Hans Prinzhorn (1886-1933) - A "Thinker" in the Weimar Republic (III. 10) Translated with the help of Anne Hatzius and Peter Cross

Introduction

Between 1930 and 1933 Hans Prinzhorn sympathised with the National Socialists. This has recently led to the accusation from different quarters that he was a Fascist. And the connection of his name with the famous collection in Heidelberg and through the festivities and events surrounding the opening of the Museum Sammlung Prinzhorn in September 2001, has been criticised.

The question is, whether speaking up for the National Socialists in his later life should affect our view on Prinzhorn's commitment to the artistry of the mentally ill at the beginning of the 1920s. To answer this it seems appropriate to retrace his intellectual development between these dates. We will approach this in three stages. But it will not prove a congruence between Prinzhorn's position and that of Carl Schneider (1891-1945), the infamous director of the Psychiatric Hospital at Heidelberg University between 1933 and 1945. Schneider played a major role in the National Socialists "euthanasia" program for people whose life was considered "not worth living". Prinzhorn is worlds away from this position, thanks to the value he put on art works by patients in psychiatric institutions. 109 Prinzhorn did not regard these works as being primarily the outcome of illness; on the contrary he questioned their value as diagnostic tools. 110 He also responded to those who hoped to discredit modernism through these works¹¹¹ with this disarming aphorism: "The conclusion that a painter is mentally ill because he paints like a given mental patient is no more intelligent or convincing than another; viz., that Pechstein and Heckel are Africans from the Camerouns because they produce wooden figurines like those by Africans from the Camerouns." 112

However, there is something else which becomes clear when stepping back in time. Two basic attitudes that made Prinzhorn prone to the ideology of the National Socialists can be found even in his first book, "Artistry of the Mentally III" of 1922, with questionable consequences as well - although not political ones.

1. An irresponsible Readiness for reconciliation

Prinzhorn was already well known when he published a series of articles about National Socialism between 1930 and 1933 in the conservative Berlin weekly newspaper Der Ring. 113 Through extensive lecture tours and an astonishing number of books and articles, he made a

109 See Bettina Brand-Claussen , "Häßlich, falsch, krank. 'Irrenkunst' und 'irre Kunst' zwischen Wilhelm Weygandt und Carl Schneider", in: Psychiatrische Forschung und NS-"Euthanasie". Beiträge zu einer Gedenkveranstaltung an der Psychiatrischen Universitätsklinik Heidelberg, ed. by Christoph Mundt, Gerrit Hohendorf, Maike Rotzoll (Heidelberg 2001), 265-329, here 285-289.

Hans Prinzhorn, Bildnerei der Geisteskranken. Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie und Psychopathologie der Gestaltung (Berlin: Springer, 1922), from the translation into English: Hans Prinzhorn. Artistry of the Mentally III. A Contribution to the Psychology and Psychopathology of Configuration, translated by Eric von Brockdorff (New York: Springer, 1972), 265.

¹¹¹ See Brand-Claussen 2001 (as note 1). ¹¹² Prinzhorn 1972 (as note 2), 271.

Hans Prinzhorn, "Über den Nationalsozialismus", in: Der Ring 3 (1930), 884-885; "Zur Problematik des nationalen Radikalismus. Über den Nationalsozialismus II", in: Der Ring 4 (1931), 573-577; "Moralische Verpflichtungen. Über den Nationalsozialismus III", in: Der Ring 5 (1932), 88-90 [= Prinzhorn 1932a]; "Psychologisches zum Führertum. Über den Nationalsozialismus IV", in: Der Ring 5 (1932), 769-770 [= Prinzhorn 1932b]. Cf. also the chapter "Handelnde und Sinnende" in: Thomas Röske, Der Arzt als Künstler. Ästhetik und Psychotherapie bei Hans Prinzhorn (1886-1933) (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1995), 249-262.

name for himself as a psychologist and a philosophical writer. 114 He could therefore assume he would have a strong reaction to his four Ring articles. The last three are called: About the Problem of National Radicalism, Moral Duties and Psychological Aspects of Leadership. Another, fifth issue, The Politician and the Composition of the People's Powers", that Prinzhorn probably wrote in May 1933, a month before his death, was never published. 115

In all five texts, Prinzhorn deals with aspects of National Socialism from a psychological perspective, prompted mainly by current events. He criticises specific actions harshly, for example the propaganda hunt against dissenters in the party mouthpiece Der Stürmer (The Striker), the forced alignment of the cultural politics of Wilhelm Frick in Thuringia 116 or the attitude of the Nazis towards the so called 'Jewish question' (at the same time however not concealing his own anti-Semitism). 117 But again and again, he gives waivers and excuses for the fascist's brutal interventions in the freedom of individuals as "not being nice but possibly tactically necessary". 118 Because basically, as he in fact explicitly declares, he concurred with the essence of the movement. 119 He especially welcomes the "true urge for devotion of young people who see the fulfilment of their lives (...) in committing themselves fully to a value, a matter, something superpersonal and in sacrificing themselves if necessary" 120; he values the 'self-assured leadership' ('sichere Führung') of this "group of people" and approves specific goals of the movement, such as 'common good before self-interest'. 121 Thus the intention of the articles was to clearly define the 'main features' of National Socialism, in which he believed he recognised something pure and unadulterated. 122

Prinzhorn's individual position towards the German fascists and his approval despite clear reservations-we can call it an irresponsible readiness for conciliation-must certainly be criticised. Prinzhorn never became a member of the National Socialist party. And the estimation of his political stance has differed considerably. From a staunch opponent of fascism like Ludwig Marcuse came slashing attacks on the Ring articles. 123 On the other hand the Berlin C.V.-Zeitung, which called itself the 'Newspaper for Germanity and Judaism'. titled its leading 1931 article on these publications: "Will they listen to him? A sincere critic of the NSDAP". 124

Prinzhorn saw himself as a German 'thinker' who could assist political 'activists' with his advice. 125 In retrospect, this was an astonishingly naive assessment of the situation and an overestimation of his powers of intervention. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 30s, he was not alone in assuming that he could influence the ruthless progress of the National Socialists. In fact, this attitude is characteristic of representatives of the so called 'Conservative Revolution' in Germany at the time. 126 Prinzhorn's second problematic thought

Hans Prinzhorn, "Der Politiker und die Sammlung der Volkskräfte" (1933), Manuscript (in private possession, Frankfurt am Main).

¹¹⁴ Extensive information could be found in the 1933 edition of the Brockhaus encyclopedia which was published soon after his death; see Der große Brockhaus, 15. ed., vol. 15 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1933). 128. The article was probably written by Prinzhorn's friend Werner Deubel.

Prinzhorn 1931 (as note 5), 574.

ibid., 576, und Prinzhorn 1933 (see note 7).

Prinzhorn 1931 (as note 5), 574. Prinzhorn 1932a (as note 5), 90. Prinzhorn 1930 (as note 5), 884.

Prinzhorn 1932a (as note 5), 88. ¹²² Prinzhorn 1930 (as note 5), 90.

Ludwig Marcuse, "Die Papas der Nietzscheaner", in: Das Tagebuch 13 (1932), 401-408.

¹²⁴ C.V.-Zeitung, 21.8.1931, 413-414. Prinzhorn 1931 (as note 5), 577.

Armin Mohler, Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918-1932. Ein Handbuch, 4. Aufl. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1994); about the political position of german psychotherapists at the end of the Weimar Republic see Geoffrey Cocks, Psychotherapy in the Third Reich. The Göring Institute, 2nd edition, revised and expanded (New Brundwick and London: Tramsaction, 1997), 23-53.

pattern in his "Ring" articles was pointed out by Ludwig Klages in a letter to him in 1931: "What you (...) say about National Socialism is in itself quite correct; but there is one serious snag. The fact that a willing and uncritical youth is filled with enthusiasm for a so called idea or a person neither speaks for the quality of this idea nor for any ability of this person to be a leader." No doubt Prinzhorn deceived himself by romanticising the "essence" of National Socialism. Like many academics, especially German academics at that time, he placed far too much confidence, in forming his opinion, on the process of empathy (also called 'Vision of Essence') which always runs the risk of projection. Prinzhorn's declared belief in National Socialism was guided by an ideal.

2. Bonding back into the community

In the first of his articles *About National Socialism* in 1930, for the first time Prinzhorn writes of his commitment to a political movement. Like many 'unpolitical' people in the Weimar Republic, he had long considered himself purely as a "revolutionary for eternal matters". These 'matters' included the 'community', which in contrast to 'society' was understood, since Ferdinand Tönnies, to mean a kind of original group formation, biologically or metaphysically biased. In 1924 Prinzhorn had already published an article about the relation of community and 'leadership', a configuration that he later dealt with in different contexts. Among other things, the article deals with Mussolini as the ideal of political guidance, without referring to specific events. Prinzhorn only briefly contrasts the *Duce* with the 'Hitlerfarce' which probably refers to Hitler's appearance in connection with the putsch attempt of the National Socialists in 1923. Even then, Prinzhorn was apparently less interested in political content than in the public self representation of politicians.

Prinzhorn's theory of community was rooted in an ideological way of thinking, influenced by the philosophy of Ludwig Klages and Max Scheler, which declared itself to be 'biocentric'. 134 For Prinzhorn, the human being was determined by the tension between the polar powers of mind and life. He emphatically advocated life: "(...) if it must be mind then the highest sort of mind-but in every choice between mind and life then it must be life, as the irreplaceable, the creative origin." One could only do justice to man by valuing him as a singular being with individual characteristics, which could not be fitted to an ideal. In 1929, National Socialism was as suspect as 'Boshewism' and the 'American' way of life for Prinzhorn, because all three movements followed an 'ethic of the predominant mass' and attempted to educate to a master plan. 136

104.

128 Cf. Isaiah Berlin, The Roots of Romanticism. The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1965, ed. by Henry Hardy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 8-12.

¹²⁹ Prinzhorn 1930 (as note 5), 90.

¹³¹ Ferdinand Tönnies, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Abhandlung des Communismus und des Socialismus als empiririscher Kulturformen (Leipzig: Fues, 1887).

¹³² Hans Prinzhorn, "Geltungsbedürfnis – Geltungspflicht. Studien zur Gemeinschaftsbildung", in: Der neue Merkur 7 (1924), 907-915.

¹³³ Prinzhorn 1924 (as note 24), 912.

¹³⁴ For this see Röske 1995 (as note 5), 195-205.

135 Hans Prinzhorn, "Die Begründung der reinen Charakterologie durch Ludwig Klages", in: Jahrbuch

für Charakterologie 4 (1927), 115-132, here 126-127.

¹²⁷ Letter from Ludwig Klages to Hans Prinzhorn, January 1931, cited after: Ludwig Klages 1872-1956 (exhibition catalogue), ed. by Hans Eggert Schröder, Literaturarchiv Marbach (Bonn: Bouvier), 1972, 104

Hans Prinzhorn, Um die Persönlichkeit. Gesammelte Abhandlungen und Vorträge zur Charakterologie und Psychopathologie, vol.1 (Heidelberg: Kampmann, 1926), 6.

Hans Prinzhorn, Psychotherapie. Voraussetzungen, Wesen, Grenzen. Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Grundlagen, (Leipzig: Thieme, 1929), from the translation into English: Hans Prinzhorn, Psychotherapy. Its Nature - its Assumptions - its Limitations. A Search for Essentials, translated by Arnold Eiloart (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), 335.

Prinzhorn understood psychology to be a basic science which was committed to recognizing and defining the individual characteristics of man. He believed that the essential ability to practise such 'characterology' or 'personality psychology' was kindred to the intuition of the poet and could not be learned. He rejected purely experimental psychology, developing mostly in America. But he also severely criticised fundamental traits of psychoanalysis. For Prinzhorn, the psychotherapist had a primary duty to recognise the 'personal optimum' of the patient, to lead him to this and to help him if necessary towards reintegration, preferably into some sort of community. Therefore Prinzhorn saw the central problem of the psychotherapeutic method as being the element of 'guidance'. He was not primarily thinking of political 'Leaders' like Mussolini or Hitler.

For Prinzhorn, a psychotherapist must be a personality with rare qualities if he is to successfully carry out his role: He should have "1. Wide and sure knowledge of human beings, no matter in what degree of consciousness. - 2. Easy self-objectivizing (elimination of the private-ego).- 3. Innate capacity for leadership (instinctive vital certainty of aim). In addition, there are certain desirable qualities of character and intelligence, among them this rare one: freedom from immature traits, from what is neurotic and infantile." Therefore it is not surprising that Prinzhorn saw the physician-leader as being simply 'the highest form of the species'. Unmistakably, he later transferred these ideal traits of the 'soul doctor' onto the political adviser, the therapist of political rulers.

Two aspects are problematic in Prinzhorn's view of the relationship between physician and patient. Firstly, the physician must, with the help of instrospection, recognise what is 'authentic' in the patient and then slowly transform him to his "personal optimum". Secondly, although many of Prinzhorn's remarks on the therapeutic profession are still worth considering today, he clearly overestimates his power as a physician and degrades the patient into an object of his artistic ambition. ¹⁴¹

3. In search of new norms

Prinzhorn's first book, Artistry of the Mentally III, published in 1922, will without doubt remain his best known work. Within just three years, he wrote his 'Contribution to the Psychology and Psychopathology of Artistic Creation', based on his new collection. This astonishing achievement was only possible because the psychiatric hospital at Heidelberg University exempted him from most of his duties as an assistant doctor. Prinzhorn was also able to build on earlier acquisitions. He later remarked that what he had carried with him "of former studies on the artistic process or about the psychology of the act of creation, already almost completed in himself" had been 'ignited' by the collection. 142 He was obviously referring to his earlier studies, in philosophy and art history, between 1904 and 1909. 143 The fact that his emerged so quickly is mostly due to the existential state he found himself in when, aged 33. he started his first job in Heidelberg in 1919. At the end of the First World War, many people were disillusioned and unsettled. Prinzhorn had been active in the war effort. Also, his career as a singer, in which he had high hopes, had just failed and he could only reluctantly accept his new civilian position. He fundamentally questioned the direction and purpose of his life. Nevertheless, in 1927 he retrospectively overstated his position: "Neither religious, nor social, nor specific ideological forms were at that time able to provide ... a bond or even a

¹³⁷ For this see Röske 1995 (as note 5), 206-213.

See for example Hans Prinzhorn, Das Problem der Führung und die Psychoanalyse (Erfurt: Stenger, 1928).

¹³⁹ Prinzhorn 1932 (as note 28), 331.

ibid., 292.

For this see Röske 1995 (as note 5), 229-234.

¹⁴² Hans Prinzhorn, "Bildnerei der Geisteskranken", in: Magdeburger Zeitung, 20.1.1927, 1. Addition.

support. He was deeply nihilistic towards all forms of culture."¹⁴⁴ If Prinzhorn had a political leaning at all at that time it was, surprisingly enough, to the left. An early outline for his book includes the headings: "1. The failure of the old aesthetics, 2. Tolstoj and the socialist ideology as salvation". However, in his book this suggestion of a political perspective was replaced by a sociological/psychological position. In the preface he writes: "If we have to define the crucial criterion of our observational method more precisely, we remind the reader of Count Tolstoy's concept of art - to assume a basic, universal, human process behind the aesthetic and cultural surface of the configurative process would be entirely consistent with it." Prinzhorn already believed in the ideology of "eternal things" and was interested in 'new norms', that transcended all "specialized or traditional value systems." ¹⁴⁷

Although Prinzhorn was concerned in the scientific description and psychopathological discussion around the material he shows in his book, he was primarily interested in a "completely metaphysical investigation of the process of pictorial composition". ¹⁴⁸ For him, the most important element in the 'core process' of artistic work was the constructive tension between expression and design, both of which he saw as instinctive drives fundamentally rooted in the force of life. ¹⁴⁹ Neither the depth of expression nor the height of creation were measurable or even describable for him. According to Prinzhorn, the "psychic atmosphere within the configurator" ¹⁵⁰ can only be understood with the help of empathy or by "experiencing the essence" ('Wesensschau'). And this experience can only be understood by someone whose "feeling for life is capable of climaxing in the creations of all art", whose perception can "surveys man's attempts at configuration on his small planet over the last few thousand years."

On the basis of this theory, which can be seen as an extremely romantic idea of art, Prinzhorn makes an astonishing evaluation. He compares work by psychiatric patients with work by professional artists, and finds in the former authentic expression whereas in the latter he detects "intellectual substitutes". The aesthetic evaluation of works by psychiatric patients begins with a radical critique of contemporary professional art.

With the publication of his book Prinzhorn had undoubtedly claimed the field of so called *artistry of the mentally ill* for art history. This is not only justified by the author's enthusiasm for the works and the many illustrations included in the book. We must also acknowledge his attempt to develop a standard which gives equal appreciation to 'the most sovereign drawing by Rembrandt' and the 'most miserable daubing by a paralytic' - namely, as an 'expression of the psyche'. ¹⁵³ Prinzhorn directs public attention to the creative qualities of works which, until then, had almost exclusively been analysed with diagnostic criteria. Above all he ignores the old standard of quality: a closeness to and reproduction of nature in artistic production, and identifies instead other options and alternatives. Thus equipped he promotes an astonishing variety of ways of making work.

However, Prinzhorn's argument also has questionable aspects. He can be criticised for reducing the works he presents in his book to the "soul atmosphere" he perceives in them, and for not discussing their social and historical context at all. His claim to recognise the

¹⁴⁴ Hans Prinzhorn, "Die erdentrückbare Seele", in: Der Leuchter 8 (1927), 277-296, here 278-279.
145 Hans Prinzhorn, Sketches for the book "Bildnerei der Geisteskranken", 1919 or 1920 (in private

possession Frankfurt am Main).

146 Prinzhorn 1972 (as note 2), XVIII.

¹⁴⁷ ibid., XVIII and XVII.

¹⁴⁸ ibid., XVII.

¹⁴⁹ ibid., 34.

¹⁵⁰ ibid., 66.

¹⁵¹ ibid., 250.

¹⁵² ibid., 272.

¹⁵³ ibid., XVIII.

"genuine", this time in artistic production, purely with the help of empathy or intuition frequently fails in Artistry of the Mentally III. In many of the 'cases' he presents, the idea of artistic inexperience is untenable. Often the works in the collection are more 'intellectual' and more constructed than Prinzhorn wanted to admit.

It is also worth considering that Prinzhorn overestimates his own experience and interpretative vision. He did in fact possess a wide knowledge in different artistic and ethnographic areas. But this did not in itself amount to a purely objective position, which Would be improbable anyway. Prinzhorn did not select works from the rich fund of the Heidelberg collection in an unprejudiced way, but was obviously influenced by expressionism. 154

Prinzhorn was typical of his time in that he made decisions based on 'eugenic' tendencies. At the conclusion of Artistry of the Mentally III, he returns to the idea of a new standard which would help to clarify the "relationships between schizophrenic and decadent configuration". 155 The accompanying endnote 156 stresses that for this new human standard, "creative configuration plays the most important role", thus including the creative patients whom he introduces in his book. For this idea Prinzhorn 'mainly' acknowledges the 'strict and clear attempt' by Kurt Hildebrandt in his book Norm und Entartung des Menschen of 1920. But here, creativity is hardly mentioned. The book is more of a nietzschean and "imperious text about

race hygiene", 157 which recommends the "weeding out" of "pathological degenerates, including those who have inherited mentally illness and those who are inferior to a Pathological degree". 158 In disbelief, we place this quotation beside Prinzhorn's "revolutionary Vision of the authentically mad artist who is wrapped up in himself" 159 and wonder involuntarily if he really had read Hildebrandt's book. But this is probably not an example of the name dropping Prinzhorn used to do in his first years of his study. 160 On the contrary, he is clearly and consciously only suggesting a small modification here to a position which was accepted, almost without exception, within the medical community at that time.

In Prinzhorn's position vis-a-vis the National Socialists, in his concept of the therapist as well as in his attitude towards the artistry of the mentally ill, the same problematic points emerge repeatedly: his overemphasis on empathy and his overestimation of himself. This syndrome began between 1904 -1909 when Prinzhorn studied philosophy and art history in Leipzig and Munich. Among his teachers were the most prominent theoretician of empathy at the turn of the century, Theodor Lipps, and the art historian August Schmarsow who thought in a similar way. 161 Prinzhorn's enthusiasm in the 1920s for the characterology of Ludwig Klages (who had also been a student of Lipps) was built on these foundations. On the other hand, his exaggerated idea of himself had been fostered by his encounter, as an adolescent, with nietzschean positions like those of the 'Rembrandt German' Julius Langbehn or Ernst Horneffer¹⁶² - figures who have for some time been recognised as leaders in Germanys turn to the right.

This was demonstrated in the exhibition with which the Prinzhorn Collection opened its new museum in September 2001 (see the exhibition catalogue Vision und Revision einer Entdeckung, Sammlung Prinzhorn [Heidelberg 2001]). Prinzhorn's evaluations based on "new norms" paralleled the new Aesthetic between 1900 and 1914. Prinzhorn 1972 (as note 2), 270. ibid., 270, Fn. 46.

Brand-Claussen 2001 (as note 1), 275.
Kurt Hildebrand, Norm und Entartung des Menschen (Dresden: Sibyllen, 1920), 264 f., cited after Brand-Claussen 2001 (as note 1), 275.

¹⁶⁰ Brand-Claussen 2001 (as note 1), 275.

Röske 1995 (as note 5), 70.

Röske 1995 (as note 5), 16. Cf. ibid., 91-101 and 118-122. Cf. ibid., 129-135.

It is reasonable to criticise Prinzhorn, especially for the fatal ideological narrowing of his outlook in later years. However, the fact remains that in his years in Heidelberg, when he was most open minded, he managed with *Artistry of the Mentally III* to write a book that, thanks to its extreme position, ranks among the most stimulating that has been published in this field to date.

Thomas Röske

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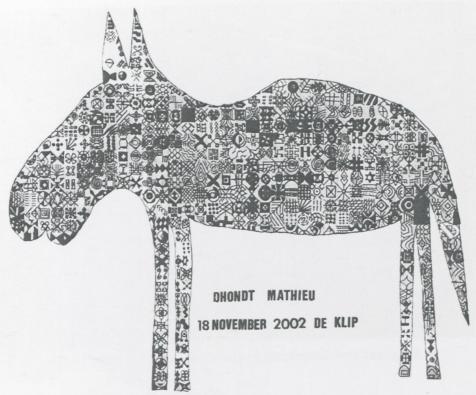
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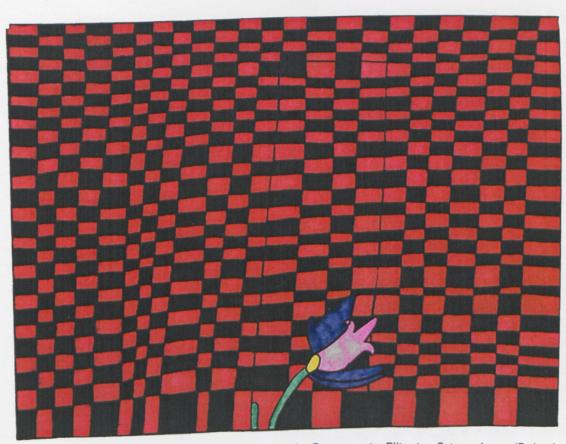
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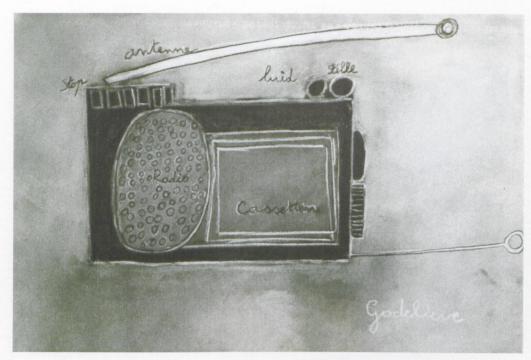
3. Kunsthaus Kannen, Münster (Duitsland)



4. Zonder titel, Mathieu Dhont. P.C. Dr. Guislain, Meander, Gent (België)



5. Zonder titel, Georges Gauchy, 2002. Atelier La Pommeraie, Ellignies-Sainte-Anne (België)



6. Zonder titel, Godelieve. Atelier Zonnelied, Eizeringen (België)



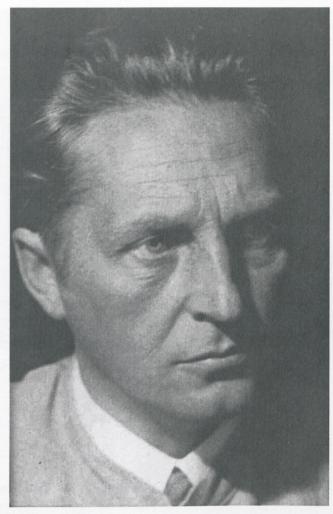
7. Zonder titel, Godelieve. Atelier Zonnelied, Eizeringen (België)



8. Zonder titel, Hein Dingemans. Atelier Herenplaats, Rotterdam (Nederland)



9. Onze vorsten, 2000. Atelier Molenhuis, Zwevegem (België)



10. Hans Prinzhorn (1886-1933)



II. Kar, Frans Stokkermans (Nederland)



12. Zon en vogels, Tobias Jessberger, 1993.

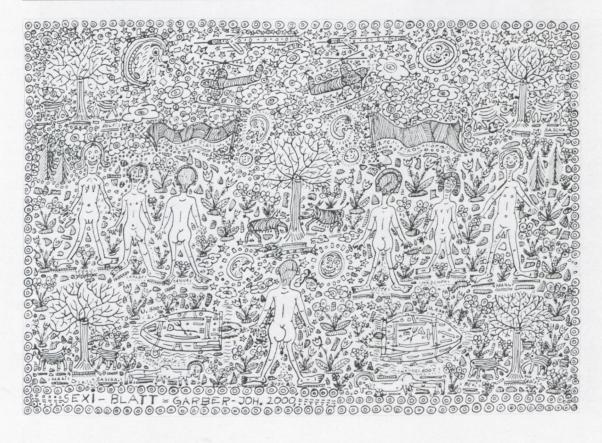


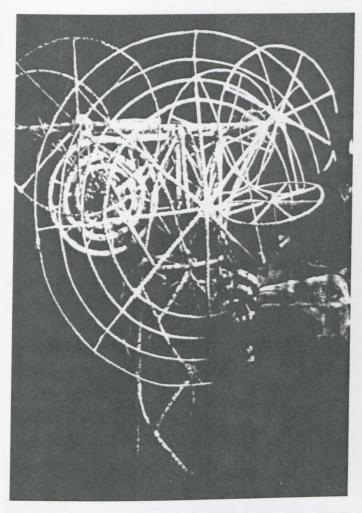
13. Zon tussen huizen, Tobias Jessberger, 1993.

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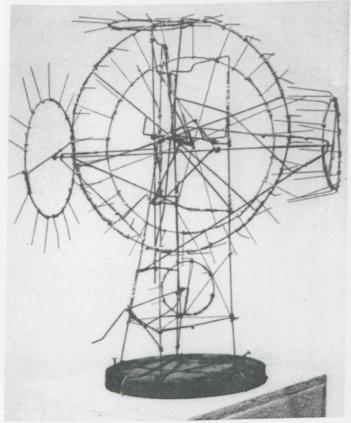
14. Art en Marge, Serge Delauney, 1991.
Art en Marge, Brussel (België)

15. Sexi-Blatt, Johan Garber, 2000. Haus der Künstler, Gügging (Oostenrijk)





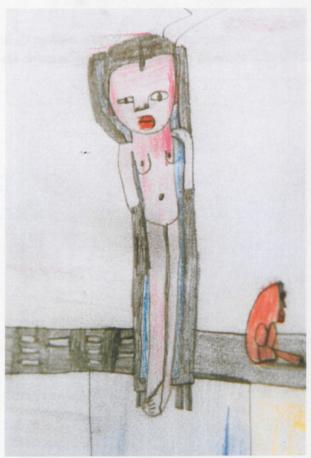
16. Machine, Heinrich Anton Müller. Collection de l'art brut, Lausanne (Zwitserland)



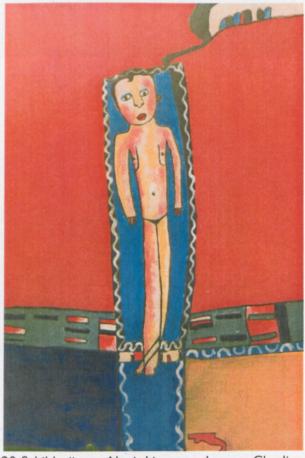
17. Moulin à prières III, Jean Tinguely, 1954.



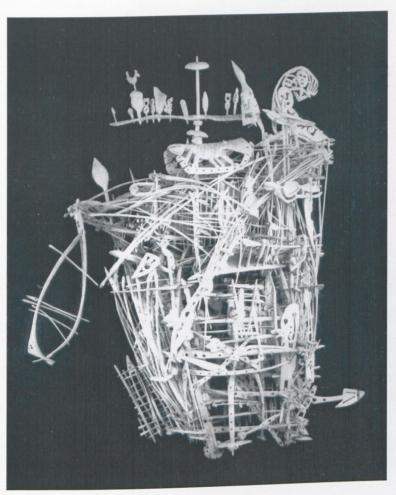
18. Zonder titel, Christine Remacle & Ronny Delrue 2002. Kanttekening (België)



2002. Kanttekening (België)



19. Tekening naar Paul Gauguin, Alexis Lippstreu, 20. Schilderij naar Alexis Lippstreu, Jacques Charlier, 2002. Kanttekening (België)



21. Le Nouveau Monde, Francesco Toris, 1899-1905 (foto Christina Marinelli, Turin, Institut d'Anthropologie de l'Université de Turin)



22. Woede, Paul Blockx, ca. 1995.