

AN EDVARD MUNCH SALES INVENTORY FROM 1906. THE CONDITION OF THE PAINTINGS RELATED TO ROLF STENERSEN'S ASSERTION ABOUT THE "KILL-OR-CURE" REMEDY

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Abstract

The Munch biographer Rolf Stenersen asserted that Edvard Munch used the weather to modify his paintings' appearance - an artistic technique Stenersen called the horse-cure. Was Stenersen right, or did he create a myth which later became important for how Munch paintings are preserved and disseminated? To investigate Stenersen's assertion, and as a part of a larger study of this topic, 65 paintings that Munch intended to sell in 1906-07 were examined. The purpose was to find out if any of them had been weathered. The sources for this study were the inventory and photos that Commeter'sche Kunsthandlung in Hamburg made for the paintings it had in commission for Munch in 1906, and the correspondence between Commeter'sche and Munch. Several of the paintings were in poor condition. They had common damages, such as tears, and uncommon anomalies, such as bird droppings, ambiguous spots, premature paint losses, and tidelines. It is argued for that these damages and anomalies are due to improper and careless transport, handling, and storage, and not a result of an intended modification of the paintings appearance by weathering. The conclusion is that the paintings Munch intended to sell in 1906 - 07 had not been weathered, and that Stenersen's assertion about a horse-cure should not be emphasized.

Keywords: *Bird droppings; Commeter'sche Kunsthandlung; Eroded paint surface; Horse-cure; Orthochromatic film; Rosskur; Tidelines*

Introduction

Rolf Stenersen (1899–1978) was a Norwegian businessman, art collector, surrealist writer, and for about 20 years (1921–1942) Edvard Munch's (1863–1944) helper in practical matters. He seems to be the inventor of the term "horse-cure" for Edvard Munch's artistic technique. In 1943 Stenersen stated: "If dissatisfied with a picture, he often let it stand for week in sunshine and rain. In this way he may chance upon new color-effects. He called it the "horse-cure" [1]. A year later he wrote the fascinating, colorful, and anecdotal biography *Edvard Munch. A Close-Up of a Genius*, where he elaborated further on the so-called horse-cure. He told how Munch used weather and wind as an artistic means when painting, and, still according to Stenersen, how Munch "punished" paintings by exposing them to the weather [2].

Stenersen's assertions on Munch's horse cure, have been guidelines for the treatment of the Munch paintings at the Munchmuseet [3-5], and for how some of the Munch paintings have been communicated. For example, irregularities in the form of bird droppings, water

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stains, and tears are preserved, and premature paint losses are not inpainted, as these anomalies are seen because of Munch's intended use of weather and wind as artistic means. However, it is worth noting that in Munch's lifetime, it seems that only Stenersen used the term "horse-cure" (the common term nowadays is "kill-or-cure remedy", here shortened KCR). None of the journalists who interviewed Munch, nor the well-informed art historians and friends who wrote about him, used the term, or mentioned that Munch used the weather as an intentional, artistic technique.

Several photos from 1910 to around 1930 documents how Munch both worked with, and stored, paintings – especially big ones – in his outdoor studios (Fig. 1). And indeed, sometimes the storage turned the paintings into ruins, as *Study of a Nude* (1896) (Fig. 10). However, how can we know that this in fact was due to an intended, artistic process, as Stenersen claimed, and not to other causes? The answer is of importance when it comes to the questions of how Munch paintings are to be restored and communicated.



Fig. 1. One of Munch's outdoor studios at Ekely, Norway. Væring B1415 ©Munchmuseet. After 1925–30.

Munch was probably unaware of Stenersen's publications about KCR. The 1943 paper was published in England, and the biography was first published after his death. It is also doubtful that Munch had read the script for the biography [6]. In 1943-44 Stenersen was a refugee in Sweden, whilst Munch was busy tidying up his art to protect it from the war. In fact, it was not until after Stenersen's Munch biography was published in 1945 [7] that the KCR became an established notion among Munch connoisseurs [8].

The lack of unambiguous written sources from Munch's time, that can verify or invalidate Stenersen's assertion of KCR, and Munch's silence on this subject, led me to the investigation of Munch's practice. Did he exhibit or sell weathered paintings? My past examinations of 997 paintings from his estate [8], now at the Munchmuseet, and later archival studies of these paintings [8-12] indicates that Munch avoided to exhibiting paintings that had

bird droppings, tidelines and other markings that could indicate they had been exposed to the weather. The main reasons for the paintings' poor condition were more likely practical circumstances, unsuitable storage conditions, both in Munch's outdoor studios and in his glistening and draughty wooden studios at his – since 1916 – home Ekely, and Munch's negligence [12].

The study of the estate paintings does not give information about the paintings Munch intended to sell or sold. In this paper, historic photos of paintings Munch intended to sell in 1906-07 through his gallery owner, Commeter 'sche Kunsthandlung in Hamburg (hereafter referred to as Commeter), were used to investigate Munch's practice at that time. The aim was twofold; first to find out if any of these paintings had been exposed to weather and wind; next, to evaluate the result against Stenersen's assertion about the so-called horse cure.

The result may also provide new information about how Munch emphasized the condition of his paintings in the period around 1906 – 07, when he was struggling with poor finances, poor health, and high alcohol consumption. Could such circumstances have resulted in a neglect of his paintings?

Commeter restored, framed, and sold art, and arranged exhibitions in its own premises and elsewhere. Munch, who lived for years in Germany, had, despite his very extensive exhibition activities, been without any gallery owners for his paintings. When he in March 1905 chose to enter into an agreement with Commeter in March 1905, it may have been because he then would receive a fixed annual remuneration, which he really needed. That the collaboration became very difficult for both parties is another matter. Commeter and Munch constantly discussed their own rights, prices for the paintings, and which of them should cover different costs. It was probably a relief for both when the contract was terminated in 1907 [13].

Only occasionally references to the Commeter photographs as a source for researchers were found. For instance, photographs of *Eye in Eye*, *The Women on the Bridge* and *Consul Christen Sandberg*¹ [14], were used to discuss reworks of these paintings, photographs of *Hermann Schlittgen*² [9] and *The Smell of Death*³ [10], were used to debate the paintings' condition, and a photo of *Scream*⁴ were used to date spots on the picture [15].

However, no references to a more systematic study of the Commeter photographs were found.

Sources and Method

In 1906, Commeter made an inventory of the paintings by Munch that it had for sale. The inventory listed 158 paintings from the period 1891–1905. Most of the paintings were photographed by Atelier Schaul. The photographs, produced in sepia, were sent Munch. The Munchmuseet has 13 of these photocopies, showing 93 of the paintings in the inventory. The photographs are digitized and are accessible on the Munchmuseet. The remaining photos of around 45 paintings, and all the negatives, seem to be lost [16].⁵

When photographed, the paintings hang close together on a wall, or were placed on the floor, next to the wall. Some are framed, others not (Fig. 2). In each of the photos there are from four to 19 paintings.

These photos and the inventory are the main sources for this study, as well as the correspondence between Commeter and Munch. The photographs were examined to find out if the paintings had damages like tears, holes, and scratches, and anomalies like bird droppings, extensive premature paint loss and tidelines. The quality of the photographs varies. Some of those reproduced in this paper are therefore manipulated to enhance contrast and saturation. Except for one, the Atelier Schaul photographs are rendered in sepia, as the originals.

The Commeter photographs were compared with other historic and modern photos when available, and with my own visual examination of the paintings. In addition, information about the condition of the paintings was searched for in the correspondence between Commeter and Munch (<http://www.emunch.no>) and in conservation documents in the owners' archives.



Fig. 2. One of the photographs of Munch paintings, taken at Commeter'sche Kunsthandlung in Hamburg. In upper right corner is *The Scream*, with some spots. In lower right corner is *Madonna*, with unpleasant corner draws. Photo: Atelier Schaul, 1906, B1816G ©Munchmuseet.

Determining whether a spot on a painting is bird droppings is usually unproblematic; a visual observation, as undertaken by several painting conservators at *Head by Head*, is sufficient. Other times a visual assessment gives an uncertain result, as with *Harbor in Travemünde*. Only extremely rarely are advanced analysis involved. An example of the latter might be the discussion about the spots on *The Scream* (1893), belonging to the Norwegian Nasjonalmuseet.⁶

The Commeter photo (Fig. 2) shows some spots on the painting. They are still there. Recent discussions and analysis have questioned the origin of the spots. In 2010, some samples from the spots were analyzed. "To the right of the main figure are splashes and drops of tallow, and on its right upper arm and close to the lower frame there are white spots, now identified as bird droppings" [15].

In 2016, the University of Antwerp submitted the spot on the figure's right upper arm to an X-ray fluorescence scanner (MA-XRF). The examination ruled out that the spot was a bird dropping. An X-ray diffraction of a sample of the same spot substantiated this conclusion; the spot contained wax crystals.⁷ Given these 2016-analysis, the conclusion is that none of the spots on *Scream* are bird droppings. Rather, they are splatters from a candle.

The study of the Commeter inventory is limited to the paintings I have examined *in situ*: 44 paintings from Munch's estate and 21 paintings from museums in Norway, Sweden, and Germany. With one exception. Due to Commeter's remarks on the condition of *Beach*

(1898) (Fig. 6), the painting was included in this study. It has been evaluated by a paper conservator who has studied the painting.⁸ The paintings are from 1894 to 1905.

Orthochromatic films

Photographic films differ in color sensitivity. This influences the rendering of the colors, also on black and white photos. To avoid misinterpretation of the Commeter photos, it must be considered that the photographer used orthochromatic films. Orthochromatic film was invented in 1873. It was based on silver halide crystals bound to glass plates with gelatin. The film is sensitive to the colors in the day light spectrum 300 to 600nm, i.e., less than the eye's spectral sensitivity, which is 400 to 700nm. The orthographic film is especially sensitive to green and blue. It is less sensitive to yellow, and insensitive to red. Consequently, the colors are rendered differently from how we see them in daylight. On an orthochromatic film, blues are consequently rendered very light, as if the film was over exposed, whereas yellows are rendered darker (Fig. 3), and the reds are rendered nearly as black (Fig. 4 left). However, when the film is used for photographing paintings, the rendering will vary, depending on the light source, and the pigments involved, as seen when comparing the different colors on the orthochromatic photo with the panchromatic ones. (Fig. 4 left vs 4 middle and right).



Fig. 3. *Bathing Young Men* (1904).⁹ On the orthochromatic photo (left) the blues are nearly invisible, and the yellows are seen darker than on the panchromatic color photo (right). A tiny line is visible in lower left corner on the 1906 photo (red rectangle), it might be a tideline. Photo: left: Atelier Schaul, Hamburg, 1906, B1816J ©Munchmuseet, right: S. Andersen/S. de Jong ©Munchmuseet

Panchromatic films overcome this limitation. They are sensitive to the same spectral sensitivity as the eye – 400 to 700nm – and render the colors more as the eye sees them in daylight (Fig. 4 middle vs 4 right). Panchromatic films were available commercially from 1906, and eventually replaced the orthochromatic films [17].

Defects on the photographs vs defects on the paintings

Some of the photos have diverse defects, such as stains and scratches on the negative, or on the positive image (Figs. 4 and 5).

To decide whether such defects are on the photographs or on the painting can be a challenge. In some cases, comparisons with other photographs of the same painting may be helpful (Fig. 4 left vs 4 middle, right). Other times, an assessment by a professional photographer or a conservator who has examined the object can be useful (Fig. 6 left). However, it is not always possible to decide where the defect is located.

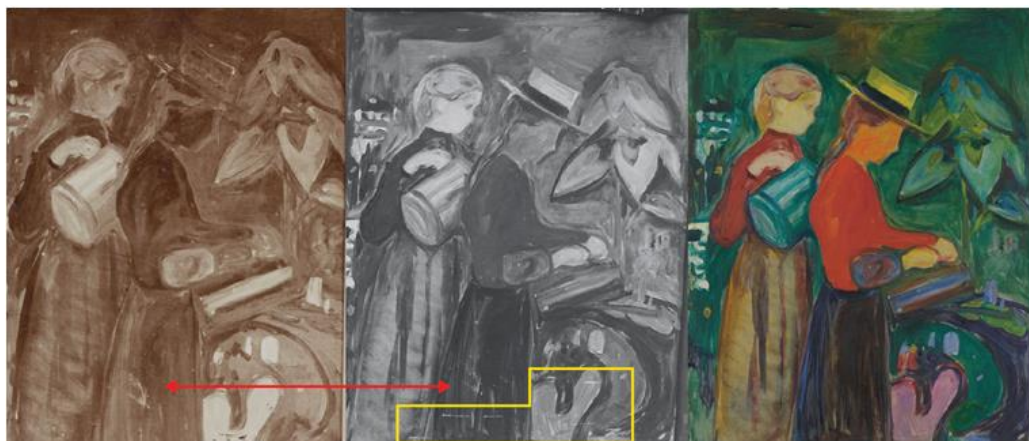


Fig. 4. *Girls Watering Flowers (The Linde Frieze)* (1904).¹⁰ Left: The scratches (red arrow) on the orthochromatic photo are detectable on a later panchromatic photo (middle) and are consequently on the painting, not on the photo. The light spots (red rectangle) on the skirt on the panchromatic photo (middle) are bird droppings from a later period.¹¹ In 1980, the bird droppings were removed, and the scratches retouched (right). Photo: left: Atelier Schaul, 1906, B1816C ©Munchmuseet, middle: R. Væring, V533 ©Munchmuseet, after 1930, right: O. Kvavik ©Munchmuseet, 2019.

Findings

Damages due to transport and careless handling

Ninety-one of the paintings in the Commeter inventory had been exhibited in Prague. Afterwards they were sent to Commeter. Commeter informed Munch about the condition of the paintings: "... Furthermore, I must inform you that several paintings are damaged, due to miserable packaging or poor handling in Prague. Some works have nail holes..."¹² "... Some pictures must be re-stretched, repaired, and mounted on stretches. For example, the painting *The Day After* has a hole"¹³ (Fig. 5).

It was just as bad with the frames: "... Most of the pictures must be reframed. Because of their condition, it is impossible to exhibit them"¹⁴.

Several paintings were unframed. Reluctantly Munch accepted that some of the paintings got new frames. He specified he would decide for himself what kind of frames that should be used, and he worried about the cost.¹⁵ It seems he chose a simple, white painted molding.

Additional condition assessments by Commeter

Commeter marked five of the paintings in the inventory as "lädiert" or "stark lädiert" [16].¹⁶ The term is not a professional conservation term in German. In everyday speech it can mean "damaged", "in need for repair", or "having scratches".¹⁷

Starry Night (1893) was "stark lädiert".¹⁸ The 1906 photo shows it had some scratches. *Eye in Eye* (1899 – 1900) was "lädiert". It seems it had two tears, probably due to stacking or poor packaging. The painting had been exhibited in Prague, the damages might be a result of the transport.¹⁹ Any damages on *The Rainbow* (1898), are difficult to identify on the photo, it was classified as "stark lädiert".²⁰ Also, *Beach* (1898), (Fig. 6), was "stark lädiert", according to Commeter. Again, it is difficult to understand what the damage was. At the 1906 photo, there is a spot, which might be taken for a tideline on the painting. According to the paper conservator who examined the painting, painted on cardboard, it is unlikely that a tideline on such a painting can have been removed without leaving any traces. Further there are spots and stearin

on the painting, indicating a rough handling.²¹ Scratches seen on the painting today (Fig. 6) are of later date.



Fig. 5. *The Day After* (1894).²² In 1906, the painting had three holes (red rectangles), not one as Commeter stated. A spot (paint?) on the painting is marked with a yellow rectangle. A scratch marked with a yellow arrow is on the 1906 photocopy. Photo: Atelier Schaul, 1906, B1816d ©Munchmuseet



Fig. 6. *Beach* (1898).²³ Left: A spot, marked in blue, might be interpreted as a tideline. The spot is on the photo. Right: Scratches, marked in yellow, is of later date. Photo: left: Atelier Schaul, 1906, B1816c ©Munchmuseet, right: T. Tveit ©Stavanger Kunstmuseum

When studying the photos of these paintings (the photo of the fifth painting is probably lost), it is difficult to understand why Commeter pointed especially to these paintings. The condition of these paintings does not seem to differ from several of the other paintings in the inventory, for instance *The Day After* (Fig. 5), which had three holes.

Two paintings restored by Commeter

Commeter restored *The Day After* (1894) and *Ashes* (1895).²⁴ The restoration might be due to an upcoming exhibition in Bielefeld. Due to the damages identified at the 1906 photos, they were probably patched, puttied and inpainted.

The restoration of *The Day After* was not successful. The painting was re-restored at the Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo, three years later. It was probably cleaned, re-painted and varnished. The restoration might have been initiated by Munch.²⁵

Paintings with anomalies that might indicate that they had been weathered or stored in unfavorable climate and/or environment

Paintings stored under unfavorable climate or environment – that is outside, or in leaky warehouses – might result in premature paint losses, tidelines, organic deposits such as bird droppings, or eroded paint surfaces. Five of the paintings in the Commeter inventory had or might have had such anomalies. There may be more, but it does not appear from the photographs.

One painting with bird droppings

The only painting identified with bird droppings in 1906 is *Head by Head* (1905) (Fig. 7). The painting was never exhibited, nor sold by Munch; it belonged to his estate. The painting is slightly eroded.

Paintings with ambiguous spots

Three paintings were identified with ambiguous spots:

1) *From Travemünde* (1903) has some tiny, light spots.²⁶ According to a 2014 report by the owner's paintings conservator, some of these spots are bird droppings, situated on top of a varnish applied whilst the painting was framed, but before it had started to flake. Due to what we know about Munch's use of varnish [18], it is unlikely that he varnished the painting in 1904, when the painting was new, or before he gave it to Lübeck in 1932. Consequently, if the varnish is not applied by Munch, the spots are not original. The spots are still on the painting. When I studied the painting in 2017, I did not recognize these spots as bird droppings.

2) When comparing the 1906 photo of *Woman* (1894), with photos from 1904 and more recent ones, it appears that only three of the spots on the 1906 photo were on the painting in 1906 and that the remaining spots are on the photo. These three spots can be dated to 1904 or earlier. A 1964 report by the owner's paintings conservator questioned the nature of these spots, could they be bird droppings? Painting conservator Inger Grimstad, Munchmuseet, photographed the spots in microscope in 2022 (Fig. 8).

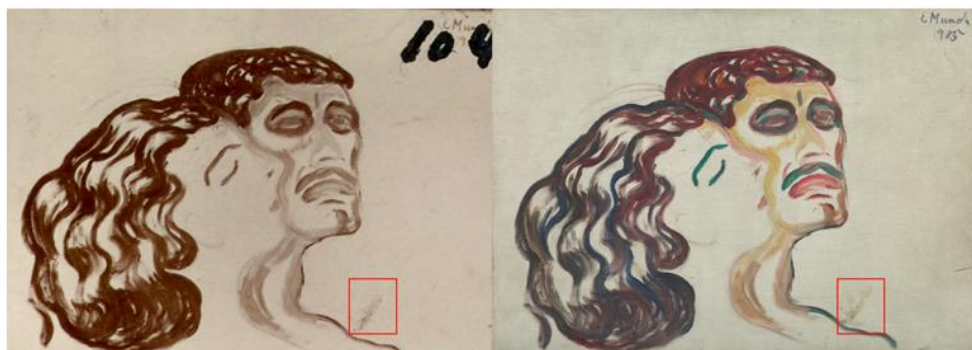


Fig. 7. *Head by Head* (1905).²⁷ Left: The bird droppings are in lower right part of the painting. Right: When the painting was cleaned for dirt in 2017, the bird droppings were preserved. Photo: left: Atelier Schaul, 1906, B1816j ©Munchmuseet, right: O. Kvavik ©Munchmuseet, 2017.

Based on these photos and Grimstad's observations, I have evaluated the spots to be: one paint spot, one spot most unlikely to be bird dropping due to its hard and crispy appearance, and finally: a spot impossible to determine the nature of, due to a recent, undocumented retouching.

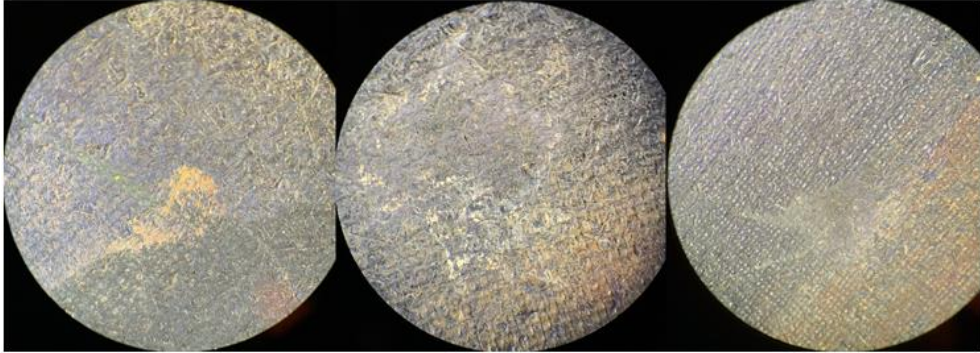


Fig. 8. *Woman* (1894).²⁸ Three old spots photographed in microscope. Left: paint spot. Middle: spot of unknown origin, probably not bird dropping. Right: The spot is covered with a retouch. Photo: I. Grimstad ©Munchmuseet 2022.

3) Today, *Early Spring in Åsgårdstrand* (1905) (Fig. 9) has bird droppings in the sky, and severe paint losses.²⁹ The 1906 photo is not good enough to tell if the bird droppings were on the painting at that time, but it is obvious that the painting had not yet flaked, at least in the road and the tree to the left.



Fig. 9. *Early Spring in Åsgårdstrand* (1905). In 1906 (left), the painting has not yet flaked (red arrows). It is not possible to determine whether the bird dropping seen on the painting today (blue arrow, right), was on the painting in 1906. Photo: left: Atelier Schaul, 1906, B1816h©Munchmuseet, (the photo is color corrected to enhance the information value), right: H. Bjørngård ©Munchmuseet, 2020.

Premature paint losses and tidelines

4) *Study of a Nude* (1896) had comprehensive and premature paint losses, and possible mold, along the right side of the painting (Fig. 10). It is obvious that the painting had been exposed to unfavorable environment. Later it caught tidelines and bird droppings.



Fig. 10. *Study of a Nude* (1896).³⁰ Left: The painting flaked along its right side. Right: Today, the painting has paint losses, tidelines, and bird droppings (red marking). Photo: left: Atelier Schaul, 1906, B1816h©Munchmuseet, right: S. d. Jong ©Munchmuseet, 1999.

5) *Bathing Young Men* (1904) (Fig. 3) had a tideline along the left edge in 1906; very weak lines seen on the 1906 photo indicate that. Later it got bird droppings, more tidelines and eroded paint surface. Munch did never exhibit nor sold the painting.

Discussion

The first aim for this study was to consider the 1906 condition of the Commeter paintings, with particular emphasis on anomalies that could indicate that they had been exposed to weather and wind or other unfavorable environments.

The low quality of some of the Commeter photographs is of course a source of error. Misinterpretation of irregularities on the photos and spots on the paintings are others. Some of these sources of error can be overruled when other, high-quality photos of the paintings are available for comparison and eventual dating of anomalies. For instance, the bird droppings at *Self-Portrait with Brushes* (1904), one of the estate paintings at the Munchmuseet, occurred after 1906.³¹ The study of the paintings is crucial when it comes to the evaluation of the degradation of the paint surface; slight erosion cannot be detected on the Commeter photographs. It is therefore not possible to determine when, and how, this painting was eroded.

The study of the Commeter photographs demonstrated that several of the paintings Munch wanted to sell in 1906 – 07 were in poor condition. In fact, I was amazed at how miserable the condition was of many of these paintings. How paintings, as *Madonna* (Fig. 2)³² and *Woman*, warped due to sloppy stretching and cheap strainers. How the frames looked – as if they were made of “some scrape from the attic” – as Commeter put it.³³ And several of the paintings had damages due to mechanical stress – as those already mentioned – and for instance *Evening on Karl Johan*, *Dance of Life*, and *Landscape by Travemünde*.³⁴

The second aim for this study was to relate the findings to Stenersen’s assertion about the horse cure. Did Munch use the weather and wind intentionally, to change the paintings appearance? Three paintings had anomalies that could be due to outdoor storage: *Head by Head* had bird droppings, *Study of a Nude* had severe paint losses due to climate impact, and *Bathing*

Young Men had a weak tideline. Two paintings had spots of uncertain origin – *Woman* and *From Travemünde* – which has spots that might be bird droppings, however probably not dating to Munch’s ownership. Had any of these “anomaly paintings” spent “weeks in sunshine and rain”, as Stenersen put it?

Due to the painting techniques and material, none of the examined paintings could have withstood rain without severe damages. *Study of a Nude*, a painting very sensitive to humidity, had such damages in 1906, which strongly influence the appearance, which is in accordance with Stenersen. However, it has not been possible to establish when or where the painting might have been exposed to the weather. Possibly, it was painted in Paris in 1896, but nothing is known about its whereabouts from when it was painted until 1906, except that Munch didn’t exhibit the painting. It might have been in a box for 10 years. It might have “... tumbled around the world in all kinds of lousy, leaky boxes”, as several other Munch paintings³⁵ [19]. If so, the appearance of *Study of a Nude* is not a result of an intended weather exposure.

Depending on how long the paintings had been exposed to out-door daylight and sun, the colors would have more or less bleached, and the paintings would be more or less matt and degraded. Except for *Head by Head*, which today is slightly eroded, these paintings have no indications of erosion in combination with color changes. I therefor find it more likely that *Bathing Young Men*, *Woman* and *From Travemünde* together with several others of the Commeter paintings, had been stored in unheated, leaky storerooms where birds had access, and the relative humidity was quite similar to the outdoor climate, as seen in Munch’s later wooden studios, at Ekely, Oslo, where birds had access via cracks between walls and ceilings, and where large tidelines on the walls testify to a leaky construction.

How should this be understood? Didn’t Munch care about his paintings when they were finished? Or did he see these damages and irregularities as integrated into the life of the paintings?

Carelessness and neglect can be an explanation for the paintings’ condition. However, we must also bear in mind the condition Munch lived under at this time. In Germany, where Munch lived for years, he had no permanent residence where he could keep his paintings. In fact, we do not know where and how he stored them when they were not exhibited. That might be one reason for Munch to have entered a contract with Commeter: then he had better control over his paintings.

Another observation this study has led to, is that several of the Commeter paintings that Munch did not sell later got bird droppings, tidelines, or degraded paint surfaces., such as *The Smell of Death*, *Study of a Nude*, *The Rainbow*, *Dark Spruce Forest*, *Golgotha*, *Children in the Forest*, *Four Girls in Åsgårdstrand*, *Summer Night in Studenterlund*, *Bathing young Men*, *The Funeral*, *Girls watering Flowers*, *Self-Portrait with Brushes*, *Taarbæk Harbor*.³⁶ This supports my former research: anomalies on most of the Munch paintings occurred after the paintings were painted and exhibited; and that Munch did not use the weather and wind intentionally, to change the paintings appearance. This was the second aim for this current study.

Christian Gierløff, a close friend of Munch, may have had, among others, Stenersen in mind when he talked about Munch’s sense of humor: “... He [Munch] felt the joy of sports by giving others skewed impressions and insane records of himself, his art, his habits, his ways of working”^{37, 38} [20].

Conclusion

Several of the paintings Munch wanted to sell in 1906 – 07 were in poor condition. In addition, six paintings had anomalies that might be due to weather exposure. Or – as argued for

– had been stored indoor under unfavorable conditions and/or had been traveling in low quality boxes. This study has not found any evidence or indications that support Stenersen's assertion that Munch used the weather and wind intentionally as an artistic means. The conclusion is that the paintings Munch intended to sell in 1906 – 07 had not been weathered, and that Stenersen's assertion about a horse-cure should not be emphasized.

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- [19] Chr. Gierløff, *Munch selv, Kunst og Kultur, Bergen – Kristiania*, 4(2), 1913, p. 110.
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End notes

¹ Woll M 604. Woll M 498.

² Woll M 579.

³ Woll M 374.

⁴ Woll M 333.

⁵ Woll, G. (2009). Edvard Munch. Complete paintings. Catalogue raisonné. New York, Thames & Hudson, 1604-1613. Atelier Schaul, Hamburg, took the photos. According to Woll, twenty paintings were not photographed. They were probably on exhibition in Dresden and Chemnitz.

⁶ Woll M 333. Tempera and crayon on unprimed cardboard. (91x73,5) cm. Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo.

⁷ <https://www.labmanager.com/news/-the-scream-and-the-secret-of-the-white-spots-8905>. Accessed 2022.06.01.

⁸ Woll M 435.

⁹ Woll M 590. Oil on preprimed canvas. (194x290) cm. Munchmuseet.

¹⁰ Woll M 612 Oil on canvas. (99,5x80) cm. Munchmuseet.

¹¹ The painting was exhibited and photographed by Gurlitt, Berlin, in 1914. The photo shows that the painting had no bird droppings. Photo at the Munchmuseet library.

¹² MM K 3822, Munchmuseet. Dated 04.04.1905. Letter from Wilhelm Suhr, Commeter'sche Kunsthandlung.

¹³ MM K 3834, Munchmuseet. Dated 12.02.1906. Letter from Commeter'sche Kunsthandlung.

¹⁴ MM K 3834, Munchmuseet. Dated 12.02.1906. Letter from Commeter'sche Kunsthandlung.

¹⁵ PN 387, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg. Datert 24.2.1906. Brev til Gustav Schieffler

¹⁶ Woll (2009, 1606–1607).

¹⁷ German synonyms are beschädigt (damaged), defect (malfunction), reparaturbedürftig (in need of repair). (<https://synonyme.woxikon.de/synonyme/l%C3%A4diert.php>). According to Oxford Languages “lädiert” can be used in connection with scratches in car paint.

¹⁸ Woll M 321.

¹⁹ Woll M 461.

²⁰ Woll M 436.

²¹ Paper conservator Kari Greve, Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo, Conservation report of 12.2. 2005. Oral communication March 2022.

²² Woll M 348. Oil on preprimed (?) canvas. (115x152) cm. Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo

²³ Watercolor and oil on unprimed cardboard. (52,5x77) cm. Stavanger Kunstmuseum.

²⁴ MM K 3820, Munchmuseet. Datert 14.03.1906. Brev fra Commeter'sche Kunsthandlung.

²⁵ MM K 1445, Munchmuseet. Datert 16.03.1909. Brev fra Harald Brun, Nasjonalgalleriet.

²⁶ Woll M 571. Oil on home (?) primed canvas. (65x70 cm). Museum Behnhaus Drägerhaus

²⁷ Woll M 648. Oil and charcoal on preprimed canvas. (50x70,5) cm. Munchmuseet.

²⁸ Woll M 362. Diluted oil on glued (?), unprimed canvas. (164,5 × 251) cm. KODE, Bergen.

²⁹ Woll M 626. Oil on preprimed canvas. (69,5x85) cm. Munchmuseet, Oslo.

³⁰ Woll M 386. Oil on hand primed canvas. (56,5x47) cm. Munchmuseet, Oslo.

³¹ Woll M 621. Oil on preprimed canvas. (197x91) cm. See Photo Væring V170, taken in the living room at Ekely, after 1916 for comparison.

³² Woll M 365.

³³ MM K 3836, Munchmuseet. Datert 21.02.1906. Brev fra Wilhelm Suhr, Commeter'sche Kunsthandlung. «... ein Bild wenigstens anständig gerahmt (ob nun einfach oder reichverziert) ist u. nicht ausschaut wie Bodenrummel!

³⁴ Woll M: 290, 464, 557.

³⁵ «... og tumbledet verden rundt i allslags elendige, utætte kasser ...».

³⁶ Woll M: 374, 386, 463, 455, 465, 492, 564,580, 590, 603, 612, 621, 626, 641.

³⁷ «Han kjente sports glede ved å gi andre skjeve inntrykk og forrykte opptegninger av seg selv, sin kunst, sine vaner, sine arbeidsmåter».

³⁸ For further discussions on how Munch´s contemporaries perceived his, see [11, pp. 288–292].