

EDVARD MUNCH – THE SCREAM

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Abstract

This article aims to present and discuss issues related to Edvard Munch's work The Scream. Which are the first drawings we recognise and when were they made? Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair (1892) was the most specific and unique precursor for the motif. What do we know about the painting and the circumstances under which it was made? The four versions of The Scream executed on cardboard will be presented, as there is a certain confusion about how many there are. Several issues regarding the dating of Munchmuseet's painted version will be dealt with: What are the main arguments for the current dating of 1910(?)? Is it possible to set a date without a question mark? Are there other sources that should be investigated and can other paintings in Munchmuseet's collection contribute in any way? Reviews of the first exhibition where The Scream was shown will be discussed. Finally, it is important not to forget how Munch's legacy influenced artists after WWII, and a brief presentation of a selection of works related to The Scream by some of the most prominent artists will be given.

Keywords: Edvard Munch; The Scream; Motif; Icon; Legacy

Introduction

Almost everyone has an opinion about *The Scream* when talking about the image. The ubiquitous motif has been one of art history's most famous icons for the last three–four decades. Yet few are aware of how the idea of visualising such a motif emerged and developed in Edvard Munch's art.

There are quite a few questions related to the image which deserve attention and this paper will address some of them. First, the origins and the first drawings related to the motif will be presented. The painting *Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair* (1892) was the most specific and unique forerunner, and the circumstances under which it was made will be described. Next, the different versions of *The Scream* will be addressed, since there is a certain confusion about how many there are. Several motifs are closely related to the image in Munch's oeuvre, and they will be presented here as well.

The next part concerns the dating of the painted version of *The Scream* in Munchmuseet's (MM) collection. Is it possible to determine a dating without a question mark, by addressing some of the main arguments for the current dating which are based on decades of research? Are there any other sources that should be investigated further and can other paintings in MM's collection provide useful information? The aim is to discuss possibilities of uncovering the year of creation based on a broad interdisciplinary collaboration.

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Finally, the paper briefly outlines how and when the image became an icon. It was shown in quite a few exhibitions during Munch's lifetime,¹ and after 1944 the different versions of the image have frequently been included in retrospective presentations of the artist's work. Munch's influence on artists after WWII contributed greatly to the image becoming known worldwide. A selection of works related to Munch and *The Scream* by some of the most prominent artists from the second half of the 20th century will be presented.

The motif²

There are three small drawings of a man in an open landscape in MM's collection. His back is turned towards us, he is walking along a road curving very slightly to the right and ending up in the horizon. In two of the drawings, only the figure and the road are depicted, in the third one two trees with naked branches flank the road in the background and a low mountain ridge can be seen on the horizon (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. *The Path of Death*, 1890, pen, 113 x 181 mm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.T.00252, Photo: Halvor Bjørngård, ©Munchmuseet

The road creates a deep perspective in the image. The small figure, lost in the naked landscape, is rendered with a bowed head and a bent back. A feeling of loneliness, sadness and despair permeates the drawing.

The drawing *Ljabru Chaussee. Man Leaning Against a Railing* (Fig. 2) is the earliest known sketch that may be directly related to the development of the paintings *Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair* and *The Scream*. In addition to the figure of the solitary man there is a path with a railing and a fjord scenery in the background on the right. The drawing is in a sketchbook from 1889–1892/3 which also contains sketches for several well-known motifs, such as *Kiss*, *Night in St. Cloud*, *Woman*, *Evening on Karl Johan* and *Death in the Sickroom*.

Two small ink drawings seem to be the next step (Fig. 3). They are placed side by side on one page of a sketchbook, each with a drawn frame. The left one shows the main figure looking over the railing and two men walking in the background. In the right one, the main character is alone, his face is turned towards the spectator and there's a boat on the fjord. These two images are in one of the most important of Munch's sketchbooks from this period, which contains drawings of other main works belonging to the *Frieze of Life*, a series depicting the development and dissolution of love. Here are sketches for *Moonlight*, *Melancholy*, *The Storm* and *Jealousy*, to name a few, as well as many drawings of the city and its life which Munch made during his stay in Nice 1891–92.

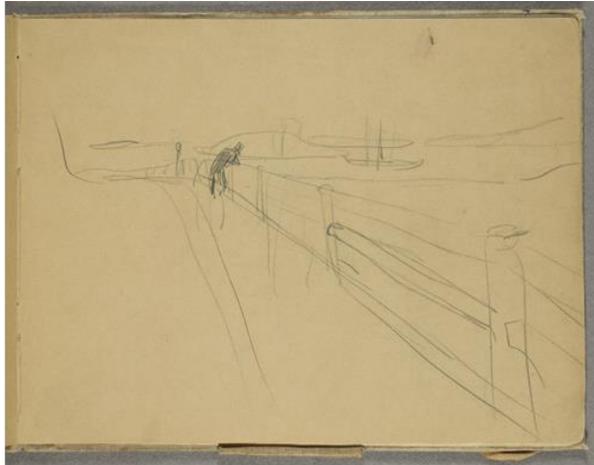


Fig. 2. *Ljabru Chaussee. Man Leaning Against a Railing*, 1891, pencil, 231 x 308 mm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.T.00126-10-verso, Photo: Sidsel de Jong, ©Munchmuseet



Fig. 3. *Two sketches for "Despair"*, 1892, ink, 170 x 270 mm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.T.00129-38, ©Munchmuseet

Munch went to Nice together with his painter friend Christian Skredsvig in November 1891. In March the following year he moved in with Skredsvig and his wife in a villa they had rented on the outskirts of the city. Skredsvig wrote about the time they spent in Nice in his book published in 1908 – about how Munch had for a long time wished to paint the memory of a sunset red as blood, and how it saddened him because he did not believe that the poor means of painting were adequate for the task [1]. Skredsvig is said to have encouraged Munch to paint the sunset.

Although the memory of the sunset originated in Kristiania (today Oslo), the most well-known drawing of *Despair* (Fig. 4) was probably executed in Nice at the same time as the two sketches. The composition is very similar to the left drawing on the sketchbook page presented above. A solitary man looks down over the railing and two figures walk away on the path. The landscape is quite similar too, even the two boats are pictured here. Above the composition, oblong red clouds are rendered. The image has a drawn frame and a text is written on the right; a memory of a walk with two friends. The sky is blood-red, a strong feeling of anxiety ensues, and an endless scream penetrates nature. The text is written in pencil, while the drawing is executed in charcoal and the red clouds are painted in oil. Munch wrote several versions of this text.

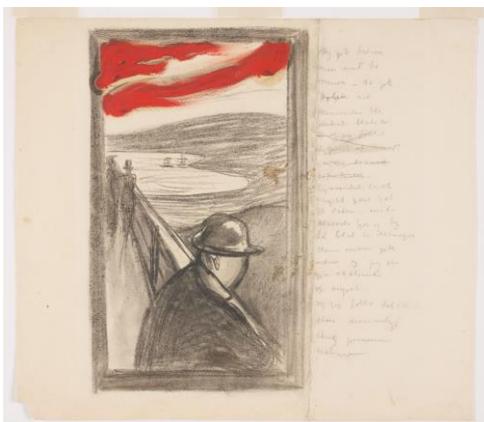


Fig. 4. *Despair*, 1892, oil and charcoal, 370x403mm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.T.02367,
Photo: Sidsel de Jong, ©Munchmuseet

The drawing seems to have soon been followed by the painting *Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair* (Fig. 5), today in the collection of Thielska Galleriet in Stockholm. The composition is the same as in the drawings, the format is less oblong. It is painted in few colours. Blue tones dominate the lower part of the picture. A narrow area of pale-yellow divides the blue tones from the intense, red sky above. The image is painted with energetic, nervous brushstrokes in an impressionistic manner. The man's back is bent, his face has no features. He is wearing a hat – a detail which is present in all the drawings mentioned so far, except for one of the very first ones where the head is bent so far forwards that it is impossible to tell whether he has a hat on.

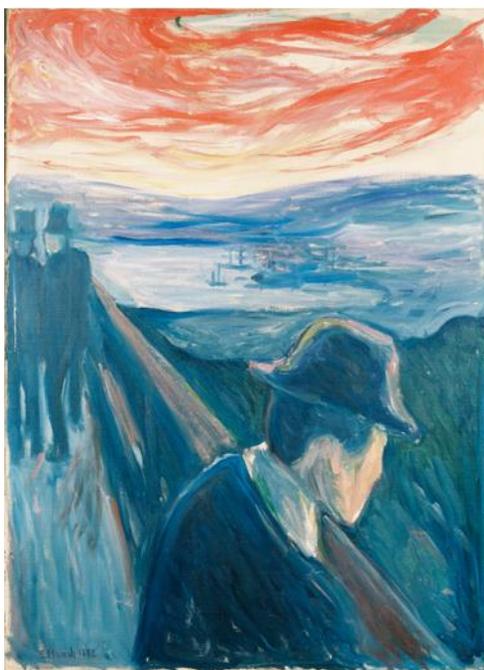


Fig. 5. *Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair*, 1892, oil on canvas, 92x67cm,
signed lower left "E. Munch 1892", Thielska Galleriet Stockholm,
Photo: Tord Lund, ©Thielska Galleriet

Munch wrote in an undated note from 1927–33, that the first versions of *The Scream*, *Kiss* and *Melancholy* were painted in Nice in 1891.³ By the first version of *The Scream*, he meant this painting, *Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair*, and apparently, he did not recall that he had signed and dated it “E. Munch 1892”. When he exhibited the painting for the first time at Tostrupgården in Kristiania in the autumn of 1892, it was entitled *Sick Mood at Sunset*. Munch arranged this exhibition of his works to show the results of his study trips to France. He had visited Nice for two years in a row for funds from the Norwegian state and was criticised in the press by the author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832–1910), who accused Munch of using the scholarship money as a kind of sick-pay for recreation in Nice, instead of studying in Paris.⁴

There are several theories about how and why the motif developed further. The large stylistic gap between *Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair* and *The Scream*, painted just over a year later, is astonishing. The motif has changed in both content and form: from a rendering in an impressionistic manner to a bold, “wild”, colourful image formed by expressive lines, with a new main figure. It is this figure which makes the biggest difference in the composition – it is no longer a man, but a bizarre creature, facing the spectator. The body is a wavy shape holding its bald head in both hands. The eye sockets are shown as circles; the mouth is depicted as an open oval, screaming. In one of the first characterisations, the figure is described as “a caricature figure in which nothing human is to be found”.⁵ There are recent theories about this transformation. Some researchers have addressed the suicide of Munch’s close friend, the actor and painter Kalle Løchen (1865–93) in the forest of the Ekeberg hill in November 1893 as a possible trigger [2, 3]. This theory is quite appealing, considering the huge difference in style between *Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair* and *The Scream*. The feeling of anxiety seems to have been transformed further in an image aiming to express an incomprehensible, extreme despair. The scull-like head in *The Scream* is a clear association to death.

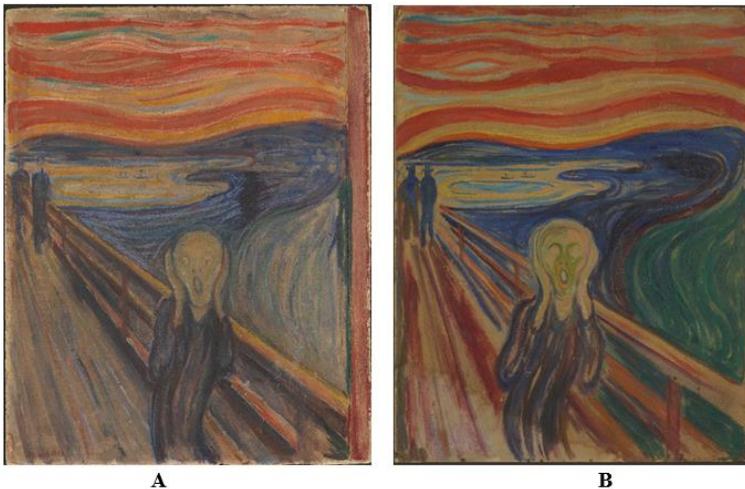


Fig. 6. **A)** *The Scream*, 1893, tempera and crayon on cardboard, 91x73.5cm, signed lower left “E Munch 1893”, Nasjonalmuseet Oslo, Photo: Børre Høstland, ©Nasjonalmuseet; **B)** *The Scream*, 1910(?), tempera and oil on cardboard, 83.5x66cm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.M.00514, ©Munchmuseet.

There are two painted versions of *The Scream*. One of them belongs to Nasjonalmuseet (NM) in Oslo (Fig. 6A), the other is in the collection of Munchmuseet (MM) (Fig. 6B). Both are executed on cardboard in roughly the same format. The composition is quite similar, while the execution, the use of colours and some details are different, including the head of the main figure. In MM’s version, the facial features are modelled with green brushstrokes, the eye sockets are empty, the mouth is painted in the same mauve color as the body. In NM’s version

the face is a flat, light ochre coloured, skull-like shape, with the features carefully outlined in white crayon. The mouth is drawn in dark crayon, as are the nostrils and the iris. The background figures in the two paintings are different, wearing long coats in NM's version and short ones in MM's. On the right in NM's is a vertical, red-painted area, and on the back of the painting there is a draft of the motif (Fig. 7).⁶

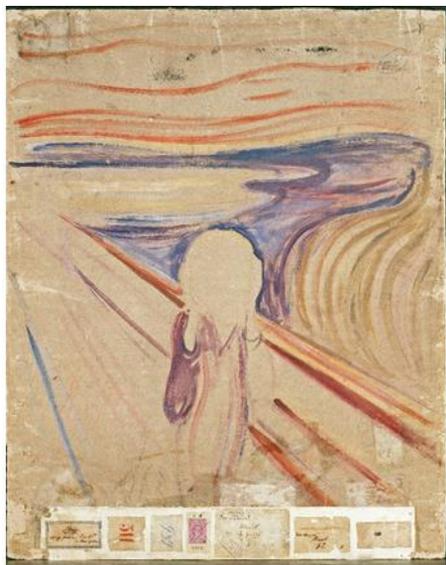


Fig. 7. Draft for *The Scream* on the back of NM's painting.
Photo: Jacques Lathion, ©Nasjonalmuseet

In addition to the two paintings, there are two large drawings of *The Scream*, both executed on cardboard of roughly the same size. One is in MM's collection, the other in a private collection (PC). MM's version is executed in crayons (Fig. 8A). One of the two background men seems to have stopped walking. He faces the landscape to the right. There are no boats on the fjord. The skull-like head of the main figure has a less triangular shape than in other versions and it is bent slightly to the left. The eye sockets have been omitted, and the eyes are marked by two small, irregular dots. The nostrils are indicated by two smaller dots, while the wide-open mouth is drawn distinctly. The path has a slightly different angle than in the PC version, and the colors are restricted to blue and some red and yellow. The PC version is executed in pastels (Fig. 8B).⁷ The face of the figure is simplified in a slightly different manner – the eyes are small, irregular ovals with an iris, the nostrils are two dots executed in different colors: one is blue, the other brown. One of the background men leans on the railing, reminiscent of the figure in *Ljabru Chaussee. Man Leaning Against a Railing* (Fig. 2). There is one boat on the fjord, and a sketch of a church-like building on the hillside to the right. The palette consists mainly of blue, red, yellow and green, and the image is far more colorful than MM's. On the back of the picture there is a version of Munch's text related to the image, written in Norwegian and German by Arthur von Franquet (1854–1931), the first owner.⁸ The Norwegian text is also handwritten on a sign attached to the original frame.

In 1895 Munch also made a lithograph of the motif (Fig. 9A and B). This is a highly stylized, caricatured version that contains the same elements as the painted and drawn ones. The title *Geschrei* is written under the image on some impressions, others have the text *Ich fühlte das grosse Geschrei durch die Natur* in addition to the title [4]. Some of the impressions are hand-coloured in watercolour. The building structure with a church tower is more

pronounced in the lithograph than in the PC work. Traces of this detail can also be found in NM's *The Scream*.



Fig. 8. A) *The Scream*, 1893, crayon on cardboard, 74x56cm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.M.00122b, Photo: Ove Kvikvik, ©Munchmuseet; **B)** *The Scream*, 1895, pastel on cardboard, 79x59cm, signed lower left "E. Munch 1895", Private collection, ©Munchmuseet

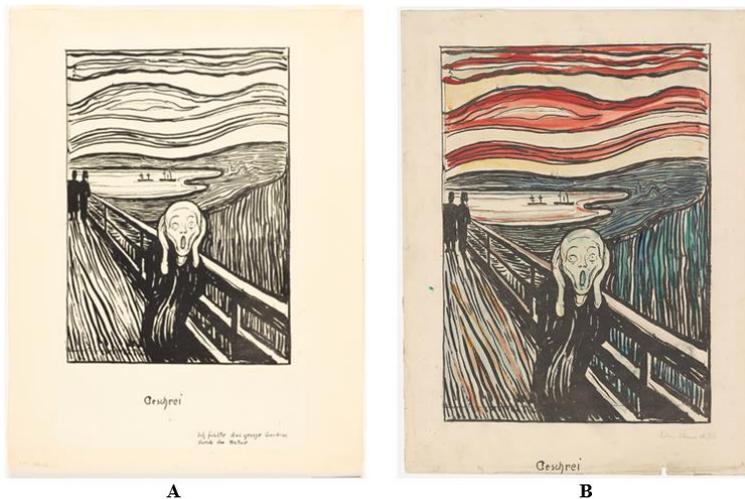


Fig. 9. A) *The Scream*, lithograph, 1895, motif/paper 352x251/512x398mm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.G.00193-02, Photo: Halvor Bjørngård, ©Munchmuseet; **B)** *The Scream*, lithograph, 1895, motif/paper 354x250/432x325mm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.G.00193-03, Photo: Svein Andersen, ©Munchmuseet

There are several motifs related to *The Scream*. The painting *Angst* (1894) is one of them (Fig. 10A), also executed as a large drawing, a lithograph and a woodcut. Another painting is *Evening on Karl Johan* (1893) in KODE Bergen, Rasmus Meyer's Collections. And there is also a version of *Despair* (1894) in MM's collection (Fig. 10B), painted in similar colours and executed in a similar style as MM's *The Scream*.



Fig. 10. A) *Angst*, 1894, oil on canvas, 93.5 x 73 cm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.M.00515, Photo: Ove Kvavik, ©Munchmuseet; B) *Despair*, 1894, oil on canvas, 93 x 73 cm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.M.00513, Photo: Ove Kvavik, ©Munchmuseet

Munch later used *The Scream*, *Angst* and *Despair* in new contexts. A photograph from 1925 shows the three paintings over the entrance door to his southern summer studio at Ekely, with decoration drafts flanking the left and right sides of the door (Fig. 11A) Later on, the three paintings framed one side of the door in his winter studio at Ekely, displayed together with collages made of what may look like coloured cellophane (Fig. 11B).



Fig. 11. A) *Angst*, *The Scream*, *Despair* and decoration drafts in Munch's southern summer studio at Ekely. Two of the decoration drafts still exist (MM.M.01081, 1925, oil on paper, 99x36.5cm and MM.T.00302, 1925, gouache, 95x60cm); Photo: A.B. Wilse, "B"19775 ©Norsk Folkemuseum 1925; B) "The Gates of Hell" in Munch's winter studio at Ekely, Photo: R Væring, MM.D.02386 ©Munchmuseet, 1938(?)

The dating

When MM's painted *The Scream* was presented in a Munch exhibition at Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Vienna in 1959, it was dated 1893 [5]. The catalogue states that the exhibited version is the first one, while NM's *The Scream* is a replica. The exhibition was prepared by a working committee consisting of directors and curators of important European museums, including the director of the National Gallery in Oslo (today NM), Sigurd Willoch (1903–91), and the director of MM, Johan Langaard (1899–1988). This order of origin of the two painted versions of *The Scream*, established by researchers after WWII, was forgotten during the 1970s. However, it must have been the starting point for the traditional 1893 dating of MM's painting.

The dating 1893 was provided in publications and exhibitions, with or without a question mark, until 2008, and there was a heated debate on the dating on several occasions over many years. Different years of creation of MM's version have been proposed, including 1906, 1915–18 as well as years between 1906 and 1918. No certain proof has been offered that excludes the possibility of both paintings having been created at the same time. It is not the purpose of this article to address the different dating theories, but some of the points in question will be presented. The dating debate was summarized in 2013 in a comprehensive publication on *The Scream* by Poul Erik Tøjner and Bjarne Riiser Gundersen [6].

The recent dating, 1910 with a question mark, comes from Gerd Woll's catalogue raisonné published in English in 2009, *Edvard Munch. Complete Paintings* (CR) [7]. There, one of the main arguments is that Olaf Schou purchased NM's version of *The Scream* in 1910 and immediately donated it to the National Gallery in Oslo, which had long wished to acquire the painting.⁹ The assumption is that Munch could have painted a new version on this occasion, as he sometimes did when selling his paintings. Moreover, Munch wrote in the 1918 exhibition catalogue at Blomqvist, where MM's painted version was shown, that several of the most important pictures of the *Frieze of Life* were sold individually: "some to Rasmus Meyer's collection, some to the National Gallery, including *Ashes* and *The Dance of Life*, *The Scream*, *The Sickroom* and *Madonna*; the pictures of the same motifs exhibited here are later repetitions." [8]. Unfortunately, Munch's memory is not always reliable, as we have seen concerning his dating of the painting *Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair*.

Another argument for the 1910(?) dating in Gerd Woll's CR is that MM's version has not been identified in any exhibitions prior to the one at Blomqvist in 1918 [7]. According to MM's files, *The Scream* was presented in only 28 of almost 300 exhibitions held during Munch's lifetime. NM's version has been positively identified in seven of the 28 exhibitions, the PC pastel in six of them, MM's painting in one (1918). In other words, we know for certain which versions were presented in 14 of the 28 exhibitions, but there are no definite records of which versions were shown in the 14 remaining ones. Thus, MM's painting may well have been part of exhibitions prior to 1918.

There are also stylistic points in question, for instance the suggestion that the background figures in the two paintings are from different times and contexts because of their clothing [9, 10]. They are wearing long coats in NM's version (and in others, including the lithograph), while they have short ones in MM's painting. This argument becomes debatable when looking at *Sick Mood at Sunset. Despair* (Fig. 5): The men in the background wear short coats, although the picture was executed in 1892, prior to *The Scream*.

An analysis of pigments used in the two painted versions of *The Scream* as well as in a painting by Munch from 1906 was conducted by the University of Oslo in 1974 and again in 1992 [11]. The yellow pigment used in MM's version turned out to be different from that used in NM's. The former was identified as cadmium yellow. In 1974 and 1992 little was known about the production and availability of cadmium yellow prior to the beginning of the 20th century, and no definite conclusions were drawn from this finding. It has, however, been used as an indication of a later dating of MM's version. Today scientific research methods have made it possible to analyze pigments in paintings in a non-invasive way. Cadmium yellow has recently been identified through XRF analyses in two paintings in MM's collection: *Angst* (1894) in 2017 (Fig. 10A)¹⁰ and *The Hands* (1893–94) in 2018 (Fig. 12).¹¹ This indicates that Munch used the pigment at the beginning of 1890s. There are other paintings – and pigments – which might be relevant to examine in this context.

Further issues should also be addressed. Analyses of the cardboard is one of them. MM's painted version of *The Scream* is executed on a piece of cardboard of poor quality, unsuitable for painting. According to MM's files, Munch made more than 170 paintings and drafts on cardboard. Nearly 100 of these were made in the first decade of his career, between 1880 and 1890. Cardboard was a much cheaper material than canvas for a young artist.

Moreover, to begin with, the sizes of his paintings were quite small, gradually becoming larger throughout the 1880s. Between 1890 and 1900, Munch executed more than 30 paintings on cardboard, and roughly the same number the next decade, 1900–1909. After he settled down in Kragerø in 1909, he almost completely stopped painting on cardboard and mostly used canvas.¹² According to MM's files, there are two drafts for aua motifs executed on cardboard in 1910. Seven other paintings were made on cardboard between 1917 and 1942. We know that Munch sent his pictures to many exhibitions while staying at different places in Europe, yet we know very little about how they were packed and shipped at the time. Could some of the wrappings have been used to paint on from time to time, due to a lack of more suitable material? And would it be possible to find information about the methods of cardboard production in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?

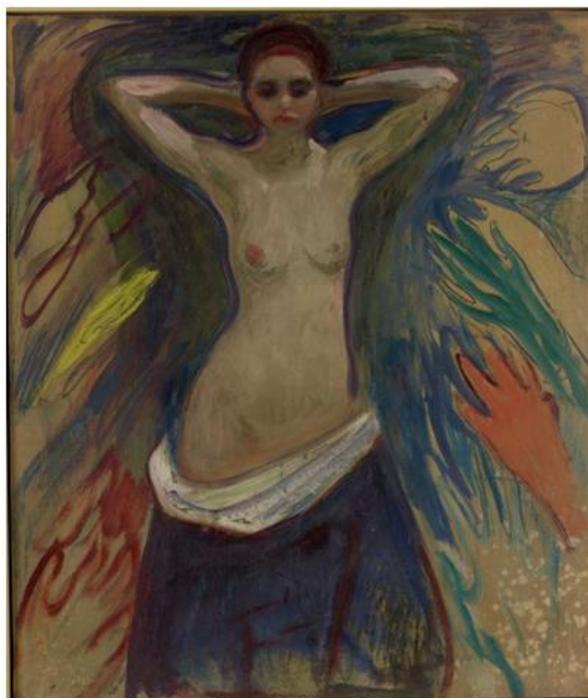


Fig. 12. *The Hands*, 1893–94, oil and crayon on cardboard, 89 x 77 cm, Munchmuseet Oslo, MM.M.00646, Photo: Ove Kvavik, ©Munchmuseet

Next, attention should be drawn to colors. In 1893, Munch rented two exhibition rooms on the second floor at 19 Unter den Linden in Berlin. Here *The Scream* was exhibited for the first time. In the catalogue, six of the 25 paintings were listed under the heading "Die Liebe". *The Scream* was one of them, entitled "Verzweiflung", *Despair*. A couple of newspaper reviews mention the painting. The first one was published in *Berliner Tageblatt*:

... das letzte Bild aber: "Verzweiflung" hat eine Karrikaturfigur, an der nicht Menschliches mehr zu entdecken ist; der Hintergrund, ein weißes Gemisch von grellsten rothen, grünen und gelben Pinselstrichen: was das bedeutet, das weiß der Himmel, wenn er das nicht selbst sein sollte! ...¹³ (... but the last picture: "Despair" has a caricature figure in which nothing human is to be found; the background, a white mixture of the brightest red, green, and yellow brushstrokes: What that means, if it isn't himself – heaven knows! ...).

The second review was published in the Norwegian *Morgenbladet*:

... Den rene karrikatur er det sidste billede "Fortvivlelse". Baggrunden er en forunderlig æggegul, højrød og grøn Himmel, og Figuren, en liden Mandsling med langt Haar

og krampagtig aaben Mund, er det umulig at blive klog paa. ...¹⁴ (... The last picture “Despair” is a pure caricature. The background is a strange egg yellow, bright red and green sky, and the figure, a small man with long hair and convulsively open mouth, impossible to understand. ...).

Both these reviews mention three colors: red, green and yellow. There is a large area of green in the background to the right, under the red and yellow sky, in MM’s version of *The Scream* (Fig. 6B). In NM’s version, there is very little green color to be seen. Only a few green lines are drawn in crayon on the right, and some green brushstrokes run along part of the painted red vertical area (Fig. 6A). One wonders which of the two versions is described above – is it really NM’s version? It is difficult to believe that its colors could have been described as red, green and yellow. The color descriptions in these reviews undoubtedly suit MM’s version better.

In Stanislaw Przybyszewski’s article “Psychischer Naturalismus”, written a few months later, in 1894, the colours of *The Scream* are described too [12]:

... Endlich das letzte bild: “Die Verzweiflung”. Auf einer Brücke, oder so etwas Aenlichem, est ist ja auch vollständig gleichgiltig, was er darstellt – steht ein Fabeltier mit weit aufgesperremten Rachen. ... Jeder Schmerz ein blutroter Fleck; jedes langgedehnte Schmerzgeheul ein Gurt blauer, grüner, gelber Flecke; unausgeglichen, brutal neben einander, wie etwa die kochenden Elemente werdender Welten in wilden Gestaltungsbrünsten... (... Finally the last picture: “Despair”. On a bridge, or something similar, it doesn’t really matter what it represents – stands a mythical animal with its mouth wide open. ... Each pain a blood red stain; each long-awaited scream of pain a belt of blue, green, yellow stains; unbalanced, brutal next to each other, like the boiling elements of developing worlds in wild creative fervors. ...).

Przybyszewski mentions not only red, yellow and green, but also the blue colour, which is present in both paintings.

An interesting curiosity, which has been in the spotlight recently, is the inscription on NM’s version of the painting: “Kan kun være malet af en gal mand” (Can only have been painted by a madman). It was mentioned for the first time in reviews of Den Frie Udstilling (The free exhibition), organized in Copenhagen in 1904. One of them discusses the inscription:

... Paa et af Billederne, det kendte Maleri “Skrig”, kan man se nogle smaa Ord, skrevne midt i Lærredet, de hidrører fra en Tilskuer som med Blyant har givet sin Mening Luft i følgende Ord: «Dette kan kun være malet af en gal Mand» – Da Munch blev gjort opmærksom derpaa, svarede han, at det skulde blive staaende, thi saa gav maleriet baade et Billede af ham selv og af Publikum. ...¹⁵ (... In one of the pictures, the well-known painting “Scream”, one can see a few small words, written in the middle of the canvas, they originate from a spectator, who in pencil has aired his opinion in the following words: “This can only have been painted by a madman” – When Munch was made aware of this, he replied that the words should remain, as the painting gave a picture of both himself and the audience. ...).

The inscription and Munch’s comment is also referred to in the newspaper *Aftenposten*, in an article published on the occasion of Munch’s 75th anniversary on 12th December 1938.¹⁶ His reply may indicate that the inscription was written by a spectator, and not by himself, as suggested recently. The origins of the inscription have previously been discussed in Munch literature by researchers [13].

The Echo of The Scream

Munch’s unique art, based on his own experiences, anticipated and inspired the existential direction in art that with increasing strength took effect from the beginning of the 20th century. In both works and words, many international artists have acknowledged the significance that Munch’s art has had for them. In 2001, Arken Museum of Modern Art in Denmark organised *The Echo of The Scream*. The exhibition picked up threads from Edvard Munch’s work and followed them to art from the second half of the 20th century.

Works by Asger Jorn (Fig. 13¹⁷), Per Kirkeby, Yannis Kounellis (Fig. 14¹⁸), Francis Bacon (Fig. 15¹⁹), Marina Abramovic (Fig. 16²⁰), Georg Baselitz, Joseph Beuys, Günter Förg, Gilbert & George (Fig. 17²¹), Jasper Johns, Svend Wiig Hansen, Ana Mendieta, Antonio Saura, Erró (Fig. 18²²), Sverre Wyller, and Andy Warhol (Fig. 22ABC²³) as well as a selection of Edvard Munch's paintings, prints and drawings were displayed.



Fig. 13. Asger Jorn
Personage, 1956
Oil and gouache on canvas
70 x 50cm, Private collection



Fig. 14. Yannis Kounellis
Untitled, 1980
Ink, 268 x 150cm
Galerie Lelong & Co.



Fig. 15. Francis Bacon
Study for a Portrait, 1953
Oil on canvas, 152.5 x 188cm
Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg



Fig. 16. Marina Abramovic,
Carrying the Skeleton, 2008,
Chromogenic print, 203.2 x
180.3cm, Private collection.



Fig. 17. Gilbert & George *Cry*,
1984, Silver print, 181 x 151cm,
Courtesy of the artists



Fig. 18. Erró, *The Second Scream*, 1967, oil
on canvas, 73.6 x 92.1cm. Private
Collection

Later in the year the exhibition was shown at Munchmuseet, where in addition a selection of works by Norwegian artists was presented: Per Barclay, Terje Bergstad, Per Inge Bjørlo (Fig. 19²⁴), Jørgen Dobloug (Fig. 20²⁵), Bjarne Melgaard, Kjell Nupen and Bjørn Ransve (Fig. 21²⁶).

The Echo of The Scream was an important exhibition in many ways, although it was not the first one of its kind [14]. By this time *The Scream* had already reached its fame as one of the biggest icons of modern art. But how did this happen? As mentioned earlier, the two paintings and the PC pastel were shown in 28 out of 296 exhibitions in Munch's lifetime, which were examined during the preparation for the catalogue raisonné of Munch's paintings [7]. The fame of this particular image grew after Munch's death. Since the end of WWII, it has been presented in many exhibitions all over the world, and artists inspired by Munch and *The Scream*

contributed greatly to its growing fame. In addition to the modern vision of man's anxious, tormented soul, the apocalyptic atmosphere associated with our littered planet and accelerating climatic changes finds resonance in the image in our time [15].



Fig. 19. Per Inge Bjørlo, *Heads from Balance*, 1999, pencil, 177 x 201mm. Nasjonalmuseet Oslo



Fig. 20. Jørgen Dobloug, *Pieta*, 1994
Acrylic on canvas, 100 x 90cm
Private collection



Fig. 21. Bjørn Ransve, *Demon II*, 1971
Oil on canvas, 200 x 105cm
Nasjonalmuseet Oslo

Andy Warhol was one of the artists inspired by Munch's art. The art historian Per Hovdenakk – who was co-curator of the selection of Norwegian artists for the Oslo venue of *The Echo of The Scream* – visited Warhol in 1963 and invited him to Norway. Warhol came ten years later and used several of Munch's graphic works in his own art: *The Scream, Madonna, Self-portrait (with Skeleton's Arm)* and *The Brooch*. Eva Mudocci. Having set up a veritable factory to produce artworks in silkscreen reproduction technique, Warhol came as close as possible to mechanical production, legitimising mass production as a creative process. According to Artprice.com, Pablo Picasso, Salvador Dali and Andy Warhol are the three best-selling or most "popular" artists on the art market today, and Warhol's *Scream (After Munch)* from 1984 (Fig. 22ABC), produced in multiple versions and colour combinations, undoubtedly accelerated the image's growing popularity.

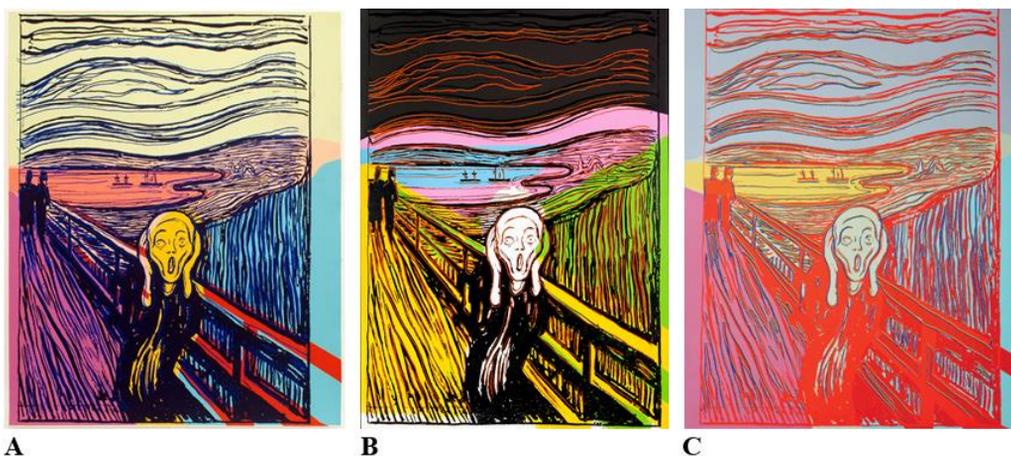


Fig. 22 A) Andy Warhol *The Scream (After Munch)*, 1984, Unique variant silkscreen, 101.6 × 81.3cm, Private collection; B) *The Scream (After Munch)*, 1984, Screenprint, 101.5 × 81.3cm, Private collection; C) *The Scream (After Munch)*, 1984, Screenprint, 101.6 × 81.3cm, Private collection

Conclusions

Over the past three decades, the motif has been implemented into the consciousness of the public mainly through the entertainment industry and the vast production of various merchandise inspired by the motif. This contributes, regrettably and ironically, to consumption society's accelerating madness, with unfortunate consequences for our surroundings. Today, the motif of *The Scream* can be interpreted in new ways and convert to be a symbol of global despair.

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Notes

¹ Three of the four cardboard versions presented in this article were shown in 28 exhibitions during Munch's lifetime.

² The chronology of the motifs is based on MM's traditional dating, reviewed and updated in connection with the publication of the digital catalogue raisonné of Munch's drawings, 2015–2018, <https://munch.emuseum.com/no/start/images>.

³ Edvard Munch, 1927–33, MM N 122, Munchmuseet.

⁴ Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, “Vore Kunstnerstipendier Paa Afveje”, *Dagbladet*, 16.12.1891.

⁵ *Berliner Tageblatt*, 3.12.1893.

⁶ There are traces of a vertical cut line along the red area, indicating that Munch originally intended to remove the edge of the cardboard.

⁷ It has not been scientifically proven whether this version is executed in pastel or crayons, the assumption is based on information in old exhibition catalogues.

⁸ Arthur von Franquet was a German manufacturer, art collector and patron.

⁹ Today, the National Gallery is part of the National Museum, abbreviated NM in this article.

¹⁰ Conducted by scientists Irina Crina Anca Sandu and Joy Mazurek, 2017.

¹¹ Conducted by painting conservator Mie Mustad, 2018.

¹² According to MM files, 39 paintings by Munch are executed on wooden board.

¹³ *Berliner Tageblatt*, 3.12.1893. The part concerning the main figure was quoted earlier in this article (note 6).

¹⁴ “Munch og Strindberg (Berlin, Brev til ‘Morgenbladet’)”, *Morgenbladet*, 7.12.1893.

¹⁵ Unidentified Danish newspaper, September 1904.

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