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The Reception of Adolf Wölfli's Work, 1921-1996

Adolf Wölfli and Walter Morgenthaler

In 1921 the Bernese psychiatrist Walter Morgenthaler published a 120-page monograph on Adolf Wölfli, *Ein Geisteskranker als Künstler* [A mentally ill person as an artist]._ Morgenthaler worked from 1907 until 1919 in the Waldau Mental Asylum, where Wölfli had been hospitalized in 1895. The monograph was a result of thirteen years of persistent confrontation with Wölfli's personality and work and pioneered in the field of art and psychopathology: for the first time a mentally ill person was described as an artist and referred to by name and not by the usual initials or number.

Ein Geisteskranker als Künstler was the first volume of the series *Arbeiten zur angewandten Psychiatrie* [Studies in applied psychiatry], edited by Morgenthaler. Further issues included in 1922 *Strindberg und van Gogh*, by the psychiatrist-philosopher Karl Jaspers, and Hermann Rorschach's *Psychodiagnostik*. Jaspers's study triggered a debate about van Gogh's mental state, which still continues, and Rorschach's *Psychodiagnostik* swept the world under the name of the "Rorschach test" and remains in use today.

Rorschach was a physician at Waldau from 1914 till 1916, at the same time as Morgenthaler, and was equally interested in the drawings of mental patients._ Morgenthaler was also familiar with the research being done by Hans Prinzhorn, who in 1919 had been put in charge of organizing and enlarging the collection of psychotic art at the Psychiatric Clinic in Heidelberg. In 1922 Prinzhorn published a book that was to be of considerable historical importance: *Bildnerie der Geisteskranken* [Artistry of the mentally ill]), the first comprehensive, richly illustrated study of art and psychopathology._ The book lists Wölfli as case no. 450 and includes a color reproduction of a drawing Prinzhorn had received from Morgenthaler. Less than a year after *Bildnerie der Geisteskranken* appeared, Max Ernst took the book to Paris, where it struck a chord, especially among the surrealists.

Morgenthaler's monograph raised particular interest in artistic and intellectual circles. As modern psychiatry was gaining new insights into mental illness and as avant-garde artists were searching for alternatives to traditional art, it was time to reassess the art of the mentally ill. Adolf Kölsch, the art editor of the well-reputed *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, devoted a two-part review to the book on Wölfli, emphasizing that "the progress of the illness either liberates forces urging artistic form or endows the subject dealt with, with contents that remained inaccessible to the average normal person." Intrigued by this review, the German poet Rainer Maria Rilke bought Morgenthaler's book and sent it to Lou Andreas-Salomé in Göttingen, together with a long letter that is often quoted: "Apparently, the impulse to order, the most relentless among the creative forces, is elicited most forcefully by two kinds of inner states: by feeling of inner superabundance and by a person's total inner collapse, which in turn also generates a superabundance. ... The Wölfli case will help us some day to gain new insights about the origins of creativity and it also makes contributions to the strange, apparently growing realization how many of the symptoms of the illness (as Morgenthaler 'suspects') ought to be supported because they bring [it] to the open the rhythm through which nature is striving to reclaim that which has been alienated from it and to bring into a new melodious congruence." Andreas-Salomé replied: "What must have moved you vehemently is, I imagine, the remarkable fact that the compulsive productive urge of the creative artist clearly reappears in the schizophrenic. ... The book I immediately recommended highly to Freud."_ Like Kölsch, Rilke, and Andreas-Salomé, the Swiss writer Hans Morgenthaler, Walter Morgenthaler's cousin, also recognized parallels between Wölfli's work and the work of an artist. In 1925, referring to *Ein*

Geisteskranker als Künstler, he wrote: "I have realized how similar some of the thoughts, impulses, motives of the sick man are to those of a normal artist."_

The first collections of Wölfli's drawings were already being assembled during his lifetime. Walter Morgenthaler, the earliest Wölfli collector, owned some 115 of his works (102 of them now in the possession of the Adolf Wölfli Foundation). Other collectors were the psychiatrist Oscar Forel (now in the Collection de l'Art Brut in Lausanne), an English psychiatrist who worked at Waldau during the First World War (dispersed in various private collections), and Julius von Ries, husband of Maria von Ries, who was Wölfli's attending psychiatrist from 1920 till 1930 (private collection). In the twenties three private collectors were active: Ernst Mumenthaler, an architect in Basel, and his wife, Elisabeth Mumenthaler-Fischer (101 works, today in the Department of Drawings and Prints of the Museum of Fine Arts, Basel, catalog); the teacher Hermine Ferndrigger Marti (some 46 works, 10 in possession of the Adolf Wölfli Foundation, the rest dispersed in private collections). Fritz Baumann, founder of the avant-garde "Neues Leben" group in Basel, which had strong ties with the dadaists in Zurich, visited Wölfli at Waldau in 1922. He bought several drawings and a sketchbook (private collection). Another prominent buyer was C. G. Jung, who owned three of Wölfli's drawings: Schwefel-Beerg (Sulfur-Mountain, 1904), Medizininische Fakultät (Medical Faculty, 1905), and Riisen-Glocke Grampo Lina (Giant-Bell Grampo Lina, 1906). These three drawings belong to the early work (1904-1906) and exhibit the symbolic and archetypal shapes so important to Jung (property of the Adolf Wölfli Foundation today). Surprisingly, the drawings were not mentioned by Jung in any of his writings.

Apart from selling his drawings, Wölfli also received commissions from the Waldau asylum. As early as 1916, Morgenthaler let him do the decoration of two wooden cupboards and two vitrines for the Waldau Museum (see p.225). The museum had been installed in 1914 on Morgenthaler's initiative in two low-ceilinged mezzanine rooms in the New Clinic. It housed Wölfli's drawings and works by patients from other asylums in Switzerland, as well as medical apparatus and other historical objects used in the care of the insane. The museum could be seen only by appointment and was visited by psychiatrists, a few members of the general public, and several artists. At the end of the 1980s the museum was transferred to a renovated eighteenth-century building in the Waldau complex, and it was opened to the public in 1993. Wölfli continued to receive commissions from Waldau after Morgenthaler's departure in 1920, among them his largest drawing, Memorandum (1.5 x 3 m) made for the auditorium of the New Clinic in 1926.

From 1916 on, with the intensified production of the Brotkunst (Bread Art) drawings, the demand for Wölfli's drawings grew rapidly (see p. 62). This popularity prompted Morgenthaler to issue four rules in 1919 in regard to the handling of Wölfli's work. The rules reflect both Wölfli's mounting success and Morgenthaler's efforts to secure the survival of the Waldau Collection while enabling sales to continue:

1. All drawings by Wölfli are to be handed over to the [Waldau] collection unless other arrangements are made.
2. If someone wants to have a drawing made, he must give Wölfli two sheets of paper and enough pencils and colored pencils. The two drawings are to be shown to the doctor in charge of the collection, who will choose one drawing for the collection and present the other to the person who commissioned it.
3. Received drawings can not be passed on to third parties without permission of the [Waldau] Administration. Apart from supplying the drawing material, persons outside the asylum must pay a sum, fixed by the Administration, as compensation for Wölfli.
4. The staff is responsible for ensuring that no drawing is given away before it is shown to the physician in charge of the collection!

Between 1919 and 1921 Wölfli had sold or given away some four hundred drawings to doctors, visitors, and employees. In 1921 he documented his selling success in a list itemizing the name of each owner and the title of the work delivered: "Verzeichniss, selbst gemachter Portraits-Bilder, welche ich jeh, an Herrn Docktor Morgenthaler im Neu-Bau der Irren-Anstalt Waldau bei Bern, Schweiz Anbgelifert habe. Skt. Adolf II. Pattientt. Per Stük zu jeh, Fr. 5" [Catalog of self-made portrait pictures that I ever handed over to Doctor Morgenthaler in the New Clinic of the Waldau Mental Asylum near Bern. St. Adolf II. Pattientt. At Fr. 5 the piece].

The open-mindedness of the Waldau medical staff was demonstrated again on another occasion. Adolphe Appia, one of Switzerland's most important theater directors and theoreticians, was a patient at Waldau from 1921 to 1922. He helped to organize the Christmas pageant in 1921 and cast Wölfli as one of the Magi (fig.183). The performance was a complete success, despite--or because of--Wölfli's attempt to steal the limelight: "13 Dec. 1921. I was successful in persuading the patient [Wölfli] to bring a small poem of his own into a little play for Christmas; he wrote poetry and had to learn by heart a number of passages from the play, which he accomplished very well & performed well at the rehearsals. However, one poem is a little too long & a few lines need censorship, till now he has left them out, but at Christmas he wants to recite the whole poem. Considers himself the greatest poet, musician & painter." "27 Dec. 21. The Christmas celebration went well & the patient did a good job; at the last rehearsal he wanted to go on strike, insisting on reciting the whole poem, even if it took 2 hrs. But he ultimately let himself be talked out of it."_

Wölfli's drawings were exhibited twice during his lifetime. On the publication of *Ein Geisteskranker als Künstler*, over sixty of his drawings were displayed in the shop window of the bookstore Ernst Bircher Publishers, Bern (fig. 182). The second time was in 1930, as part of an exhibition of children's drawings at the Gewerbemuseum (Museum of Applied Art) in Winterthur, where Wölfli's works were presented as a "Special Exhibition: Drawings by a Mentally Ill Person."_

Interestingly, the publication of Morgenthaler's book coincided with or was perhaps the catalyst for a little-known episode in the political arena. In 1923, sixteen years before Hitler devised the "euthanasia" program for killing the mentally ill in 1939, the chief medical examiner of the city proposed to the Bernese parliament that a legal basis be established for "killing those who suffer from incurable mental illness and idiocy."_

Jean Dubuffet and Adolf Wölfli

After his death in 1930 until the end of World War II, Wölfli and his work were mostly forgotten. Interest in his art reemerged only in the mid-1940s within the context of an ongoing interest in the primitive, the exotic, and the Freudian theory of the unconscious. In July 1945, the French artist Jean Dubuffet and the poet Jean Paulhan visited Switzerland. Paulhan's account of their trip contains the following passage about Dubuffet: "He is pursued by the idea of a direct and untutored art--an art brut, he says-- which he thinks to find among the insane and imprisoned. If he heard that in some place a bear had begun to paint, he would dash there immediately."_ At Waldau and the Münsingen Mental Asylum, the two psychiatric institutions in the Canton of Bern, as well as in the psychiatric hospital of Céry near Lausanne (Canton Vaud), Dubuffet saw works by Wölfli, Heinrich Anton Müller, and Aloïse. He returned to Paris with several of their drawings-- works Paulhan admired for the "simplicity of their insistence."_

Starting with the drawings obtained in Switzerland, Dubuffet began systematically collecting works by the mentally ill and outcasts under the

new label he created: Art Brut. Dubuffet was familiar with Prinzhorn's *Bildnerie der Geisteskranken*; the Swiss art critic and writer Paul Budry had given it to him in the early twenties. In contrast to Prinzhorn, who had wanted to assemble as comprehensive a collection as possible, Dubuffet selected works chiefly according to his own aesthetic criteria.

In 1945 he decided to publish a series of books on Art Brut, the *Fascicules de l'Art Brut*. The first volume, *Les Barbus Müller et autres pièces de la statuaire provinciale*, was published by Gallimard; the second, a translation of Morgenthaler's monograph, did not progress beyond the advertising stage at this time (fig. 181).

In 1947 René Drouin, a renowned Parisian gallery owner, offered Dubuffet two rooms in the basement of his gallery in place Vendôme for his collection of Art Brut. Coincidentally, that same year the French writer André Malraux published his famous book *Psychologie de l'art: le musée imaginaire* in which he asked for an ideal, open museum embracing the works from prehistory to modern times, and from foreign cultures as well as from mentally ill persons. Between 1947 and the autumn of 1948 Dubuffet held several exhibitions of his collection at the gallery of René Drouin and thus introduced it to a wider public. These exhibitions included works by Wölfli and Aloïse. In 1948 Dubuffet induced André Breton, Jean Paulhan, Charles Ratton, Henri-Pierre Roché (author of *Jules et Jim*), and Michel Tapié to join him in establishing the *Compagnie de l'Art Brut*. At the beginning of September 1948, the compagnie transferred its collection to a pavilion supplied by the publisher Gaston Gallimard in the rue de l'Université. In October a large one-man show of Wölfli's work was mounted there, assembling 120 drawings from Morgenthaler's collection. According to Dubuffet, the Parisian public responded enthusiastically to the show.

In November 1949 Dubuffet opened the large exhibition *L'Art brut préféré aux arts culturels* [Art Brut preferred to cultural arts], for which René Drouin had lent the main ground-floor rooms of his gallery. This programmatic exhibition of two hundred works by sixty-three artists was accompanied by a generously illustrated catalog containing only a single text, Dubuffet's manifesto *L'art brut préféré aux arts culturels*. In it Dubuffet contrasted the official standpoint of the arts culturels to the voyance--the clear-sightedness--of Art Brut: "[By Art Brut] we understand the work created by people who are untainted by official culture, in other words, for whom mimesis plays little or no part, in contrast to what happens among intellectuals, allowing their creators to draw everything (subject, choice of material, expressive means, rhythms, spellings, etc.) from their own inner selves and not from the commonplaces of classical or currently fashionable art."

In 1951 Dubuffet disbanded the *Compagnie de l'Art Brut*. During its three years of existence it numbered approximately sixty members, among them Albert Camus, Paul Eluard, Jean Cocteau, Henri Michaux, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Tristan Tzara. After the compagnie dissolved, the collection was stored in the house of Alfonso Ossorio, a painter and friend of Dubuffet's, in East Hampton, Long Island, in the United States. While it was in the United States, the collection received only a single public showing: an exhibition at the Cordier-Warren Gallery in New York in February 1962, which, however, made little impression on the New York audience. The collection was back in Paris in 1962, in the rue des Sèvres, on view by appointment only. In 1963 Dubuffet reestablished the *Compagnie de l'Art Brut*, whose collection encompassed two thousand works by two hundred artists. Among other things Dubuffet tried to acquire sixty-seven Wölfli drawings offered to him for SFr. 4,500 by Julius von Ries in 1963, but the sale fell through. In 1964 Dubuffet resumed publication of the series on Art Brut again, publishing eight volumes in only two years. He began with a richly illustrated French translation of Morgenthaler's monograph, which appeared in 1964 under the title *Adolf Wölfli*. In the

early seventies Dubuffet acquired the collection of the former Waldau psychiatrist Oscar Forel, which made him the owner of ninety-two drawings and a four-part screen by Wölfli. In the midseventies, Dubuffet returned to Lausanne to donate the entire collection of his Art Brut project, over five thousand works, to the city. The Collection de l'Art Brut was opened in the Chateau de Beaulieu in 1976. To his donation Dubuffet attached the condition that no works were allowed to go on loan. Until the very end of his life, he viewed Art Brut as the preserve of untutored, ahistorical art, which had to be protected from contact with the art world. Ironically enough, one of the pillars of Dubuffet's Art Brut theory, Wölfli himself, had sought recognition and acceptance by the art world: he produced a large number of drawings on commission for collectors, wanted to see his writings published, and was convinced that his drawings "somewhere would do credit to an art exhibition."_

André Breton and Adolf Wölfli

The surrealist André Breton met Dubuffet in Paris in 1944 and became one of the founding members of the Compagnie de l'Art Brut in 1948. The two planned to collaborate on an Almanach de l'Art Brut, to appear at the end of 1948, but the project was not realized. In 1948 Breton published his article "L'art des fous, la clé des champs,"_ adopting Dubuffet's standpoint. In the autumn of 1951, however, they had a falling out, and Breton announced his resignation from the Compagnie de l'Art Brut. He was unwilling to accept Dubuffet's desire to run the compagnie single-handedly. He also objected to its imminent disbandment and criticized Dubuffet for trivializing mental illness.

In 1948 Breton, who had bought an assemblage by a psychotic as early as 1929, purchased two of Wölfli's drawings from Dubuffet's collection._ In the midfifties he traveled to Waldau with an introduction from his friend Meret Oppenheim, who also accompanied him to the Waldau Museum. After this visit he asked Theodor Spoerri, a Waldau psychiatrist, for an essay on Wölfli's decoration of cupboards in the museum, which he published in his magazine *Le surréalisme*, m^{me} in 1958 (French translation by Meret Oppenheim and Kostas Axelos)._ In 1965 "l'admirable Wölfli"_ figured alongside Pablo Picasso, Heraclitus, Octavio Paz, Charles Fourier, Alphonse Toussenel, and Georges Gurdjieff in Breton's list of the seven individuals that inspired the Eleventh International Exhibition of Surrealism, at the Galerie L'Oeil in Paris. Breton's preface to the catalog was in the form of a little play introducing each of the seven figures (or seven dwarfs?) with a short commentary and then letting them speak briefly for themselves. "The victor [Wölfli], at one with the sacrifice, here in full grandeur; never has the front of the coin contrasted so strongly with the reverse: on the one side, ithyphallic, pursuing some poor little girl, on the other side, cheerful, though always locked in, sleeves rolled up, plug of tobacco in his cheek, in front of a pile of his vivid creations, which, as an ensemble, represent one of the three or four most important oeuvres of the twentieth century. And, what is not, shall be. Amen, amen: Amen. And thus it shall be" (quoting Wölfli)._

The Fifties--Emerging Psychiatric Interest

After the Second World War a new generation of psychiatrists entered the field of psychopathology and art. Pictures by psychotics were discussed in publications and at psychiatric congresses, where they were also shown in exhibitions.

In 1950 the First International Congress of Psychiatry took place at Sainte-Anne Psychiatric Hospital in Paris._ It was accompanied by an International Exhibition of Psychopathological Art, organized by the psychiatrist Jean Delay. The two thousand works from forty-five collections

were seen by over ten thousand visitors in barely one month. The ten Wölfli drawings shown were from the collection of Arnold Weber, a psychiatrist at Waldau. In 1956 Robert Volmat's extensive study of the art and the concept of the exhibition, *L'Art psychopathologique*, was published, the first large-scale book on the subject since Prinzhorn's *Bildnerei der Geisteskranken* (1922).__

In conjunction with the "Symposium internazionale sull'arte psicopatologica" in Verona in 1959, twenty-four of Wölfli's drawings and a notebook of drawings from Morgenthaler's collection were shown. It was during this symposium that the Société Internationale de Psychopathologie de l'Expression [Society of Art and Psychopathology] was founded. The goal of SIPE was to gain better understanding of the mentally ill by investigating nonverbal means of expression. Apart from many important psychiatrists, such as Manfred Bleuler, Ludwig Binswanger, Jean Delay, Ernst Kretschmer, C. G. Jung, and Jaques Lacan the organization also numbered among its members Jean Dubuffet, the art historian Ernst H. Gombrich, and the scholar of literature Jean Starobinsky. In 1958 Theodor Spoerri and Hans Heimann, two young psychiatrists at Waldau, began to publish a journal called *Confinia psychiatrica. Grenzgebiete der Psychiatrie - Borderland of Psychiatry - Les Confins de la Psychiatrie*, which continued to be issued until 1980. The magazine had an anthropological slant and pursued the objective of expanding the psychiatric viewpoint in collaboration with related disciplines. In 1963 *Confinia psychiatrica* became the official review of SIPE. Already in 1955 Spoerri and Heimann had given a joint lecture course, "Mental Illness, Religion, and Art," at the University of Bern. The art historians Harald Szeemann and Elka Spoerri were among the eleven students who attended the lectures. This first encounter with psychotic art became eminently important to Szeemann's later activity as an exhibition curator: "Brendel, Wölfli, Müller, Soutter, the Prisoner of Basel ..., all of them gave me a great deal since Theodor Spoerri's lectures on Wölfli, which took place in conjunction with a theologian's lectures on Kierkegaard, drew my attention to them in the midfifties."__

In 1957 Theodor Spoerri and Max Huggler, then director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Bern, and a professor of art history, organized a seminar titled "Geisteskrankheit und Kunst" [Mental illness and art], which was held at the museum, where the art works were displayed. Spoerri's book on Wölfli's pictorial world appeared in 1964 as volume 5 of the series *Psychopathology and Pictorial Expression*.__

In 1961 Alfred Bader, a psychiatrist working at the University Psychiatric Clinic in Cery near Lausanne, published *Insania pingens. Wunderwelt des Wahns* [Insania pingens: Wonderworld of madness], with contributions by Jean Cocteau, Georg Schmidt (director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Basel), Hans Steck (director of the University Psychiatric Clinic in Cery), and Bader himself. The selection of the authors--writers, art historians, and psychiatrists--reflects the interdisciplinary collaboration envisioned by the journal *Confinia psychiatrica* and SIPE. In 1963 Bader, who had collected psychotic art since the midfifties, founded the Centre d'études de l'expression plastique at the University Psychiatric Clinic in Cery.

Adolf Wölfli and the Art World

In the fifties interest in Art Brut was largely restricted to psychiatrists and André Breton's coterie. In the sixties, curators, art historians, and artists began discussing Art Brut in exhibitions, catalogs and, books. The work of the mentally ill was increasingly accepted as art.

In 1963 Harald Szeeman mounted the first exhibition of such work at an official art institution, the Kunsthalle in Bern. *Bildnerei der*

Geisteskranken--Art Brut--Insania Pingens, part of Szeemann's exhibition series devoted to marginal areas of art, showed works by seventeen "schizophrenic artists," including Wölfli. In only three weeks the exhibition was seen by more than four thousand visitors, including many artists. The following year one of Wölfli's works, Riesen-Stadt, Waaben-Hall (Giant-City, Honeycomb-Hall, 1917) found its way into a museum collection for the first time. The drawing was part of a private collection of works by Dubuffet given to the Museum of Fine Arts, Basel, and thus Wölfli, as the irony of history would have it, entered a collection of arts culturels via the inventor of Art Brut. In 1967 an Art Brut exhibition was held at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris. At this second survey exhibition, Dubuffet showed a selection of seven hundred works from his collection, including his entire stock of Wölfli drawings. In 1968 Wölfli was included in the official Künstlerlexikon der Schweiz (Encyclopedia of Swiss artists). On the initiative of the editor, Hans Christoph von Tavel, later the director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Bern, Elka Spoerri wrote a short text about him. Works by Wölfli, Aloïse, and Müller were included in the Schweizer Zeichnungen des XX. Jahrhunderts (Swiss drawings of the twentieth century) exhibition in 1971, which assembled a representative selection of Swiss drawings from Ferdinand Hodler to Jean Tinguely and was shown in various cities in Switzerland and Germany. In the same year the Kupferstichkabinett, Museum of Fine Arts, Basel, devoted an exhibition to the Wölfli collection of Ernst and Elisabeth Mumenthaler Fischer (101 drawings) thus becoming the first public art institution to honor a psychotic artist with a one-man show. The catalog included texts by Franz Meyer and Dieter Koeplin.

It was at documenta 5 in Kassel in 1972, however, that Wölfli's work gained international recognition and was granted a secure place among contemporary art. Harald Szeemann put Wölfli's art in the section "Individuelle Mythologien" [Individual mythologies]. He reconstructed the cell in which Wölfli worked and lived, and in it he displayed the complete stack of Wölfli's writings. A second room presented a reconstruction of the Waldau Museum, complete with the cupboards and vitrines decorated by Wölfli. Theodor Spoerri's essay "Identität von Abbildung und Abgebildetem in der Bilderei der Geisteskranken" (Identity of representation and the represented in the art of the mentally ill) in the exhibition catalog included a discussion of Wölfli's art, for the first time taking into account as well the content of his writings.

The English-speaking world gained access to Art Brut with the publication of Roger Cardinal's Outsider Art in 1972. Cardinal followed Prinzhorn, Volmat, and Dubuffet as the fourth author to write a comprehensive study on the subject. The book began with a historical survey of Art Brut and went on to relate the biographies of twenty-nine artists. Cardinal's translation of the label "Art Brut" as "Outsider Art" soon established itself as a standard term and is used today all over the world to designate art by those considered marginal to the mainstream of the art world. Both Szeemann and Cardinal continued to pursue their interest in the art of the mentally ill. Szeemann placed their works in the broader context of modern art, including them in thematic exhibitions--Museum der Obsessionen [Museum of obsessions] since 1973, Jungesellenmaschine [Bachelor machine], 1975, Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk [The tendency toward the total work of art], 1983, and Visionäre Schweiz [Visionary Switzerland], 1991. Cardinal explores the specific concept of "outsiders" by discussing acceptance and rejection by the art world and by emphasizing the importance of aesthetic criteria in evaluating Outsider Art.

In 1973 Jürgen Glaesemer, then director of the Paul Klee Foundation in Bern, showed a group of Wölfli's drawings as part of an exhibition in the Museum of Bern titled Paul Klee: Handzeichnungen Kindheit bis 1920 [Paul Klee: Drawings, childhood until 1920]. Glaesemer was a decided and decisive advocate of integrating Wölfli into the collection of the museum. He

organized with Elka Spoerri the first major retrospective and traveling exhibition of Wölfli's work (1976-1980) and collaborated with her in editing the catalog and all subsequent publications. In 1987 in *Die Gleichzeitigkeit des Anderen* [The simultaneity of the other], Glaesemer's last exhibition, he put Wölfli and Klee in the same room.

The Collection de l'Art Brut opened in Lausanne in 1976. Michel Thévoz, author of the book *L'Art Brut* (1975), was appointed director of the newly established museum and continued, with the expert assistance of Geneviève Roulin, to expand the collection along the lines of its founder, Jean Dubuffet. In the same year the psychiatrists Alfred Bader and Leo Navratil published *Zwischen Wahn und Wirklichkeit. Kunst--Psychose--Kreativität* [Between madness and reality: Art--psychosis--creativity]._ This book was the sixth comprehensive study of the art of the mentally ill, joining those of Prinzhorn, Volmat, Dubuffet, Cardinal, and Thevoz, and since then several treatises on Art Brut and Outsider Art have been written, also including younger artists (see the Bibliography).

The sixties and seventies witnessed a number of artistic homages to Wölfli and other mentally ill artists; their works were becoming an important source of inspiration for many contemporary artists. The artist Daniel Spoerri had already visited the Waldau Museum in the late fifties. In 1960 Jean Tinguely and Bernhard Luginbühl visited the Waldau Museum while they were preparing their joint exhibition at the Kunsthalle in Bern; their guide was Franz Meyer, then director of the Kunsthalle, who was already familiar with Wölfli's work. In 1960 Daniel Spoerri made an assemblage *Hommage ... Anton Müller, père de Dieu* (1960) and Tinguely a sculpture *Hommage ... Anton Müller*._ The first homages to Wölfli were given in the late sixties, by the Swiss artist Johannes Gachnang (1967) and by the Austrian painter Arnulf Rainer (1969), who had been collecting Outsider Art since the early 1960s. With exhibitions making Wölfli's work increasingly accessible in the seventies, there were further homages--from Markus Rätz (1970), Meret Oppenheim (1974), Daniel Spoerri (1976), Franz Eggenschwiler (1976), André Thomkins (1976), and Hermann Nitsch (1978). Bernhard Luginbühl and Jean Tinguely cooperated to honor Wölfli's work in five Zorn (Rage) incineration happenings (1976-1983); the French artist Annette Messager identified to Wölfli as one of the major artistic influences on her work;_ and the American artist Jonathan Borofsky regarded Wölfli's work as confirmation of his own method._

The Adolf Wölfli Foundation

In 1972 the success Wölfli's work had enjoyed at the documenta 5 exhibition prompted three members of the Bernese parliament to make an official inquiry about how safely these works, now considered valuable, were housed in Waldau and whether there was a way of making them accessible to a larger public. A committee was appointed, and on its recommendation the whole Waldau Collection (147 drawings, 6 school notebooks, and 44 volumes of narrative writing) were deposited at the Museum of Fine Arts in Bern. In October 1974 Morgenthaler's collection entered the museum as "Gift of Dr. Walter Morgenthaler/Dr. Fred Singeisen" (103 works). In 1975 the Adolf Wölfli Foundation was established "to secure the propagation and the maintenance of the work of the Bernese draftsman Adolf Wölfli, to acquire further works by him, to compile an inventory of his works, to promote research, and to make his works accessible to the public."_ Elka Spoerri was appointed curator of the foundation.

Contemporary Composers and Adolf Wölfli

Brief extracts of Wölfli's musical compositions were transcribed by the musicologists Peter Streiff and Kjell Keller in 1976 and performed at the opening of the Adolf Wölfli traveling exhibition in Bern. The compositions

and excerpts of the writings were recorded in 1978 by a trio and two speakers on a LP record Wölfli. Gelesen und vertont [Wölfli in word and music].

In general composers have shown little interest in Wölfli's own compositions. Rather, contemporary classical composers and minimal and independent-underground musicians have focused on the content of his imaginary autobiography *From the Cradle to the Grave*, on the cosmic travel of the *Geographic and Algebraic Books*, and on the rhythmic element of his language.

Between 1980 and 1982 the Danish composer Per Norgard wrote three Wölfli-related works: *Wie ein Kind* [Like a child], a choral piece, *Indischer Rosengarten und Chinesischer Hexensee* [Indian rosegarden and Chinese sea of the witches], a symphony, and *Die göttliche Kirmes* [The divine fair], an opera. The last is an impressive scenic conceptualization of the web of relationships connecting Wölfli, his childish alter ego Doufi, his newly created persona St. Adolf II, and the figures populating his private world.

After using texts by Friedrich Hölderlin, Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz, and Ernst Herbeck to make musical compositions, the German composer Wolfgang Rihm explored Wölfli's poems and composed the *Wölfli Liederbuch* [Wölfli songbook] in 1980-1981. The premier was at the avant-garde festival *Steirischer Herbst* in Graz in 1981, as part of a program of *Wölfli Scenes*, including compositions by Gösta Neuwirth (*Ein wahre Geschichte. Tragifarce in drei Bildern mit einem Prolog*), Georg Hass, and Anton Prestele.

Commissioned by Erich Holliger, dramaturg at the Basel Theatre, the Austrian composer Ingomar Grünauer wrote the libretto of the chamber opera *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte des Adolf Wölfli* [The creation story of Adolf Wölfli], which premiered in Basel in 1982. Grünauer was, as he himself put it, "fascinated by the way Wölfli obstinately pursued the same basic motifs, which recur again and again in altered form."_

In 1985 the New Zealander Graeme Revell, the French group *Déficit des années antérieures*, and the group *Nurse with Wound* introduced the independent label *Musique Brut*. They recorded the LP *Necropolis, Amphibians & Reptiles* based on Wölfli's work and also including Revell's music for the film *Necropolis* (Flitcroft/Goldbacher).

The Swiss composer Regina Irman wrote three Wölfli-inspired compositions: *Ein vatter-ländischer Lieder-Bogen* [A fatherland songbook], for woman's voice and prepared piano (1985-1986); *Ein Trauermarsch* [A funeral march], for voice and percussion trio (1987), which alludes to the phonic poems of Wölfli's *Trauermarsch* (1928-1930); and *Tabellen* [Register], for three voices and percussion trio (1991)._

The California artist Terry Riley, who with fellow pioneers Steve Reich, Philip Glass, and La Monte Young originated minimalist music in the United States, saw Wölfli's drawings in Glaesemer's exhibition *Die Gleichzeitigkeit des Anderen* in 1987. This encounter with Wölfli's universe provided the spark for a "work in progress," which Riley has performed in different versions in Philadelphia and Nice, and as a multimedia spectacle in Bern in 1994. In the early 1990s, the Swede Mats Johansson who had already written a work about the French Outsider Artist Ferdinand Cheval, translated Wölfli's imaginary travels into the pop-music-inspired *Voyage: A Trip to Elsewhere*. The latest composition relating to Wölfli is by the Italian Lucia Ronchetti, whose two pieces *Musikfässli* [Small barrel of music] and *Zohrn* [Rage] were performed in 1994 in Rome and 1995 in Paris.

The Publication of Adolf Wölfli's Writings

Between 1976 and 1978 Wölfli's writings were transcribed and studied. The publication of the first part of his writings, his imaginary autobiography, *Von der Wiege bis zum Graab*, in 1985 drew attention to Wölfli as a writer. Already recognized by the art world, he was now acknowledged by the literary world as well. As a result he was included in literary encyclopedias and anthologies of texts by Swiss authors. Various German-speaking writers responded to Wölfli's work, among them Peter Bichsel, Adolf Muschg, Jürg Laederach, Hans-Jürgen Heinrichs, and Till Briegleb. The publication of Wölfli's writings continued in 1991 with *Geographisches Heft No. 11*, in which Wölfli describes the genesis of the "St. Adolf-Giant Creation."

In contrast to Wölfli's drawings, for which there is no language barrier, his writings are accessible only to those who can read German, but among German speakers they elicited a response. Wölfli's work received a special tribute at a reading performance held in the main railroad station in Darmstadt from 18 to 22 October 1993. For four days and nights students from the Institut für Angewandte Theaterwissenschaft (Institute for Applied Theater Science) in Giessen gave a marathon, nonstop reading of *Von der Wiege bis zum Graab* in its entirety.

Wölfli in Individual and Group Exhibitions

The new insights obtained from the content of the writings became the basis for the first all-inclusive exhibition in 1976, titled *Adolf Wölfli*. Over two hundred pictures, for the first time including illustrations of his narrative oeuvre, offered a comprehensive survey of his work. The exhibition traveled to fourteen cities in Europe and the United States between 1976 and 1980. A catalog in German, English, and French, with contributions by art historians, critics of literature, musicologists, psychiatrists, and writers accompanied the exhibition.

Over the past twenty years, Wölfli's drawings have been shown in thirteen one-man shows and over forty group exhibitions. The one-man shows, all organized by the Adolf Wölfli Foundation, were devoted either to Wölfli's entire oeuvre or focused on a specific aspect of his work. On the publication of *Adolf Wölfli. Zeichnungen 1904-1906* in 1987 the Städtisches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt showed Wölfli's early work, the pencil drawings from 1904-1906. The catalog documented all forty-nine known works, providing full-page illustrations and diagrams. The 1991 exhibition *Wölfli - Zeichner und Komponist [Wölfli--draftsman and composer]*, also with catalog, focused on music in Wölfli's art. Other exhibitions showed Wölfli's collages, number-pictures, maps of cities, and the so-called Bread Art, drawings he made for sale. Since the beginning of the 1980s a constantly changing selection of Wölfli's work has been on display at the Museum of Fine Arts, Bern.

Group exhibitions have shown Wölfli in the context of Outsider Art as well as in large thematic exhibitions devoted to specific subjects. These provided new understanding of the variety of his oeuvre: *über die ungewöhnliche Natur des Geldes* (Düsseldorf, 1978-1979), *Images et imaginaires d'architecture* (Paris, 1984), *--auf ein Wort. Konkrete Poesie* (Mainz, 1987), *Les couleurs de l'argents* (Paris, 1991), *Art et publicité* (Paris, 1991), *Die Sprache der Kunst* (Vienna, 1993-1994). Other thematic exhibitions included Harald Szeemann's *Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk* (Zurich, 1983) and *Visionäre Schweiz* (Zurich, 1991), and Jürgen Glaesemer's *Die Gleichzeitigkeit des Anderen* (Bern, 1987)--as well as Jean Hoet's *Open Mind-- gesloten circuits* (Ghent, 1989), Marc Dachy's *Et tous ils changent le monde* (Lyons, 1993), and Maurice Tuchman's *Parallel Visions: Modern Artists and Outsider Art* (Los Angeles, 1993).

The Art Market

The inclusion of Wölfli's work in galleries and auctions can be seen as a further public recognition. In 1963 von Ries's sale of sixty-seven drawings to Dubuffet for SFr. 4,500 did not materialize; however, the same year, the Swiss artists Bernhard Luginbühl and Otto Tschumi each bought a Wölfli drawing for SFr. 1,000 at the Bildneri der Geisteskranken - Art Brut - Insania pingens exhibition at the Kunsthalle in Bern. The Galerie Brockstedt in Hamburg was the first gallery to sell Wölfli drawings, in 1967; the first work sold at an auction was at Kornfeld and Klipstein (Bern) in 1970. In the early 1970s the prices of the drawings varied from SFr. 3,000 to 10,000; in 1994 one of Wölfli's large drawings, Memorandum (1927; private collection), brought a record price of SFr. 120,000; in 1995 and 1996 drawings were sold at an auction outside of Switzerland (Phillips and Sotheby's, London). While art prices in general stagnated or fell in the early nineties, the price of Wölfli's works doubled. Outsider Art was, as the Wall Street Journal put it in 1992, "suddenly the rage among art insiders." Wölfli's status as a classic outsider is also shown by a multitude of cover designs for art books, novels, or scientific publications: Cardinal's Outsider Art (1972), the catalog of the Collection de l'Art Brut (1976), John MacGregor's Discovery of the Art of the Insane (1989), and the English edition of Prinzhorn's Artistry of the Mentally Ill (1996). Since the eighties, Wölfli's drawings have also regularly appeared on advertising brochures and posters. In 1994 he was included in the Grosser Brockhaus, the standard encyclopedia of the German-speaking world.

Adolf Wölfli in the United States

There have been two major exhibitions of Wölfli's work in the United States. The first was the Adolf Wölfli exhibition, which traveled to the Busch-Reisinger Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art, and the Art Center in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1978-1979; the second, The Other Side of the Moon: The Art of Adolf Wölfli, organized by Elsa Longhauser, Moore College of Art, Philadelphia, could be seen in Philadelphia, New York, Berkeley, and Santa Barbara in 1988-1989. In connection with the showing of the exhibition in Philadelphia, Peter Schumann and the Bread and Puppets street theater performed The Tom Thumb Promenade with Heavenly Gardens, a piece inspired by Wölfli's work. Both exhibitions were widely covered by the press, and Ann Temkin, the art historian, wrote a comprehensive article connecting Wölfli's work with the history of modernism and psychopathology._

One center of American interest in Outsider Art was the university. In 1987 a symposium "Art without History" was held in Boston as part of the annual conference of the College Art Association. Organized by Irvin Lavin, an art history professor at Princeton, the symposium included two lectures on the field of art and psychopathology: "The Art Historian as Outsider: The Discovery of Outsider Art in America" (John M. MacGregor) and "The Art of Adolf Wölfli" (Elka Spoerri). That same year, MacGregor visited the Adolf Wölfli Foundation in Bern. In 1989 he published an extensive study titled The Discovery of the Art of the Insane, which contained a long chapter on Adolf Wölfli and Walter Morgenthaler._ In 1990 Elka Spoerri taught a seminar on Outsider Art at the City University of New York, which marked the beginning of a series of annual lectures for art departments at various American colleges and universities. In 1992 the American psychiatrist Aaron H. Esman published his translation of Morgenthaler's monograph on Wölfli._ In 1994 the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association included lectures on two psychotic artists, Adolf Wölfli (Elka Spoerri) and Martin Ramirez (Phyllis Kind). The interest of the American Psychiatric Association, MacGregor's book, the English edition of Morgenthaler's monograph, and the American psychologist Louis A. Sass's Madness and Modernism (1992) all indicate that contemporary American psychiatry is

devoting increasing attention to the subject of art and psychopathology. The interest shown by U.S. universities offered a sharp contrast to the situation at European universities. The only seminar was held at the University of Basel, and its papers were published in 1993 as *Portrait eines produktiven Unfalls - Adolf Wölfli* [Portrait of a productive accident-- Adolf Wölfli].

Adolf Wölfli, Bern, and Switzerland

Adolf Wölfli's work survived and became known in the wider world because of several fortuitous circumstances. The first coincidence was that Walter Morgenthaler and Adolf Wölfli were at Waldau at the same time. Morgenthaler was interested in artistic creativity and able to recognize his patient's work as art. Wölfli went on making his art, and Morgenthaler was there to document his progress in a monograph published at a historically important moment in the 1920s. By the mid-fifties Theodor Spoerri and Hans Heimann, two psychiatrists of a new generation, were working at Waldau. Both were interested in the borderlands of psychiatry and were committed to interdisciplinary research. The art of the insane, particularly Wölfli's art, was now viewed in a new psychiatric and historic-cultural context. In the early sixties a young art historian, Harald Szeemann, took up this novel approach and expanded on it, opening up the Kunsthalle Bern to Art Brut. Szeemann showed Wölfli's work in an international art context at documenta 5 in Kassel in 1972. At about the same time, Jürgen Glaesemer, director of the Paul Klee Foundation, and Michel de Rivaz, president of the Adolf Wölfli Foundation, succeeded in making Wölfli's work part of the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Bern.

In Lausanne another series of happy coincidences ultimately resulted in the establishment of the Collection de l'Art Brut in 1976. When Dubuffet was asked why he had donated his collection to Lausanne in particular, he answered: "Out of friendship; I was very friendly with Paul Budry, Charles-Albert Cingria, [René] Auberjonois. I began my search in 1945 at Waldau, where Wölfli had lived, and in Geneva, where I saw Professor Ladame's collections of drawings by sick people. It was also in Lausanne that I got to know Aloïse. The fact is that in my search I found more help and understanding in Switzerland, especially from doctors, than anywhere else."

At the Basel Museum, the gift of Ernst and Elisabeth Mumenthaler-Fischer converged with Franz Meyer's long-standing interest and Dieter Koeplin's good eye, and the encounter led to the first museum exhibition of Wölfli's art. Perhaps, in the end, we owe the preservation and dissemination of Wölfli's art the happy coincidence that, as Dubuffet once put it, Switzerland had "the finest lunatics."

— Walter Morgenthaler, *Ein Geisteskranker als Künstler* (Bern, 1921, reprint Vienna and Berlin, 1985). English translation: *Madness and Art: The Life and Works of Adolf Wölfli*, trans. Aaron H. Esman (Lincoln, Neb., 1992). The book contains a portrait of Adolf Wölfli plus three color and seventeen black-and-white reproductions of his drawings. It was issued by Ernst Bircher, a publishing house specializing in studies and handbooks of medicine and psychology. The publication had been preceded, in the winter of 1919-1920, by two lectures on Wölfli: at the 16th Meeting of the Schweizerische Neurologische Gesellschaft [Swiss Neurological Association] in Solothurn and for the Bernische Kunstgesellschaft [Bernese Art Society]. In 1921 Morgenthaler became director of a private clinic in Münchenbuchsee. In the twenties he devoted his energies to developing a course of training for nursing staff. His efforts culminated in a recognized training program

and the standard textbook *Die Pflege des Gemüts- und Geisteskranken* [Care of the emotionally and mentally ill, Bern, 1930).

_ Hermann Rorschach, "Analytische Bemerkungen über das Gemälde eines Schizophrenen," *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie* 3 (1913): 270-72; and "Analyse einer schizophrenen Zeichnung," *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie* 4 (1914): 53-58. See also Walter Morgenthaler, "èbergänge zwischen Zeichnen und Schreiben bei Geisteskranken," *Schweizer Archiv für Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 2 (1918): 255-305.

_ Hans Prinzhorn, *Bildnerie der Geisteskranken. Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie und Psychopathologie der Gestaltung*, Berlin 1922. Published in English as *Artistry of the Mentally Ill*, with an introduction by James L. Foy (Vienna and New York, 1995). Prinzhorn had already reported on his research in 1919 (Hans Prinzhorn, "Das bildnerische Schaffen der Geisteskranken," *Zeitschrift für gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 53 (1919): 307-26). In 1920 and 1921 both Morgenthaler and Prinzhorn attended the 59th and 61st meetings of the Schweizerischer Verein für Psychiatrie (Swiss Association for Psychiatry) in Zurich. Among the predecessors of Morgenthaler and Prinzhorn's studies was the psychiatrist Paul Gaston Meunier's book *L'art chez les fous*, published in Paris in 1907, under the pseudonym Marcel Réja.

_ Adolf Kölsch, "Dämon," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 30 and 31 August 1921; Rainer Maria Rilke und Lou Andreas-Salomé, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Ernst Pfeiffer (Zurich and Wiesbaden, 1952): 450-54; reprinted in *Der Engel des Herrn im Küchenschurz, über Adolf Wölfli*, ed. Elka Spoerri (Frankfurt am Main, 1987): 59-70. Freud makes no mention of Morgenthaler's study.

_ Hamo, *der letzte Fromme Europäer. Sein Leben, seine Versuche und Anstrengungen*. Ein Hans Morgenthaler Lesebuch, ed. Roger Perret (Basel, 1982): 306-8.

_ I thank Michel Beretti and Armin Heusser for this information.

_ Cf. Wölfli's case history (Maria von Ries), published in Morgenthaler, *Ein Geisteskranker*, p. 142.

_ Ausstellung *Kind- und Jugendzeichnungen aus dem Besitz der Mannheimer Kunsthalle*, Gewerbemuseum Winterthur, 23 February-30 March 1930.

_ Christoph Keller, *Der Schädelvermesser. Otto Schlaginhaufen - Anthropologe und Rassenhygieniker. Eine biographische Reportage* (Zurich, 1995); quoted in Stephan Krass, "Masta Otto gat Trabel," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 27 April 1995.

_ Jean Paulhan, "Guide d'un petit voyage en Suisse," in *Les cahiers de la pléiade* (Paris 1946): vol. 1, 197-216; reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris 1966), vol. 1, 256.

_ *Ibid.*, 239-59.

_ Dubuffet had probably also read Prinzhorn's book, for he knew how to read German, despite his claim in an interview with John M. MacGregor: "I wasn't able to read Prinzhorn because it was in German." John M. MacGregor, "Art Brut Chez Dubuffet. An Interview with the Artist. August 21, 1976," *Raw Vision* 7 (1993): 42. But in 1948 he wrote to Jakob Wyrsh, vice-director of Waldau: "P.S. As I read German (but write it very badly), you can answer me in that language." (Dubuffet to Wyrsh, 22 October 1948, archives of the Adolf Wölfli Foundation, Museum of Fine Arts, Bern).

_ See also Henry-Claude Cousseau, "L'origine et l'écart: d'un art ... l'autre," *Paris-Paris. Créations en France 1937-1957*, exhibition catalog, Centre Georges Pompidou (Paris, 1981): 160-72.

_ André Malraux, *Psychologie de l'art. Le musée imaginaire* (Geneva, 1947).

_ Dubuffet to Wyrsh, 22 October 1948, archives of the Wölfli Foundation.

_ Jean Dubuffet, *L'art brut préféré aux arts culturels*, exhibition catalog, Galerie René Drouin (Paris 1949), reprinted in *Jean Dubuffet, Prospectus et tous écrits suivants* (Paris, 1967): vol. 1, 1.

_ In this connection, see the convincing article by Sarah Wilson, "From the Asylum to the Museum: Marginal Art in Paris and New York, 1938-1968," *Parallel Visions: Modern Artists and Outsider Art*, exhibition catalog (Princeton, 1992): 121-49.

_ Walter Morgenthaler, *Adolf Wölfli*, trans. Henri-Pol Bouché (Paris, 1964). This French edition is slightly abridged.

- _ See the reverse of the drawing Gross Göttin Uhaja von Indien, 1922, Department of Prints and Drawings, Museum of Fine Arts, Basel.
- _ André Breton, "L'art des fous: La clé des champs," Cahiers de la pléiade, 6 (1948): 101-3, reprinted in André Breton, Le surréalisme et la peinture (Paris, 1965).
- _ André Breton. La beauté convulsive, exhibition catalog, Centre Georges Pompidou (Paris 1991): 497. The drawings were included in this exhibition.
- _ Theodor Spoerri, "L'armoire d'Adolf Wölfli", Le surréalisme, m^{me}, 4 (1958).
- _ André Breton, "Joseph Crépin" (1954), in Le surréalisme et la peinture (Paris, 1965): 306.
- _ André Breton, "Générique" (1965), in Perspective cavalière (Paris, 1970), pp. 238-42. The quotation is from Wölfli's Book 11, p. 77 (1912) and was quoted by Morgenthaler in Madness and Art, p. 8.
- _ An exhibition of over two hundred works by the mentally ill had already been held there in 1946 (without any Wölfli drawings). See also Wilson, "From the Asylum to the Museum."
- _ Robert Volmat, L'art psychopathologique (Paris, 1956).
- _ Further works by Wölfli were exhibited at the Congress of Psychiatry in Zurich in 1957 and at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Besançon, as part of the Oeuvres d'art psychopathologique show in 1958.
- _ Between 1959 and 1965 SIPE presented fourteen exhibitions of the art of the mentally ill in connection with their congresses in Europe, America, and Africa.
- _ The list of editors also included the psychiatrists Jean Delay and Ernst Kretschmer, the philosopher Karl Jaspers, the theologian Paul Tillich, the art historian Max Huggler, and the literary historian Walter Muschg. In 1929 Waldau changed its name to Bernische kantonale Irren-, Heil- und Pflegeanstalt Waldau; since 1968 it has been called Psychiatrische Universitätsklinik.
- _ Harald Szeemann, "Und siegt der Wahn, so muss die Kunst: Mehr inhalieren", in Von einer Welt zur Andren, ed. Roman Buxbaum and Pablo Stähli (Cologne, 1990): 68.
- _ Theodor Spoerri, Die Bilderwelt Adolf Wölfli's, Reihe Psychopathologie und bildnerischer Ausdruck 5 (Basel, 1964). The series was financed by the Basel chemical firm Sandoz; it appeared in five languages and was supplied free of charge to all members of SIPE.
- _ Harald Szeeman, "Ver-rücktes Weltbild. Können Geisteskranke Künstler sein?" (1963), in Individuelle Mythologien (Berlin, 1985): 125-27.
- _ See Szeemann, Individuelle Mythologien.
- _ Roger Cardinal, Outsider Art (London, 1972).
- _ See Roger Cardinal, "Surrealism and the Paradigm of the Creative Subject," in Parallel Visions: Modern Artists and Outsider Art, exhibition catalog (Princeton, 1992): 94-119; Cardinal, "Toward an Outsider Aesthetic," The Artist Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture (Washington, D.C., 1994): 20-43; Cardinal, "Between Order and Adventure," Visions from the Left Coast: California Self Taught Artists, exhibition catalog (Santa Barbara Contemporary Arts Forum, 1995): 9-14. In this context see also Christian Delacampagne, "Beyond Art Brut," Raw Vision 8 (1993-1994) and "Art et folie: des oeuvres sans concept?" L'oeuvre et ses métamorphoses, Institut des Art Visuels (Paris, 1994): 143-51.
- _ Alfred Bader and Leo Navratil, Zwischen Wahn und Wirklichkeit, Kunst-Psychose-Kreativität (Lucerne and Frankfurt am Main, 1976). Already in 1965 Navratil had published Schizophrenie und Kunst [Schizophrenia and art]. In Schizophrenie und Sprache [Schizophrenia and language], published in 1968, Navratil directed attention to the writings of the mentally ill and discussed for the first time Wölfli's writing. In 1981 he opened the famous "House for Artists" in Gugging not far from Vienna, an asylum for Art Brut artists (Oswald Tschirtner, Johann Hauser, August Walla, and others).
- _ See Roman Kurzmeyer, "Hinweis auf einige Freunde seiner Maschinen," in Heinrich Anton Müller (Basel, 1994): 190-94.

- _ Michel Nuridsany, interview with Annette Messenger, Figaro, 28 March 1993. Messenger went to Dubuffet's big Art Brut exhibition in Paris in 1967, where she got the Cahiers Dubuffet had published on Art Brut.
- _ See Parallel Visions; and Der Engel des Herrn im Küchenschurz.
- _ Foundation charter of 24 November 1975.
- _ mhm/lw, "Adolf Wölfli", in Berner Zeitung, 20 March 1982.
- 42 In connection with Irman, Rihm, and Neuwirth, see Jürg Stenzel, "Adolf Wölfli lu par trois compositeurs," Wölfli. Dessinateur - Compositeur (Lausanne, 1991): 61-69.
- _ Adolf Wölfli, Von der Wiege bis zum Graab. Oder, Durch arbeiten und schwitzen, leiden, und Drangsal, bettend zum Fluch. Schriften 1908-1912, ed. Dieter Schwarz and Elka Spoerri, Adolf Wölfli Foundation, Museum of Fine Arts, Bern (Frankfurt am Main, 1985).
- _ All texts published in Der Engel des Herrn.
- _ In the late eighties the first experimental translations of short passages from Wölfli's texts were made (in English, French, and Hungarian). See Black Letters Unleashed: 300 Years of Enthused Writing in German, Atlas Anthology 6 (London, 1989): 69-75; and In the Realms of the Unreal: "Insane" Writings, ed. John G. H. Oakes (New York, 1991): 91-106; Et tous ils changent le monde, exhibition catalog, Deuxième Biennale d'Art Contemporain (Lyon, 1993): 78-83; Nappali haz 4 (Budapest, 1995).
- _ Ken Wells, "Outsider Art' Is Suddenly the Rage among Art Insiders," Wall Street Journal, 25 February 1992.
- _ Ann Temkin, "Wölfli's Asylum Art," in Art in America (March 1989): 132-40.
- _ John M. MacGregor, The Discovery of the Art of the Insane (Princeton, 1989).
- _ Morgenthaler, Art and Madness.
- _ Louis A. Sass, Madness and Modernism: Insanity in the Light of Modern Art, Literature, and Thought (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).
- _ Portrait eines produktiven Unfalls - Adolf Wölfli. Dokumente und Recherchen, ed. and with contributions by Bettina Hunger, Michael Kohlenbach, Roman Kurzmeyer, Ralph Schröder, Martin Stingelin, and Hubert Thüning (Basel, 1993).
- _ Quoted in Michel Thévoz, Collection de l'Art Brut (Lausanne, 1976), unpaginated.