the idea that "the urban renaissance of the Basque city was the result of…a 'miracle' generated by the museum."[57] In reality, it was far from a miracle initiated by an external source that transformed Bilbao and, "despite the poverty and the political repression, there was a vibrant community."[58] The museum was just one of several investments the city made as part of its regeneration plan, but the Guggenheim's influence proved more problematic than likely predicted.[59] For example, the construction of the museum itself, on top of land that previously housed a shipyard, fairground, and railway yard, has contributed to a loss of local culture and histories.[60] Some residents, such as Aitor Uriarte, the son of a retired miner, have expressed their views of the creation of this building as an erasure of their family's industrial heritage.[61] Thus, the Guggenheim Bilbao failed to reflect the existing environment,

instead imposing itself onto the landscape so as to stimulate a new one.

The Guggenheim Bilbao's position as an extension of an American art institution adds another layer to this cultural imperialism, particularly regarding whose work the museum displays. Alongside Koons, the Guggenheim Bilbao's collection features many world-renowned modern and contemporary American artists such as Mark Rothko and Richard Serra, while a sculpture by Eduardo Chillida (1924–2002) was the only work by a Basque artist on view at the time of the museum's opening (Fig. 10). With only a handful of artists from the Basque region exhibited since, the museum has been scorned for its lack of "indigenous form or content."[62] In addition, Krens chose Gehry, the aforementioned architect of the museum and a Canadian-American, in 1991 over two other non-American candidates: Arata Isozaki, a Japanese architect, and Coop Himmelblau, an Austrian firm. Even more, a local city official determined a location for the Guggenheim Bilbao, but Gehry or Krens overruled them in selecting the final site.[63] In each of these instances, Basque agency is reduced in favor of the museum's ambitions.

Nevertheless, the positive impacts of the Guggenheim's presence in Bilbao should not be ignored. Specifically, with large-scale works that require upkeep like *Puppy*, opportunities to collaborate with local workers emerge, in this case with regional plant nurseries and gardeners. Many Basques have been receptive to the works brought to Bilbao, calling *Puppy* "Bilbao's pet," and the museum runs educational programs centered on this piece that attract young students.[64] The Guggenheim has even implemented the *Basque Artist Program* to support local artists. Unfortunately, this seemingly positive program once again reveals a focus on American values, as seen in a 2024 press release that explains how the Guggenheim allows "two emerging artists from the Basque Country" to "experience the New York art scene first-hand and thus advance their goals and skills," positioning the local art world as inferior to that of New York City.[65] All in all, while the Guggenheim Bilbao has in some ways fostered local community engagement, it more frequently carries out practices that exert dominance over Basque artistic identities.

In summary, the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao provides a case study of how art museums can increase the global recognition of a particular region while at the same time altering the local environment and, therefore, the image presented to the world. Although the Guggenheim Bilbao has undoubtedly influenced the economic resurgence of the surrounding area, it has come at a cost for the Basque region, one of cultural depletion due to foreign encroachments. Of course, there is not one specific definition or model of "Basqueness," but the Guggenheim's focus on prioritizing artists from outside the country, namely Koons, and showcasing its grand architecture is not aimed at representing any version of local identity. This is not to suggest that art institutions and artists should remain bound within the confines of their nation of origin, never expanding or offering contributions to global landscapes. Instead, these art organizations and those directing them must prioritize a respectful, inquisitive, and collaborative approach that attempts to bolster, or at least maintain, existing traditions and values, rather than promoting an outside brand or imposing their own objectives. More considerate practices impact not only local populations but also leave visitors with a better understanding of the culture and history of an area.

Figure 1: Jeff Koons, *Puppy* (1992 - ongoing)
Stainless steel, soil, and flowering plants
486 x 486 x 256 in. (1234.4 x 1234.4 x 650.2 cm)
Guggenheim Museum Bilbao
Photo Credit: Guggenheim Bilbao

Figure 2: Jeff Koons, *New Hoover Convertibles, New Shelton Wet/Dry10 Gallon Doubledecker* (1981-1986)
Three vacuum cleaners, acrylic, and fluorescent lights
99 x 41 x 28 in. (251.5 x 104.1 x 71.1 cm)
Photo Credit: Jeff Koons

Figure 3: Jeff Koons, *Balloon Dog* (1994-2000)
Mirror-polished stainless steel with transparent color coating
121 x 143 x 45 in. (307.3 x 363.2 x 114.3 cm)
The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Photo Credit: The Broad Art Foundation

Figure 4: Screenshot of Jeff Koons Website "Made in Heaven" page (November 20, 2024)

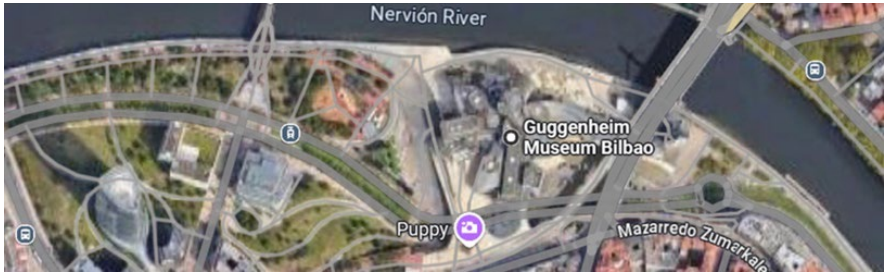
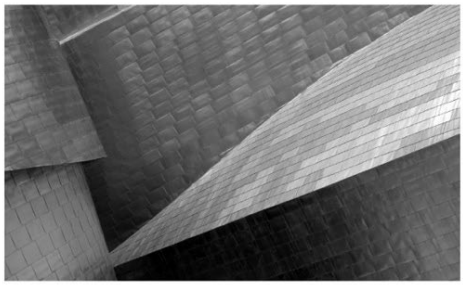


Figure 5: Screenshot of Google Maps (November 25, 2024)

Figure 6: Screenshot of Guggenheim Bilbao Website "Shop" page (November 25, 2024)

Figure 7: Frank Gehry, *Guggenheim Museum Bilbao* (1993-1997)
Titanium, glass, and limestone
256,000 sq ft (24,000 m^2)
Photo Credit: Guggenheim Bilbao

Figure 8: Jeff Koons, *Tulips* (April 13, 2024)
High chromium stainless steel with transparent color coating
80 x 180 x 205 in. (203.2 x 457.2 x 520.7 cm)
Guggenheim Museum Bilbao
Photo Credit: Katryn Yocum



Mission Statement

To collect, preserve, and research **modern and contemporary art**, and to present it from multiple perspectives within the context of the History of Art, addressing a broad, diverse audience, so as to contribute to the knowledge and enjoyment of art and the values that it represents, within a unique architectural landmark, as an essential part of the Guggenheim network, and a **symbol of the vitality of the Basque Country**.

Figure 9: Screenshot of Guggenheim Bilbao Website "Strategic Plan" page (December 1, 2024)

Figure 10: Eduardo Chillida, *Lo profundo es el aire (How Deep is the Air)* (1996)
Alabaster
37 x 48 x 48.8 in. (94 x 122 x 124 cm)
Guggenheim Museum Bilbao
Photo Credit: Guggenheim Bilbao

Notes

[1] Rauen, "Reflections on the Space of Flows," 284.
[2] Woodworth, "Wow, Bilbao!," 103.
[3] Rauen, "Reflections," 284.
[4] Rauen, "Reflections," 284; Woodworth, "Wow Bilbao!," 103.
[5] Rauen, "Reflections," 285.
[6] Ibid., 285.
[7] Ibid., 286.
[8] Ibid., 286.
[9] Ibid., 287.
[10] Woodworth, "Wow Bilbao!," 114.
[11] "Guggenheim Network," Guggenheim Bilbao.
[12] Woodworth, "Wow, Bilbao!," 115.
[13] Rauen, "Reflections," 287; Woodworth, "Wow, Bilbao!," 114.
[14] Woodworth, "Wow, Bilbao!," 114-5.
[15] Rauen, "Reflections," 295.
[16] Rauen, "Reflections," 288; Woodworth, "Wow, Bilbao!," 115.
[17] Rauen, "Reflections," 288.
[18] Gibson, "What Jeff Koons Has Wrought," 44.
[19] Ibid., 44.
[20] Kresser, "The Real Jeff Koons," 2.
[21] Gibson, "What Jeff Koons Has Wrought," 43.
[22] Ibid., 43.
[23] Kresser, "The Real Jeff Koons," 3.
[24] Kresser, "The Real Jeff Koons," 5; Gibson, "What Jeff Koons Has Wrought," 46.
[25] Kresser, "The Real Jeff Koons," 3; Perl, "The Cult of Jeff Koons," 16.
[26] Gibson, "What Jeff Koons Has Wrought," 45; "Jeff Koons," Guggenheim Bilbao.
[27] Perl, "The Cult of Jeff Koons," 14.
[28] Gibson, "What Jeff Koons Has Wrought," 45.
[29] Kresser, "The Real Jeff Koons," 4.
[30] Kresser, "The Real Jeff Koons," 4; Gibson, "What Jeff Koons Has Wrought," 46.
[31] Rauen, "Reflections," 286.
[32] Ibid., 287, 289.
[33] Caldwell, "The Emergence of Museum Brands," 29.
[34] Kresser, "The Real Jeff Koons," 3.
[35] Gibson, "What Jeff Koons Has Wrought," 45.
[36] Caldwell, "Emergence," 32-33.

[37] Ibid., 33.
[38] Perl, "The Cult of Jeff Koons," 16; Kresser, "The Real Jeff Koons," 9.
[39] Perl, "The Cult of Jeff Koons," 16.
[40] Ibid., 18.
[41] Ibid., 16.
[42] Caldwell, "Emergence," 32.
[43] Ibid., 32.
[44] Perl, "The Cult of Jeff Koons," 16, 18.
[45] "Puppy," Jeff Koons.
[46] Caldwell, "Emergence," 33.
[47] Ibid., 33.
[48] Ibid., 32.
[49] Woodworth, "Wow, Bilbao!," 104, 114.
[50] Woodworth, "Wow, Bilbao!," 114; Rauen, "Reflections," 289.
[51] "Tulips," Guggenheim Bilbao.
[52] Bilbao, "Tulips"; Perl, "The Cult of Jeff Koons," 14.
[53] "Third Floor," Guggenheim Bilbao.
[54] Caldwell, "Emergence," 33; Perl, "The Cult of Jeff Koons," 14.
[55] "Strategic Plan," Guggenheim Bilbao.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Lorente, "Reviewing the 'Bilbao Effect' Inside and Beyond the Guggenheim," 366.
[58] Woodworth, "Wow, Bilbao!," 123.
[59] Coego, "'We Were Ahead of Our Time.'"
[60] Woodworth, "Wow Bilbao!," 109.
[61] Ibid., 129.
[62] Ibid., 109.
[63] Rauen, "Reflections," 288.
[64] Bilbao, "Puppy."
[65] "Opening of the New Edition of the Basque Artist Program of the Guggenheim Museums in Bilbao and New York," Guggenheim Bilbao.

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