REPRESENTATIONS OF THE DREAMING MIND: DREAMS AS INSPIRATION, AND THE INFLUENCES ON THE UNCONSCIOUS, AS SHOWN IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH ART

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ABSTRACT

During the nineteenth-century, philosophic and popular interest in dreams and the unconscious increased dramatically. Simultaneously, artists and writers increasingly recognized the immense creative impulses that resided within their dreams and began to explore ways in which dream elements, such as free-association, sensory mixing, and metamorphosis of form, could be incorporated into their artistic output, including visual art and literature. Dreams, due to their inherent irrationality, were at odds with the ideologies of the Enlightenment, a belief which remained fashionable during this time but whose popularity was beginning to wane. Artists of the emerging Romantic period, on the contrary, found the unconscious immensely appealing due to their ambiguity and irrational nature. This study seeks to explore the development of dream representation in art over the course of the nineteenth-century, from a formulaic depiction to one which relied on a new kind of visual language steeped in personal emotive content used to express the artists' intention. This goal is achieved by is looking at the dream theories of Romantic and Enlightenment philosophers Arthur Schopenhauer, Eduard Von Hartmann, and Voltaire, popular cultures' theories of dream interpretation before Freud, identifying and analyzing the external forces

that can influence one’s unconscious, including hashish, synesthesia, and memory, and finally, a visual comparison of a variety of artworks that illustrate the dream or include dream elements, including an in-depth look at French artists J.J. Grandville and Victor Hugo, who were unique and innovative in their technique of expressing their individual dream-content, and instrumental in the further exploration and development of dream-work.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences have examined this thesis titled, "Representations of the Dreaming Mind: Dream as Inspiration, and the Influences on the Unconscious, as shown in Nineteenth-Century French Art," as presented by Rachael Love, candidate for the Master of Arts degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of their acceptance.

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For Grandpa

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Is there anything else as universal, ubiquitous, and mysterious as a dream? As humans, we all experience them, often daily, but what of dreams do we really understand? Dreams are difficult to analyze; they are internal, ambiguous and nonsensical. Those same characteristics also have made them, throughout history, a source of wonder, fascination, and immense creativity. In the nineteenth century, as interest in the unconscious was beginning to grow due to dreams perceived prophetic power, artists were drawn to their dreams because they recognized the ability of the unconscious to influence their imagination, and subsequently inspire their creative output. The ability to combine unlike things in the subconscious allows the dreamer to create new, incongruous things, and ideas, in unexpected ways, through free association and transfiguration of forms.

Throughout history people have attributed significance and importance upon the experiences one has while dreaming. In antiquity, it was believed dreams served to allow communication between the mortal world and the supernatural realm. They believed dreams were omens, sent by the divine to foretell of future events, and dreams of important people were given great consideration. With the approach of the Enlightenment and modernism, the belief of dreams as divine communication waned, as the interest in dreams as superstition gained popularity. Dreams were read as similar to today's horoscope, foretelling of good and bad days, lucky numbers, and revealing personal desires and fears.

What this study seeks to explore is the connection drawn in the nineteenth-century between dreams and creativity; how nineteenth century French artists depicted dreams and the unconscious, the effect external forces have on the imagery created in the dream-state, and thus the imagery of dream-work, and ultimately the way in which these innovative artists were using their personal unconscious experiences to process negative emotions. This goal is achieved by taking into account the various theories regarding the purpose of dreams leading up to Freud, the external elements that directly impact the experience one has while unconscious, the ubiquitous elements of dreaming, and a visual analysis of the formulaic way artists prior to the 1840s depicted dreams, followed by a discussion of two visual artists who approached the depiction of the unconscious in a revolutionary way after 1840.

The second chapter inquires into the philosophical and popular perspectives regarding the purpose of dreams during the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. Many of the theories Freud built his own ideas upon stemmed from the work of eighteenth-century German philosophers Arthur Schopenhauer and Eduard Von Hartmann. Their ideas of dreaming, in which the unconscious utilized waking-state memories to reveal deepest desires, and therefore one's "inner truth," have been interpreted as precursors to Freud's "wish-fulfillment" theory. In France, Voltaire was interested in the creative capacity of dreaming, and believed: "Every dream of a forcible nature is produced by some excess, either in the passions of the soul, or the nourishment of the body."[1] His theories would also influence Freud, who acknowledged dreams are based in emotive content, with a bias towards negative emotions like fear, anxiety, and guilt. Frenchman Charles Nodier, a writer, avid traveler,

[1] Voltaire, "Somnambulists and Dreamers," in *The Philosophical Dictionary,* (Lexington, KY: Renaissance Classics, 2012), chapter 425.

friend to the Romantics, and fluent in German, was immeasurably important in the spread of German philosophical ideas to French artistic communities.

Also discussed in chapter two are popular perspectives on dreaming, which relied heavily upon small chapbooks containing an A-Z index of dream symbols and their interpretations. These became very popular across class divides in France, and understood by many as a source of instructive entertainment and useful knowledge. "Dream Books," provided a wealth of information for the interested party to interpret the symbolism of their dreams, while also promoting other modes of divination.

Chapter three investigates the characteristics of dreaming, and the external influences upon one's unconscious. The scientific perspective of how dreams function within a sleeping mind, and the ability of external sensory information to weave into the internal visual narrative are discussed. As artists were becoming more aware of the depth of creative impulses within the unconscious, they began looking for ways to access elements while awake; some did this through the induction of altered states, using hashish as a way to induce a psychic state that is comparable to the dream-state. Many prominent artists and writers participated in Dr. Moreau's Hashish-Eater's Club, where they experimented with controlled substances and documented their experiences. Others found sensory correlations, similar to the condition of synesthesia, helpful due to dreams' reliance on associations.

Chapter four is a visual analysis of the formal means through which dreams and the unconscious are depicted. Leading up to the mid-nineteenth century, the reliance on visual clues, such as using clouds as support structures for dream imagery to imply that what was being illustrated was a dream was common. A comparison of drawings by Victor Hugo and J.J. Grandville is then incorporated, as examples of artists who were, I believe, using their

dream-work as a way to process and accept tragic events that caused a multitude of negative emotional responses. These two artists were revolutionary in their approach, as the dreamer was rarely, if ever, depicted, but instead, explicitly illustrated what was happening in the unconscious. The artists discussed in this study, especially Grandville and Hugo, whose techniques incorporated combined incongruous objects and levels of reality, leads to an "unusual organization of the pictorial field."[2] This approach was a new artistic treatment developed during the mid-nineteenth century that allowed objects "…to become freely available, interchangeable and, as incoherent separate components, could be recombined to form something new."[3] As the century progressed, it becomes clear that this unorthodox approach to depicting the unconscious and reality would later greatly influence the Surrealist movement.

Throughout this study, I have gathered evidence that due to a dreams' ability to combine unlike things in the subconscious, this allows the dreamer to create new, incongruous things, and ideas, in unexpected ways, through free association and transfiguration of forms. Thus, I argue, dreams are an internal, unconscious response to external stimuli, including conflict, that is imperative to the development of a creative force that ignites the imagination and free thought inside the individual, while allowing the space necessary to process and accept ideas that are not easily dealt with during waking-life.

The interest surrounding the unconscious and dream symbolism exploded during the nineteenth-century, in both the scientific community and the popular psyche. The various perspectives and theories were published in medical journals and books, street literature, and

[2] Stefanie Heraeus, and Deborah Laurie Cohen. "Artists and the Dream in Nineteenth-Century Paris: Towards a Prehistory of Surrealism." *History Workshop Journal*, 48 (1999): 161.

[3] Heraeus and Cohen, *Artists and the Dream,* 161.

through artistic endeavors such as poetry and visual art. As the century progressed, the writings on dreams, "continued to grapple with existing theories, ancient and more recent, even as it stimulated greater appreciation of the dream's role in furnishing evidence of the uncertainty of a self-evident reality and a fully knowable and coherent self."[4] While the theories vary, a common thread throughout all ideas of dreaming, is that they contain valuable and significant information for the dreamer either relating to the individual's past, present, or future self, and that dreams reveal to us that which we are unwilling, or unable, to consciously comprehend. Philosopher's such as Voltaire, Arthur Schopenhauer and Eduard Von Hartmann published their theories in books and treatises, which expressed their theories relating dreams to ultimate realities, and excesses of the soul.

Authors Charles Nodier, Marquis Hervey de Saint-Denys, Walter Benjamin, Thomas DeQuincy, Baudelaire, Balzac, Goethe, Victor Hugo, and Théophile Gautier all wrote of their own dream experiences, and in their writings expressed the personal revelations of their own realities that they came to understand through the image-based, symbolic narrative of the dream. Many of these works include, "detailed discussions of the intricate connections between mind and body, the complex natures of human consciousness, and the moral and physiological impact of conscious thought and action."[5] While these writings were abundant, the vast majority of people were attuned to their dreams through the publications of easily accessible, cheaply available chapbooks extolling the prophetic powers of dreaming. These books mixed instructive entertainment and useful knowledge into a harmless, fascinating form of superstition for the masses.

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[4] Natalya Lusty, and Helen Groth. *Dreams and Modernity: A Cultural History*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 2.

[5] Lusty and Groth, *Dreams and Modernity,* 5

Artists found these writings attractive in part, because within the narratives, the author was able to describe the feelings born from dreaming. Dreaming is ubiquitous, and thus the ideas of reality that our unconscious presents to us while asleep are also universal. Artists seized on the idea that we all experience the phenomenon of dreaming, but for each individual, the experience is something totally unique. Therefore, the art produced from dreams can be universally relatable, but is simultaneously inherently personal.

CHAPTER 2

IRRATIONALITY AND THE AGE OF REASON:
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POPULAR PERSPECTIVES OF THE DREAMING MIND

When considering dream-theory perspectives of the modern age, most people will inevitably refer to Sigmund Freud and the wish-fulfillment theories expressed in his 1900 book, *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Much of this theory, however, built upon the ideas of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century German and French philosophers, though any acknowledgement from Freud regarding their influence is scarce. As psychology was not yet established as an area of study, interest of the unconscious stemmed from philosophers, and in the eighteenth-century, philosophy mostly adhered to the ideas of the Enlightenment, opting for clear, analytical thinking, and reason was synonymous with consciousness. Although during this time, some thinkers were becoming increasingly interested in what took place during sleep and how those unconscious experiences seeped into and affected the conscious state. François-Marie Arouet, known widely by his *nom de plume*, Voltaire, Hervey de Saint-Denys, and Denis Diderot were influential in France, while Goethe, Gotthilf Von Schubert, Eduard Von Hartmann, and Arthur Schopenhauer were the major thinkers concerned with dreams in Germany. The English author Frank Seafield was also especially influential in the development of dream theories with his 1865 book, *The Literature and Curiosities of Dreams*[6]. Walter Benjamin, an influential figure of the twentieth-century whose ideas of dreams and how to use them assisted in the development of the popular culture perspective, saw the dreamscape as a "collusion of past and present, forgetting and

[6] Alexander Henley Grant. *The Literature and Curiosities of Dreams ... by Frank Seafield,* (London: Chapman, 1865).

remembering, the conscious and unconscious, dreaming and awakening as exemplary of the [conscious] collective's relationship to capitalist modernity."[7]

Much of the early modernist interest in dreams began in the late eighteenth-century and into the early nineteenth with the German Romantics. These writers, artists, musicians, and philosophers were interested in plumbing the depths of the soul and expressing profound emotion. The prevailing ideas of German Romanticism, as well as later with the French Romantics, were born from a resistance of Enlightenment ideologies, which persisted well into the nineteenth-century. This movement championed rational thought, pragmatism, and reason as the main source of legitimacy and authority. Dreams, by their innate nature, contradict rationality and are the antithesis to Enlightenment ideas. Dreams are spontaneous, ambiguous, and nonsensical, where non-linear narratives, distortion, and the occurrence of metamorphic imagery and sensation synesthesia are allowed to take place. Dreams are the middle-ground between waking-life and the unconscious, and because of these characteristics, dreams are a source of endless creativity and imagination.

The tendency of dreams to be nonsensical and metamorphic makes obvious the appeal the unconscious held for artists, writers, and musicians. The Romantics sought to express the inexpressible, using their innermost feelings to create works meant to inspire others, conveying the strong emotions brought about by experiences that are both awe-inspiring and sublime, as well as the dreadful. Romanticism was less a homogenous movement, but more of a set of social attitudes embraced by those who believed the soul was independent of the brain, and that more is to be gained by rejecting a life based solely on

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[7] Lusty and Groth, *Dreams and Modernity,* 9.

fact-based evidence as the Enlightenment suggests, and instead find profound answers to life's most puzzling questions through experiences that encourage soul-expansion.

While the French tended to explore the ideas of Romanticism through visual art, the movement in Germany was centered in literature, music, and philosophy. At this time, few books were translated from their original language, therefore the ideas of the German philosophers would not have had a large following in France. But the idea of the subconscious having significant meaning for one's waking-life was gaining popularity across Europe, and those French who could read German, as well as the several English authors publishing at this time, would have been influential in the spread of ideas beyond Germany's borders. The overwhelming feeling towards dreams, throughout history, is that they are a combination of prophetic vision, divine communication and memories, with elements of the individual's daily life and conflict, rolled in to a unique narrative that guides, warns, and provides insight for one's life. What sets the nineteenth-century apart is the modern approach to understanding the unconscious and utilizing the knowledge discovered. It is curious that during the Romantic period when artistic expression of deeply personal emotions was beginning, the scientific approach to understanding one of the most personal, emotional-based phenomenon's a human can experience was beginning to be explored in a very rational and pragmatic way. Dreams were now approached using the scientific method: the scientists observed, experimented, and recorded their findings as the basis for their theoretical conclusions.[8] While there were numerous writers and philosophers who made contributions to the theories of dreams, some of the most prevailing beliefs in France's creative circles were built upon the ideas of German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer.

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[8] Lusty and Groth, *Dreams and Modernity,* 12.

Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) believed the unconscious was the instigator of all activities, excluding the rational, and therefore alone explains all artistic and creative inspiration.[9] He was one of first learned people to make the connection between the unconscious and creativity, and state it directly. In his 1818 book *The World as Will and Representation*, Schopenhauer attributes a person's unconscious as an attribute to their will, which is one's insatiable desire for life, and through the desire for more, (more possessions, more experiences, more time, etc.) man's suffering is to be found. Aesthetic pleasure is the only escape, however brief, from one's will.[10] In his writings on the unconscious he declares that art and philosophy are both seeking the same goal, that "all works of art must show the truth contained in them, virtually or implicitly," and that philosophy's aim is to expose truth, but to do it "actually, and explicitly."[11] Schopenhauer believed that when we allow ourselves to lack an agenda and our unconscious is able to function freely, we are able to see what the universe truly is. This belief is later echoed by Baudelaire who wrote, "Common sense tells us that the things of earth exist only a little, and that true reality is only in dreams."[12] The idea of truth revealed through dreams was an idea which gained momentum in philosophic and creative communities as the nineteenth-century progressed, and in chapter three the subject is revisited when discussing free-association and induced states of consciousness as influences on dream imagery. Schopenhauer's perspective that the dream is the most genuine

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[9] Fernand Vial and Mary Rose, "The Unconscious in Philosophy, and French and European Literature," (EBSCO), 33.

[10] Arthur Schopenhauer. *The World as Will and Representation*, ed. Judith Norman, Alistair Welchman, and Christopher Janaway. Vol. 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 237.

[11] Arthur Schopenhauer. *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. Richard Burton Haldane and John Kemp. Vol. 3, (Boston, MA: Tickner, 1888), 177-8.

[12] Charles Baudelaire, *Oeuvres Complètes*, trans. By Marcel A. Ruff (Paris: Éditions Du Seuil, 1991).

form of truth is later interpreted by a group of experimental and adventurous artists and writers, members of the Hashish-Eaters Club, whom willingly would induce a dream-like state through the use of substances such as hashish and opium. The drug would allow for the conscious mind to function freely, as if unconscious, and thereby achieve a transcendent experience similar to what is experienced in a dream.

Eduard Von Hartmann (1842-1906) (who was one of the only philosophers Freud acknowledged influenced his own theories), expanded upon Schopenhauer's ideas, specifically applying them to artists and writers and increasing the connection between the unconscious, dreams, and the root of creativity. Whereas Schopenhauer understood the unconscious as an attribute of the will, Von Hartmann recognized the unconscious *as* the will, and the will is responsible for activating the physical, psychological, and physiological worlds within each person.[13] Regarding creative arts, Von Hartmann believed that overreliance on the conscious could be damaging to artworks, encouraging the artist to be hypercritical to the point of destroying the original idea and creative process; therefore, allowing the unconscious to guide and inspire was advantageous. While Victor Hugo would not have been aware of Von Hartmann's theories, Hugo's unusual technique of allowing free-association drawing and using non-traditional materials to guide and shape his compositions is illustrative of the approach Von Hartmann encouraged. According to Von Hartmann, one does not necessarily need to be asleep to derive inspiration from the unconscious, a distracted mind is similar, and that "we solve difficulties unconsciously while we are consciously occupied with other problems. Obscure ideas become clear."[14] As Tony

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[13] Eduard Von Hartmann. *The Philosophy of the Unconscious*. Trans. by William Chatterton Coupland, (New York: Macmillian, 1884), 281-2.

[14] Vial and Rose, *Unconscious in Philosophy*, 42.

James' writes in *Dreams, Creativity, and Madness*, Hugo recognized the importance of dreaming on the creative mind, and also acknowledged that, "…sleep is an unnecessary formality."[15] In Hugo's *Promontorium somnii*, the author discusses "…somnambulism, that is the dream-state present in the waking life,"[16] by writing "Such are dreams. *Promontorium somnii*. Dreams while awake. For, let us insist, sleep is an unnecessary formality. The beasties seen in sleep…may be readily seen outside of sleep."[17] Von Hartmann applies this belief to the idea of free-association; that the unconscious is based on the association of words, imagery, and memory, and that it takes place when the mind is distracted, allowing for the connections between thoughts to be spontaneous and based purely in memory.[18] Here Von Hartmann had been influenced by Goethe, who often utilized free-association in his literature. In a letter by Goethe quoted by Von Hartmann in his book, *The Philosophy of the Unconscious*, Goethe writes, "In me the feeling is at first without definite and clear object; this is formed only later. A certain musical word comes first, and with me the poetic idea only follows this."[19] Paraphrasing Von Hartmann's writings about how association must be found organically, Fernand Vial writes in his book, *The Unconscious in Philosophy, and French and European Literature*, that by seeking "intuition or inspiration too laboriously…its essence is precisely to escape notice."[20] Von Hartmann writes, "In the midst

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[15] Tony James. *Dream, Creativity, and Madness in Nineteenth-century France*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 199.

[16] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness,* 198.

[17] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness,* 198.

[18] Vial and Rose, *Unconscious in Philosophy,* 40-2.

[19] Hartmann, *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, 319.
Letter to Goethe, March 18, 1796: "With me the conception has at first no definite or clear object; this comes later. A certain musical state of mind precedes it, and this, in me, is only the followed by the poetic idea" (Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe).

[20] Vial and Rose, *Unconscious in Philosophy*, 42.

of a conscious chain of thought, several logically necessary links are overleapt, and yet, almost invariably the correct result appears. Here again the Unconscious will manifest itself to us very clearly as intuition, intellectual vision, direct knowledge, immanent logic."[21]

Prior to the spread of German philosophical ideas, the French would have been aware of Voltaire's theories regarding dreams and the unconscious. In the eighteenth-century, Voltaire, like Goethe, believed dreams were evidence of excess; excess of emotion, thought, or conflict. An excess of unresolved conflict during waking-life caused those same feelings to bleed over into the unconscious, and would reveal itself through dream imagery. Voltaire is quoted in a 1764 *Letter on Dreams to the Editor of Literary Gazette*, "Every dream of a forcible nature is produced by some excess, either in the passions of the soul, or the nourishment of the body; it seems as if nature intended to punish us for them, by suggesting ideas, and making us think in spite of ourselves."[22] He continues in the letter, making a specific example of his theory of excess, "…that uneasy and horrible dreams denote pain either of body or mind; a body overcharged with aliment, or a mind occupied with melancholy ideas when awake."[23] It is interesting Voltaire gave such consideration to dreams since he subscribed to the ideas of the Enlightenment, which advocated reason above all else, and dreams are the antithesis of reason. Reason, or rationalism, during Voltaire's time implied "common sense and the rejection of supra-sensory and not self-evident beliefs."[24] Perhaps this definition provides insight into Voltaire's interest in dreams; instead of viewing

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[21] Hartmann, *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, 313.

[22] Voltaire, *The Philosophical Dictionary,* ch. 425.

[23] Voltaire, *The Philosophical Dictionary,* ch. 425.

[24] Vial and Rose, *Unconscious in Philosophy,* 7.

dreams as the seed of creativity and praising the products of imagination, Voltaire presents a compact, tidy, logical explanation of their cause. He understands dreams as a result of excess of emotion due to the malnourishment of the body or soul. Voltaire, like Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann who came after, makes the connection between dreaming and memory, writing in the article *Somnambulists and Dreamers*, part of Voltaire's broader *Philosophical Dictionary*, "Does anything pass within you during this powerful dream more than what passes every day when you are awake?"[25]

The challenge and contradictions of attempting to reconcile Enlightenment ideologies with emerging Romantic sensibilities is illustrated in Francisco de Goya's *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*. The Romantics were interested in irrational emotions, and in pursuit of experiences that would elicit that type of emotional response. Goya's print, while seemingly encouraging the rationality championed by the Enlightenment through the suggestion that the lack of reason allows madness to take over, simultaneously is acknowledging that by diminishing the possibility of experiencing irrationality on an emotional level, one also greatly diminishes the possibility of creativity. This theory was appealing to artists, many who rejected the Enlightenment, due to the effect reason has on one's imagination. Goya's aquatint etching was produced as part of the broader *Caprichos* series between 1797-1799. *Caprichos* is a collection of eighty prints that is "primarily a satire designed to combat human vice and the absurdities of human behavior."[26] In *Sleep* (Fig.1), the artist is bent over his drawing desk, surrounded by brushes, pens, and other tools.

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[25] Voltaire. *The Philosophical Dictionary,* ch. 425.

[26] J.M. Matilla. "The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters, (1797-1798) by Francisco De Goya Y Lucientes." Museo Nacional del Prado-the Collection. Prado Museum, 2008. (Text drawn from Matilla, J.M. "Caprichos", *Goya en tiempos de Guerra,* Madrid, Museo del Prado, 2008, pp.170-171)

Surrounding the dreaming man are nightmarish visions of monsters and nocturnal creatures such as owls, bats, as well as a lynx that stares directly at the viewer. In Spanish folk tradition, many of these creatures are associated with mystery and evil. The title of the work comes from the inscription on the sleeping artists' desk, "*A sueño de la razón produce monstrous*," *sueño* can mean both "sleep" and "dream" in Spanish, which adds an interesting layer of ambiguity to the work's intent. The work's title is often read as "a proclamation of Goya's adherence to the values of the Enlightenment-without reason, evil and corruption prevail."[27] While this is possible, art historian Alcalá Flecha offers another theory of interpretation, that the work is a "display of bitterness in the face of the irremediable failure of reason at a time when the Enlightenment had elevated it to such heights."[28] The artist described *Sleep* as, "The author dreaming. His one intention is to banish harmful beliefs commonly held, and with this work of caprichos to perpetuate the solid testimony of truth."[29] The common beliefs mentioned could be referencing the beliefs of Enlightenment thinkers, and Goya, like Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann, encourages people to seek out truth elsewhere. Goya's bitterness towards Enlightenment ideas stem from his growing skepticism that reason alone cannot overcome the deep-seated irrationality and cruelty of human beings, a theme which he explores throughout *Caprichos*. In regards to *Sleep*, during Goya's time, "monsters" did not carry the same connotation they do in the present day, instead of suggesting a hideous, demonic creature, Goya would have understood "monsters" as being an incredible invention, a prodigy, something unusual and sensational. Mary Shelley's

[27] Sarah C. Schaefer, "Goya, The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters." Khan Academy.

[28] Prado Museum, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*

[29]Peter Raissis, "The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters, (1797-1798) by Francisco De Goya Y Lucientes." Art Gallery of New South Wales.

“creature” from *Frankenstein* (1818) is a good representation of how monsters were understood prior to the twentieth-century. Therefore, the title of the work is also a clue to Goya’s intent: it alludes to Goya’s waning confidence in the Enlightenment, and his belief that when one wholly subscribes to rational sensibilities, the ability to think, and dream creatively is diminished, thus disallowing the formation of new ideas, new inventions, and new perspectives to come to fruition. The artist seems to suggest that when reason sleeps, an individual is able to see the tremendous force of creation that is hidden by pragmatism. Goya’s print champions the same ideas that the Romantics were exploring, extolling the virtue of imaginative qualities found when one is distracted from rationality. This echoes Von Hartmann’s theory that through a distracted mind, obscure ideas become clear.

Charles Nodier and Marquis Hervey de Saint-Denys were two nineteenth-century figures who helped spread the theories of dreaming throughout France in subtle yet significant ways. Nodier (1780-1844) was a French writer, avid traveler, and influential friend of the French Romantics. Nodier was interested in dreams and the way in which the unconscious related to creativity, which he writes about in the 1831 article *The Phenomena of Sleep*. Due to Nodier’s penchant for travelling and ability to speak and read multiple languages, including German, he became a key figure in the dissemination of ideas pertaining to the unconscious and its influence on the imagination, especially within the Romantic community. His preoccupation with sleep and dreams is a theme that runs through his literary oeuvre, and his short story, *Smarra*, a tale of vampires, takes place within the dreamers’ mind, mimicking the unconscious with its “dream-like ambiance,”[30] and open-ended conclusion, again reverberating the ambiguity of dreams. *The Phenomena of Sleep*

[30] Clare Therese Brandon, "Charles Nodier and Deviant Romanticism.” PhD diss., Fordham University, 1980. ii.

argues that reason must be balanced by fantasy, and when left unbalanced, leads to madness. Nodier writes, “It may appear extraordinary, but it is certain, that sleep is not only the most powerful, but also the most lucid state of thought, perhaps not in the momentary illusions with which it surrounds thought, but at least in the perceptions which derive from sleep and which sleep brings forth when it wants from the confused weft of dreams.”[31] Nodier, like Voltaire and Goya, is attempting to reconcile his belief that the unconscious is the birthplace of creativity with the rationality demands of the Enlightenment, whose values were still widespread during the mid-nineteenth century, by stating that “dream and reason are necessary in equal proportions; whether in the insane or the sane the scales must be balanced.”[32]

Saint-Denys (1822-1892) was an early oneirologist and began recording his dreams at age fourteen, and through self-experimentation was able to observe external elements that would influence his unconscious.[33] Saint-Denys was fascinated by the prospect of controlling his dreams and how exterior forces would influence his unconscious. Today Saint-Denys is considered the father of lucid dreaming, which is the act of the dreamer, while unconscious being aware that they are, in fact, dreaming. Much of the attraction of lucid dreaming is not about controlling the dream, but, as current lead lucid-dream expert Dr. Beverly D’Urso suggests, “using it to explore the boundaries of your own agency and the limits of the universe.”[34] Much of Saint-Denys’ research was published anonymously in his 1867 book,

[31] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness,* 50.

[32] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness,* 50.

[33] Léon Hervey De Saint-Denys. *Dreams and the Ways to Direct Them: Practical Observations*, ed. Carolus Den Blanken and Eli Meijer (Utrecht: Carolus Den Blanken, 2016).

[34] "Lucid Dreaming and Self-Realization." Psychology Today.

Les Rêves et les Moyens de les Diriger; Observations Pratiques, (Dreams and the Way to Direct Them). The book, which was eventually attributed to the author, primarily focuses on the development of dreams, citing memory as a primary source of visual imagery. Unlike unconscious dreaming where the dreamer is "usually unaware that the content coming from the imaginative activity is only the product of his imaginative activity, or from external reality,"[35] lucid dreams create a "divided self," where one part of the dreamer "watches and the other part dreams."[36] Lucid dreaming allows the dreamer "reflective capabilities, and full access to their memory."[37] Saint-Denys' most enduring contribution to dream studies may be his "emphasis on the 'self as a scientific instrument,'"[38] and relating conscious behavior to auto-suggestion, an element of lucid dreaming.

As is evidenced by the aforementioned writers and philosophers, it was widely acknowledged among the scholarly community that the content of one's dream was directly and significantly impacted by the experiences of waking-life, and often solutions to problems were made clear. This, perhaps more than any other aspect of the philosophers who paved the way for Freud, influenced his approach to the interpretation of dream theory. Although, the major difference is that up until Freud, dreams were understood as insight into the future, whereas Freud theorized dreams provided revelations of the past. Today we view dreams as a culmination of several past theories; simply, as a way for the brain to deal with and process

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[35] Rainer Kraehenmann, "Dreams and Psychedelics: Neurophenomenological Comparison and Theraputic Implications," *Current Neuropharmacology* 15, no. 7 (May 5, 2017): 1032-042.

[36] Kraehenmann, *Dreams and Psychedelics,*1034

[37] Kraehenmann, *Dreams and Psychedelics,*1034

[38] Lusty and Groth, *Dreams and Modernity,* 12.

strong emotional responses to external stimuli, using free-associations of sensory information, words, and imagery.

Philosophers and creative types were not the only people who had immense interest in dreams. Regular people were curious about the enigmatic adventures they experienced each night and put great value in understanding their meaning, believing dreams were akin to fortune telling. While the literate population was quickly growing in France during this time, many citizens were still unable to read, and even fewer could read a foreign language such as German. Therefore, the theories of the German Romantic writers probably would not have directly influenced the popular idea of dreaming, but rather, their ideas would have trickled down through what were widely known as "Dream Books."

Dream books were small, cheaply made chapbooks sold on the street, claiming to be re-printed from the centuries-old original, which was discovered amongst ruins of Greece, Rome, or in the case of *The Royal Book of Dreams*, by a laborer "digging under the foundations of the old Roman-Catholic Chapel," where he found an "old, worm-eaten, oaken coffer, containing, amongst sundry Popish relics, a battered silver crucifix, a leaden breastplate, with many uncouth crosses and signs upon it; and an old, soiled, discoloured, and partly-defaced parchment volume."[39] The tendency of authors and publishers to claim their dream books were discovered in an obscure but significant place, and that these important, ancient documents had just "been stumbled upon," was a practice that served multiple purposes. *The Royal Book of Dreams* has a publication date of 1830, but its claim of being unearthed after centuries helped to establish some authority and validity with the intended audience, because things associated with antiquity were seen as superior due to their long-

[39] Raphael. *The Royal Book of Dreams* (London: 1830), 5.

established lineage. Similarly, it was believed that documents originating in antiquity inevitably contained great knowledge, and the methods of interpretation were derived from long traditions, that had, for some reason, dissipated and been forgotten through the centuries, just now to be re-discovered. This tradition also served to distance authors and publishers from the book's modes of interpretation, a kind of disclaimer.[40]

Unlike most dream books, *Mother Shipton's Gipsy Fortune Teller and Dream Book*[41] does not employ a fabricated story of discovery to justify its authenticity. Instead the book wastes no time with a backstory, but opens with a foldout image (Fig. 2) of a woman lying on a couch dreaming, the images of her unconscious surrounding her, as if floating in space.[42] On her right stands the image of a tall soldier, suggesting romantic possibilities; on her left, ambiguous figures at the base of a stairway, who offer riches to her; and at her feet a coiled serpent. This was a common way to depict dreams, with dream imagery in the same space, but in a separate reality from the dreamer. This arrangement was typical of how dreams were depicted in artwork up until the mid-nineteenth century when J.J. Grandville began depicting the dream imagery taking place inside the dreamers' mind, without showing the dreamer. Fuseli's *The Nightmare*, Goya's *The Sleep of Reason Produces Nightmares*, Ingres' *The Dream of Ossian*, and *The Jockey's Dream*, a print published by Currier & Ives, all precede the publication of *Mother Shipton's* and are illustrative of this method of separation. This technique of "blending the miraculous and the banal…injects a sense of melodrama and

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[40] Maureen Perkins, "The Meaning of Dream Books," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 48 (1999): 105.

[41] While the source I am citing has a publishing date of 1890, there have been references to the same publication prior to this date, as early as 1861. *Mother Shipton's* was a popular chapbook, available many places, and published anonymously and has proven to be difficult to trace an original publisher and date.

[42] *Mother Shipton's Gipsy Fortune Teller and Dream Book.* (New York: H.J. Wehman, 1890), Library of Congress.

cosmic intentionality into the most prosaic of dream images. Enemies and forbidden pleasures haunt the psyche of the dreamer."[43]

Dream books were an A-Z index of dream symbols and their various interpretations. The meanings were based upon centuries of lore, myth, gossip, and physiognomy, and as the culture of dream books grew, so did the depth of symbolism, the interpretations, and complexity of the books, each feeding off each other.[44] For instance, according to *Mother Shipton's* (Fig.3), to dream of a cat indicates treachery of friends and disappointment in love; for a woman to dream of mounting a strong horse, it indicates the woman will marry a rich man who loves her.[45] The books are filled with alphabetically organized visual symbols that may appear in dreams and their various interpretations (Fig.4). Several symbols have multiple meanings, for example, if you dream of a white rabbit, it denotes successes; while a black rabbit warns of an impending bad accident. The books are similar to today's horoscope pamphlets; telling of fate, good and bad days, elements of one's personality, and so on, continually recycling the same material but presented in new and exciting ways. The frontispiece of *Mother Shipton's* describes the book as, "Embracing full and correct rules of divination concerning dreams and visions, foretelling of future events, their scientific application to Physiognomy, Physiology, Moles, Cards, Dice, Dominoes, Grounds of Coffee and Tea Cups, etc; together with the application and observance of Charms, Spells, and Incantations. It also gives the true interpretation of dreams, and the lucky numbers of the lottery to which they apply."[46] *The Royal Book of Dreams* uses an intricate drawing method

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[43] Lusty and Groth, *Dreams and Modernity,* 19.

[44] Perkins, *Meaning of Dream Books*, 104.

[45] *Mother Shipton's,* 8.

[46] *Mother Shipton's,* Frontispiece.

where "the occult principle of the soul shall so guide or counsel the dreamer to control his hand, that he shall mark down those signs alone which will convey a true answer."[47] This method is not unlike how one interacts with a ouija board, where the individual attempts to clear their mind of all motivation, allowing their subconscious to control movement and thoughts. This recommended method, which is used in séances, automatic writing, hypnosis, and other occult practices, is called ideomotor reflex and is a psychological phenomenon where a subject makes motions unconsciously. According to *The Royal Book of Dreams*, this method aids the reader in determining their "index," which is similar to today's zodiac sign, from which the reader is able to discern the meanings of their dreams.

By the content of *Mother Shipton's* and *The Royal Book of Dreams*, it is obvious that there was a great interest in the cryptic during the nineteenth-century, and due to dreams inherent mystery and perceived prophetic power, they were considered within the same mode of curiosity as the occult, fate, and fortune telling. The ubiquitous dream books "mystified the ancient arts of divination and their practical application to the everyday lives and desires of modern dreamers."[48] As demonstrated by the widespread appeal of dream books, and a growing fascination with all things related to the occult, it is understandable how those individuals who regarded their dreams with reverence would be curious to explore the various other modes of supernatural experimentation. Many artists and writers across Europe who were interested in the hidden secrets that could be unveiled through dreams also participated in activities that encouraged the ideomotor reflex, including table-turning

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[47] Raphael, *Royal Book of Dreams*, 40.

[48] Lusty and Groth, *Dreams and Modernity,* 17.

séances. Victor Hugo, known to frequently attend séances would often pour coffee onto paper, allowing the spill to guide the composition, as seen in *Pieuvre*[49]. Creating opportunities for "accidents" to take place, and allowing the subconscious to guide decision making, are aspects of the ideomotor reflex used in mysticism. Therefore, due to Hugo's documented participation and interest in the occult, it is not unfathomable to believe the artist was putting into practice the methods of discovery learned in popular dream books and through his own observation of occult practices.

The books, seen by many men as peddling superstition, were aimed at women, with article titles such as, "To Know Whether a Woman Shall Have the Man She Wishes," and "Promise of Marriage," it is clear that "marriage and children are by far the most common subjects."[50] Understood as a source of instructive entertainment and useful knowledge, and generally maintaining consistent interpretations, the books validated dreams as significant, and provided authenticity and respectability. Dream books like *Mother Shipton's Fortune Teller*, *The Dreamer's Oracle*, and *The Royal Book of Dreams*, encouraged the popular opinion that dreams were oracles of future events, and that women, because of their empathy, could understand the implicit meaning best. Many books like *Mother Shipton's* were similar to "Dear Abby" letters from the twentieth-century, focusing on popular women's interests such as love, marriage and children, using dreams and their symbolism to offer advice. The involvement of women in dream speculation lent a feeling of "authority, comfort and

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[49] Cynthia Burlingham et al., *Stones to Stains: The Drawings of Victor Hugo* (Los Angeles, CA: Hammer Museum, 2018), 53.

[50] Perkins, *Meaning of Dream Books*, 106.

assurance" that the public needed to be convinced their interests were understood and that the books were worthwhile publications.[51]

Decades later, Freud would refer to his magnum opus as "his dream book," referencing the notorious street literature, and directly linking his theories to those which enjoyed many years of popularity. By creating this direct link, Freud was hoping to capitalize on the already established widespread interpretation of dreaming that circulated in popular culture.[52] Freud was aware of the debt he owed to the chapbooks, writing in his journal, "One day I discovered to my great astonishment that the view of dreams which came nearest to the truth was not the medical but the popular one, half involved though it still was in superstition."[53]

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[51] Perkins, *Meaning of Dream Books*, 106

[52] Perkins, *Meaning of Dream Books*, 103

[53] Perkins, *Meaning of Dream Books*, 103

CHAPTER 3

REALITY OF THE DREAM:

ELEMENTS OF THE DREAM AND MODES OF PERCEPTION

While popular culture's interest of dreams centered in their perceived prophetic powers and horoscope-like interpretations, artists and writer's found dreams and the unconscious attractive because of their potential to provide a wealth of inspiration, not just of subject matter but in different approaches to technique and style. As shown in chapter two, philosophers were acknowledging the creative power of dreams as well as recognizing the role dreams and the unconscious play in resolving conflict. Even Voltaire, an Enlightenment thinker, recognized the immense creativity found in the unconscious, writing, "Whatever theory you adopt, whatever vain effort you make to prove that your memory moves your brain and that your brain moves your soul, you must admit that all your ideas come to you in a sleep independent of you and in spite of you."[54] His statement seems to contradict the ideologies of the Enlightenment, which valued rationality in all things. Voltaire here though, was approaching the mystery of creativity with a rational mind; ideas must originate somewhere, and Voltaire experienced incoherent and associative dreams just as everyone does, so he would have been aware of the likelihood that abstract and original ideas are born from the unconscious.

This chapter seeks to expand upon the nineteenth-century theories of the unconscious as the original source of creativity by exploring the elements of dreaming such as free-

[54] Voltaire, *The Philosophical Dictionary,* ch. 425.

association, which allows for a new visual language to take place. Free-association of the unconscious also encompasses elements of metamorphosis and synesthesia, whether clinical or metaphorical. This chapter also seeks to understand the allure of inducing a dream-like state through drug use, and how these various modes of perception influenced and inspired the artists who were exploring their unconscious.

Dreams are an internal response to external stimuli, and often they are a response to conflict: conflict with another person or within oneself, often due to concerns of wish-fulfillment, death, and the afterlife. In the early and mid-nineteenth century, artists were exploring this newfound source of inspiration and how to harness its power in their artworks. Many people have acknowledged the influence of dreams on their work. Charles Dicken's claimed that the stories of *Oliver Twist* and *A Christmas Carol* came from a dream.[55] As has Robert Lewis Stevenson, who wrote *Dr. Jekyll & Mr. Hyde* after waking from a particularly life-like and strange dream.[56] William Blake claimed his deceased brother came to him in a dream and provided instructions for a new technique of engraving, becoming Blake's "illuminated writings."[57] Therefore, it is obvious from "the high level of creativity and illumination attained by great [artists]…that in the dream state we have access to a source that is generally inaccessible in waking…a source that is more real and more fecund than that of the waking state."[58]

Dreams are universal and autonomous, and therefore cannot be aimless and meaningless, in fact, as discussed in chapter two, dreams were given a particular kind of

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[55] Simon S. Godfrey, *Dreams & Reality: Revelations on the Nature of Man & God* (Victoria, B.C.: Trafford, 2003), 51

[56] Poetry Foundation. "Robert Louis Stevenson."

[57] Poetry Foundation. "William Blake."

[58] Godfrey, *Dreams & Reality,* 52

reverence, believing that dreams could reveal truth. Von Hartmann believed that "the unconscious is the fundamental active principal in the universe…a creative force in which resides the principles of construction, and on which, therefore, depends the meaning of all creation."[59] Without daily distractions of bodily functions and personal interactions, our minds are free to meander, make connections, and seek alternatives, that in our waking-state would be ignored, overlooked, or dismissed. Allowing the unconscious to wander, forming new connections, revealing hidden and repressed truths, the dreamer is able to process and accept ideas, feelings, or events that are either too great, or abstract, to be processed consciously. Often these truths are difficult to accept, which is why they are repressed into the unconscious, only able to exist through the symbolic imagery and associations of the dream-state. Seventeenth-century author Sir Thomas Browne, whose writings express a deep curiosity of diverse subjects of the natural world, once wrote of the "truth of self" revealed in dreams, "We are somewhat more than ourselves in our sleeps, and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul."[60] Clearly this idea of truth revealed through dreams, and the questioning of dreams as being more real than reality, is an idea that has persisted for centuries.

Artists of the mid-nineteenth-century who were interested in Romantic ideologies would have reveled in the idea of exploring and expressing the "truth of self" accessible through their dreams. The Romantic visual artists were putting into action the dream-as-truth philosophy Schopenhauer had been advocating. As shown in chapter two, Schopenhauer was the first to openly credit dreams as the main source of creativity in regards to visual art, and

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[59] R.S. Peters, ed., *Brett's History of Psychology* (London: Unwin Brothers Limited, 1962), 578.

[60] Thomas Browne, comp., *The Spectator: The New Edition* (Cincinnati, Indiana: F.C. Westley, 1857), 581.

acknowledge that without an agenda, the artist works, “from pure feeling, and unconsciously, indeed, instinctively.”[61] It would seem logical to interpret Schopenhauer’s words as suggesting that if truth is found in dreams due to the lack of judgement and conscious censorship, the art created through virtue of the dream would therefore be the tangible expression of one’s personal truth, or their “truth of self.” Art of the Romantics was centered on personal, emotive content being expressed through non-traditional modes; either through perspective, technique, or choice of material. Much of the art of the Romantics centered upon the irrational feelings that are kept below the surface: fear, anxiety, guilt, remorse, loneliness, desire, and ambition. These are the same feelings people tend to experience within their dreams, and because of this link, the art of the Romantics became a perfect vehicle for expressing those truths the waking mind keeps hid. While much of Romanticism’s artworks do not make the dream, or dreamer, their subject, they are evocative of the same feelings experienced while in the dream-state, and like dreams, can have a lasting effect on one’s perception of their world, and of themselves.

Casper David Friedrich’s *Wanderer Above the Mist* (Fig.5), evokes feelings of accomplishment and conquest through the perspective of the observer, the “Wanderer,” as he stands at the very top of a mountain peak, level with the clouds, and peers down onto the landscape far below. In addition to the positive feelings, the viewer can identify the negative emotions of fear, anxiety, and loneliness felt by the Wanderer, alone, from his perspective on top of the earth. Fear, that he will slip and fall to his death; anxiety, from the realization of how small and insignificant he is; and loneliness, that he is experiencing this awe-inspiring moment alone, and the realization that ultimately, we are each alone in this world.

[61] Vial and Rose, *Unconscious in Philosophy*, 29

Victor Hugo was expressing his emotional responses to experiences through his tendency to incorporate non-traditional materials into his drawings. Materials such as coffee, dirt, and sand, allowed the artist to manipulate the imagery, texture, and therefore the overall feeling of his drawings in new and unexpected ways. He penchant for using neutral colors such as browns and blacks, also lent themselves toward creating a particular emotional response in the viewer. Overall his catalog of drawings evokes feelings of apprehension, guilt, and remorse. This study will return to a complete discussion of Hugo's techniques in chapters three and four.

JMW Turner chose to use color and motion as ways to impart emotion into his works, in order to elicit visceral responses from the viewer, for example Turner's "vortex" paintings, like the 1842 painting, *Slave Ship (Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying, Typhoon Coming On).* This painting (Fig. 6) illustrates a historical moment from 1781 when 133 Africans were thrown overboard into the sea to drown. The painting shows a ship, partly veiled by the turbulence of the ocean, struggling through the waves. Nearby, a number of dark-skinned bodies, many with chained hands and feet, momentarily float in the waves. Turner uses the depiction of intense weather conditions and perilous situations as a way to heighten the drama of his works, and thus the emotional impact. *Slave Ship*, like Friedrich's *Wanderer*, creates an environment where the viewer cannot help but feel the intended emotional response. Through the artist's choice of colors and application technique, the muddled, wild, tempestuous, and confusing scene becomes a powerfully evocative visual expression of negative emotions, such as guilt, horror, and fear. Turner's color choices and technique of application serve to emphasize the strong emotional state accompanying the action of the paintings, and, "throughout his career he sought to evoke awe and terror in his

viewers by depicting cataclysmic events."[62] This intention, similar to Friedrich's choice of perspective, and Hugo's usage of unusual techniques and application, allude to the dream-state, where the unconscious is especially predisposed towards negative emotive content.

Friedrich, Hugo, and Turner are just some artists of the Romantic movement who were rejecting the rational ideals of the Enlightenment and instead attempting to express the inexpressible feelings from within themselves through a variety of techniques. For these artists who were interested in the soul, the attraction to the unconscious was clear: what could possibly be more truthful, genuine, personal, and expressive, than the imagery and associations revealed when we surrender control of our own mind?

While it can be difficult to characterize the unconscious and what takes place there due to the fact that dreams are recondite and ambiguous, dreams do possess some elements that seem to be universal: "dreams themselves-with their idiosyncratic imagery, colorful extrapolations on the same theme, and nonjudgmental stance-model at least one aspect of the creative process, the free-association that precedes actual creation."[63] Much of what takes place in a dream is based on associations; associations of word, imagery, sensations, and memories. Usually the associations that take place within the dream are nonsensical and based on the metamorphosis and transformation of familiar images, objects, sensations, and experiences. Elements are retrieved from memory or cross into the dream from the external world. Associations formed from free-thought are the basis for all other elements of dreaming, including metamorphosis, transformations, memory recall, and situational narratives. The mid-nineteenth century is when artists and writers begin to adapt these

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[62] "National Gallery of Art." J.M.W. Turner.

[63] Tori DeAngelis, "The Dream Canvas," *Monitor on Psychology*, (November 2003).

elements of their unconscious for use in their compositions. From the stream-of-consciousness writings of Fyodor Dostoyevsky's 1864 novel *Notes from the Underground*[64], and Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal*[65], to the unusual and combinatory drawings based on visual and verbal associations created by J.J. Grandville, elements of the unconscious began to subtlety, then overtly, influence the creative impulses, and consequently the work being produced at the time.

Jean –Ignace-Isidore Gérard, better known as J.J. Grandville (1803-1847), experimented with combining unlike things throughout his career as a caricaturist, constantly creating new creatures and ideas that would humorously, and often sardonically, express the familiar but in an unfamiliar way. Grandville's series of prints titled *Steam Concert* from his 1844 graphic novel *Un Autre Monde*, is an excellent example of the free-association thought-process depicted in artwork. The artist was inspired by the rise of industrialization, where machines were replacing humans in many occupations, and civic leaders were extolling the convenience and efficiency of machines. By depicting an orchestral scene where the musicians are replaced by personified steam whistles, their "vapor-hair" floating off into a growing cloud of pollution, the artist is making a statement about the over-the-top celebration of the new machine age, and the grand ideas civic leaders had for urban progress, while mostly ignoring the disadvantages of industrialization, including pollution and crowded,

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[64] "If you take, for instance, the antithesis of the normal man, that is, the man of acute consciousness, who has come, of course, not out of the lap of nature but out of a retort (this is almost mysticism, gentlemen, but I suspect this, too), this retort-made man in sometimes so nonplussed in the presences of his antithesis that with all his exaggerated consciousness he genuinely thinks of himself as a mouse and not a man. It may be an acutely conscious mouse, yet it is a mouse, while the other is a man, and therefore, et caetera, et caetera." Dostoyevsky, Fyodor. *Notes from the Underground/The Double*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1972.

[65] Charles Baudelaire, *Paris Spleen*, trans. by Keith Waldrop (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press. 2009), 3.

dirty, urban areas.[66] As for how Grandville created this fantastical scene of hybrid creatures, it is easy to imagine him hearing the whistle of a steam locomotive, then associating that high-pitched sound with an instrument. Many instruments, like the flute and tuba, require air blown through them to produce sound, just as the steam whistle does. The locomotive, and its whistle, were new and shining symbols of progress and industrialization, and Grandville (like many factory owners) replaced his humans with machines. *Steam Concert* (Fig.7) is a satire about the folly of rapid progress, and Grandville is making the point that not everything is improved with the assistance of industry. Grandville utilized associative elements throughout his career, and specifically alludes to its function within the unconscious in his last two works, *A Dream of Crime and Punishment*, and *A Promenade Across the Sky*. Both these prints are illustrative of inside the dreamers' mind and rely heavily on associations, and both will be discussed at length in chapter four when exploring the impact of death on one's dreams. These two prints explicitly show through unconscious visual imagery the way in which our unconscious associates and combines incongruous things to create new meaningful things.

Grandville's oeuvre shows an ongoing interest in associative logic, evidenced by the aforementioned works, *Steam Concert*, and the *Transfiguration* series, amongst numerous others. Also produced in 1844, but as a separate publication from *Un Autre Monde*, is Grandville's *Metamorphosis of Sleep.* In this whimsical drawing (Fig. 8), there are multiple narratives linked by associations, the main thread depicts a vase with a flower that then

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[66] Museum of Imaginary Musical Instruments RSS. "A Steam Concert." The text comes from Grandville's *Un Autre Monde* (1844). I am especially interested in the line, "In this century of progress, the machine is a perfected human being," and, "...overloaded with harmony, suddenly exploded like a bomb, launching aloft the black and whites notes and the grupetti of sharps, eighth- and sixteenth notes. Clouds of musical smoke and flames of melody were dispersed into the air. Many dilettantes had their ears blown out, while others were injured by the shrapnel of the F and G clefs."

transforms through several stages into a female figure, who eventually dissolves into mist. Historian Stefanie Heraeus writes in her article *Artists and the Dream in Nineteenth-Century Paris: Towards a Prehistory of Surrealism,* that in Grandville's work, the "disparate objects are linked only through similarity of form. What is special in Grandville's metamorphosis is that the mutations do not follow a linear progression, but are continually being joined by new objects which cannot be deduced from the preceding stage. This is what constitutes their surreal character."[67]

While the scientific interest surrounding dreams and their purpose was just beginning in the nineteenth-century, today the scientific community has a far greater understanding of the origin of dreams, and how they function within our unconscious. Based upon an empirical approach, the contemporary knowledge of the systematic functions of the unconscious furthers our understanding of dreams and where they come from. This knowledge explains how dreams influence our waking-state and memory, however, the enigmatic nature of dreams and their purpose continue to mystify people everywhere. There is significant evidence to suggest that dreams take place during the REM cycle of sleep. During the Rapid Eye Movement (REM) cycle, our brains are only slightly less active than when awake, and our breathing becomes faster and irregular. REM sleep usually occurs about ninety-minutes into the sleep cycle, and takes place periodically throughout the night. This period of sleep is referred to as REM because behind closed eyelids, the eyes move quickly and constantly in different directions.[68]

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[67] Heraeus and Cohen, *Artists and the Dream,* 156-7.

[68] National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke. "Brain Basics: Understanding Sleep." February 8, 2019.

During REM sleep, several parts of the brain work together to keep the body asleep but also allow for the processing of information through the unconscious. The cerebral cortex is the covering of the brain that works to interpret and process information from short, and long-term memory. The thalamus regulates the sending and receiving of sensory information, and during the majority of sleep the thalamus is inactive, allowing the brain to ignore external stimuli. But during the REM stage the thalamus becomes especially active, "sending the cortex images, sounds, and other sensations that fill our dreams."[69] Freud, writing in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, writes about external sensations "weaving" into the dream. The brain, unable to distinguish when forces are of internal or external origin, distorts what is being experienced, and will incorporate the new information into the dream by creating a scenario where the stimuli make sense.[70] The brain's desire to make sense of the invading external information requires help from the cerebral cortex, which receives the external sensory information and pairs it with memories and familiar imagery. This is how free-association of the unconscious works; the brain takes words, images, and sensations from outside our unconscious and pairs those elements with words and images that are already understood. Furthermore, during dreaming, "the brain areas responsible for executive control, logical decision-making, and focused attention shut down…while sensory and emotional areas come alive. In addition, short-term memory functions are deactivated, so the emotional content of images remain, but the waking context does not."[71] For example, in a waking-state, the image of a dog may represent loyalty and friendship, but while unconscious, perhaps the image of a dog reminds the dreamer of a deceased pet, and the dreamer is left

[69] National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke, *Brain Basics: Understanding Sleep*

[70] Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (New York, NY: Carlton House, 1931), 10.

[71] DeAngelis, *The Dream Canvas.*

feeling sad and lonely. The dog then represents feelings of sadness in the dream, and due to the association of the visual image and the attached emotion, the dog image is capable of transforming into something else representative of similar feelings because of the associative element of dreaming.

Victor Hugo, mostly known for his literary accomplishments, was also a prolific visual artist, producing over 4,000 drawings in his lifetime, many done while in exile at Guernsey. His drawings he kept private for himself and family, fearing that in the public eye they would draw attention away from his literary career. Hugo, like Grandville, was experimenting with associations, but unlike Grandville, who expressed associations through his subject matter and visual imagery, Hugo was interested in free-association as a technique that would allow his imagination to work unrestricted. Throughout the catalog of drawings created in Guernsey, Hugo, who was an adept draftsman, frequently employed unconventional practices like drawing with his non-dominant hand, or looking away from the paper. He would also incorporate unusual materials such as dirt, coffee, and lace. In many ways Hugo's experimental and stream-of-consciousness drawings using uncommon materials, combined with his impulsive techniques such as turning unintentional blots or drips into part of the composition, lend themselves towards abstract, free-associative artworks.

Pieuvre is one of Hugo's works where his non-traditional approach of emphasizing associations and appreciating accidents is best exemplified. The picture is, at first, unremarkable, at least from the popular perspective of what visual art was at the time of its creation. The octopus has little definition and the underwater environment is a murky wash of browns and blacks. The tentacles are thick, somewhat sloppy, and there is no clarity or

separation of visual grounds. *Pieuvre* (Fig.9) was not like the other works of art being produced in the mid-nineteenth-century; it is the work of an artist who was interested in process over product. If given a closer look, though, *Pieuvre* expresses many of the experimental techniques Hugo used to explore the possibilities of relying on association to guide the creation of artwork. During this period, Hugo would rarely begin a work knowing how it would end, and would start a drawing with details, as Hugo's son Charles describes, "He will begin his forest with the branch of a tree, his town with a gable, his gable with a weathervane, and little by little, the entire composition will emerge from the blank paper with the clarity of a photographic negative."[72] This approach is the complete opposite of the way artists traditionally would conceive and execute a work, typically doing sketches of a subject decided upon beforehand, beginning with major figures, and as the drawing progresses adding the details. Hugo, on the other hand, would perhaps begin with a faint idea of making an unassuming representation of something familiar, and then allow that to influence his hand. He was finding several new ways to experiment with the process and outcome of a picture by letting associations and image develop as he worked. In a letter to Baudelaire, Hugo "spoke mystifyingly of his 'strange mixtures' and explained these in terms of the search for a language for the pictures in his mind, which he hoped to find not in motifs but rather in media and techniques."[73] Hugo wrote, "By the end, I was mixing pencil, charcoal pencil, sepia, coal and soot and all sorts of bizarre mixtures which managed to render a little more closely that which my eye and above all mind's eye sees."[74] It was these various

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[72] Dan Pipenbring, "Victor Hugo's Drawings." *The Paris Review*, (February 26, 2015).

[73] Heraeus and Cohen, *Artists and the Dream,* 159.

[74] Victor Hugo, "29 April 1860," in *Oeuvres complets*, ed. Jean Massin, vol. 12. 1, 97-98.

technical experiments with form and material, combined with the ephemeral subject matter, that would later lead André Breton to declare Hugo one of the forerunners of surrealism.[75]

Perhaps Hugo's most revolutionary method in a playbook full of unorthodox ideas was his use of non-traditional materials. Charles, when describing Hugo's process, states that once the artist has finished with his drawing, "…the draftsman will ask for a cup and will finish off his landscape with a light shower of black coffee. The result is an unexpected and powerful drawing that is often strange, always personal, and recalls the etchings of Rembrandt and Piranesi."[76] In *Pieuvre*, Hugo uses mainly ink, but before finishing incorporates non-traditional materials such as salt, sand, and dirt, materials which complement the aquatic subject matter. By employing these unconventional resources, Hugo's octopus inhabits a murky, messy, sepia-toned wash, and the way the materials interact with the ink creates the appearance of sediment rising in the water caused by the thrashing movements of the sea creature. The overwhelming feeling of apprehension and uneasiness of *Pieuvre* is encouraged by the murky distortion caused by the dark palette, the abstraction of the environment and of the mysterious sea creature, the lack of definition and depth, and the frenzied and impulsive application. With *Pieuvre*, Hugo is exploring the possibilities of formlessness, and his "watery realm and instinctual creatures are brilliant visual equivalents of the subconscious mind, and of the creative urge and the terror that lurk there."[77]

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[75] Heraeus and Cohen, *Artists and the Dream,* 158-9.

[76] Piepenbring, *Victor Hugo's Drawings*.

[77] Frances S. Connelly. *The Grotesque in Western Art and Culture: The Image at Play* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 69.

Similar to the act of free-association is the phenomenon of synesthesia, which is the involuntary mixing of sensory information. Synesthesia literally means "joined sensation" and denotes the "rare capacity to hear and smell colors, taste shapes, and experience other equally startling sensory blendings."[78] While this concept seems alien and inconceivable to many who do not experience sensory mixing, several artists and musicians of recent history who are considered to be synesthetes, such as Frank Zappa, Claude Debussy, and Wassily Kandinsky, have testified to the creative potential of the condition. Kandinsky, who associated particular colors with a correlating sound, and therefore "heard" colors when he painted, subsequently gave many of his pieces musical titles. The painter explained his associations for a specific color by saying, "The sounds of colors is so definite that it would be hard to find anyone who would express bright yellow with bass notes or dark lake with treble."[79] This statement underscores the strength of the association between sound and color for the artist. The sound he hears when painting with bright yellow, for example, is obvious, and therefore unfathomable that others would associate the same color with an entirely different sound, or imagery. Kandinsky, like Baudelaire, understood the important relationship art and music had to each other, and how this relationship affects the viewer's experience. While Kandinsky is outside of the time period and group of artists of this study, his experience is helpful in providing insight as to how synesthesia influences the creative process. The condition "seems to have an overwhelmingly large impact on both their thinking and their work. They [synesthetes] are unable to ignore it, even if others cannot

[78] Simon Baron-Cohen and John E. Harrison. *Synaesthesia: Classic and Contemporary Readings* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1997), 15.

[79] Renée B. Miller, "Wassily Kandinsky's Symphony of Colors," (Denver Art Museum, March 19, 2014).

perceive things the same way they do."[80] Much like Schopenhauer's belief that truth could be found in fine arts, and Baudelaire's search for truth within one's dreams, and the subsequent artwork created from them, Kandinsky was interested in the spirituality of a composition, and believed, "the more senses that could be appealed to with a piece of work, the better the chance of touching the inner spirituality within his audience."[81]A work that appeals to multiple senses simultaneously has the potential to "expand the value of using associative techniques aimed at enhancing sensory exchange."[82]

Before Kandinsky brought attention to the mixing of sensory information with his synesthetic visual compositions, Baudelaire was making the connection between music and color, writing about the mixing of senses in the poem *Correspondences*. Baudelaire makes the argument that by becoming aware of seemingly irrelevant relationships, like that of music and color, one is able to become more in-tune with their own relationship with nature, and subsequently their own spirituality. In the poem, he writes about colors and sounds replying to each other, compares the smell of nature's perfumes to oboes, and suggests that through synesthetic experience one can understand the infinite unity of the mind and senses. Baudelaire is not only expressing the associations evoked by a word, but expressing the connection, or correspondence, between humans and nature.

> Nature is a temple where living pillars sometimes let forth confused words; in it man goes through forests of symbols which watch him with familiar looks, Like long echoes which from a distance mingle into a shadowy and deep unity, as vast as night and light, perfumes, colors and sounds reply to one another. There are perfumes fresh as children's flesh, sweet as oboes, green as meadows, and other corrupt, rich and triumphant, Sharing the capacity of expansion that infinite things have, such as

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[80] Greta Berman, "Synesthesia and the Arts," *Leonardo, the MIT Press* 32, no. 1 (1999): 15-22. 15.

[81] Berman, *Synesthesia and the Arts*, 10.

[82] Amy Ione and Christopher Tyler, "Neurohistory and the Arts: Was Kandinsky a Synesthete?" *Journal of the History of Neurosciences* 12, no. 2 (2003): 223-26.

amber, musk, balsam, and incense, which hymn the transports of the mind and the senses.[83]

Correspondences

With symbolic language, Baudelaire argues that because of our preoccupations with the material and physical world, humans have lost their connection to the natural, or spiritual world. He believes that by rediscovering our connection with nature, we are able to better understand ourselves, leading to a spiritual awakening and becoming one with the universe, or what Schopenhauer would describe as one's "truth of self." Baudelaire, Kandinsky, Grandville: these artists are examples of those who were interested in fundamentally changing the way people read, understood, experienced, and expressed their relationships to art and the world around them. Their work, involving synesthesia, and of the unconscious, forced others to question their assumptions about the relationship between perception and reality.[84]

There is an especially strong connection between vision and hearing[85] which strengthens the idea of external forces entering the unconscious in the form of visual imagery, an idea which later Freud would support, and adding to the argument that while asleep, dreaming "facilitates creative insight-forming associative elements into new image-based combinations, which lead to greater understanding."[86] Beyond just being a blending of the senses, synesthesia has an emotional component as well. The experience "is accompanied

[83] Baudelaire, *Oeuvres Complètes*.

[84] Sarah Best, "Synesthesia." Theories of Media: Keyword Glossary, (Winter 2003).

[85] Lawrence E. Marks, "On Colored-hearing Synesthesia: Cross-modal Translations of Sensory Dimensions," in *Synaesthesia: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, ed. Simon Baron-Cohen and John E. Harrison (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 74.

[86] Kraehenmann, *Dreams and Psychedelics*, 1032-1042.

by a sense of certitude," the "this is *it*" feeling, a conviction, and a belief that what was experienced is real and valid.[87] Thus, when applied to the unconscious, gives the dreamer the feeling that their dream is meaningful and important, and possibly prophetic.

There was a relatively robust interest in synesthesia during the mid to late-nineteenth century, and many writers, composers and visual artists claimed to experience it. Although recent study of the phenomenon theorized that many of these people were not actually synesthetes, but instead were likely experimenting with drugs.[88] Hashish and opium can produce mental states that resemble characteristics of synesthesia, what is referred to as "metaphorical synesthesia." French poet Théophile Gautier described his pseudo-synesthetic experience while under the influence of hashish: "…my hearing had prodigiously developed; I heard the sound of colors. Green, red, blue, and yellow tones came to me, by a wave, a whispered word, vibrating and resounding in me like thunder rolls. Each object touches a harmonica or windmill harp note."[89] Though Baudelaire claimed to experience synesthesia, he also was no stranger to hashish. In *Correspondences*, he describes the relationship between music and art, attributing his experience to the sensory perception phenomenon, and in *Artificial Paradises*, Baudelaire's first-hand account of the experience of drug use, he acknowledges that hearing colors was not unique to synesthetes, but also existed for those who used hashish. Hashish, Baudelaire claims, had an effect on synesthetes to "make more vivid those correspondences that exist in the normal state."[90]

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[87] Richard E. Cytowic, "Synaesthesia: Phenomenology and Neuropsychology-a Review of Current Knowledge," in *Synaesthesia: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, ed. Simon Baron-Cohen and John E. Harrison (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 25.

[88] Berman, *Synesthesia and the Arts*, 15-22.

[89] Marks, *On Colored-hearing Synesthesia*, 73.

[90] Charles Baudelaire. *Artificial Paradises* (Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1996), 50.

As people became more and more conscious of their unconscious and the immense creativity that lay there, the more attracted they became to the idea of inducing a pseudo-dream state in order to consciously access and utilize the creative impulses that originate in the unconscious. To have the power to manufacture the state of mind which produces dreams, to somehow find a way to access the labyrinth of the unconscious but do it while awake and aware of one's thinking processes, would give artists a whole new source from which to draw inspiration. Free-association due to synesthesia, drug use, or the normal weaving of external forces into the unconscious, all attribute to the formation of the enigmatic visual imagery of dreams, and the feeling that the dreamer has discovered something meaningful. As summarized by synesthesia expert, Dr. Richard Cytowic:

> Mystical states seem to those who experience them to be also states of knowledge. They are states of insight into depths of truth unplumbed by the discursive intellect. They are illumination, revelation, full of significance and importance, all inarticulate though they remain; and as a rule, they carry with them a curious sense of authority for after-time.[91]

During the mid-nineteenth century, opium and hashish were increasingly available to the European population. The Chinese traded opium for tea and silks brought by the English, and the drug gained immense popularity in a short amount of time. In 1830, the English were importing 22,000 lbs. per day, and by 1860 the amount of imported Chinese opium had increased to more than 88,000 lbs.[92] Opium was prescribed as a pain killer, cough suppressant, and sedative, and was popular across class boundaries. It became "virtually impossible to be sure that anyone living in nineteenth-century Europe had never taken an opiate."[93]

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[91] Cytowic, *Synaesthesia,* 26.

[92] John Frederick Logan, "The Age of Intoxication." *Yale French Studies*, no. 50 (1974): 83.

[93] Logan, *The Age of Intoxication,* 90.

The Parisian artist communities definitely experimented with opium, as evidenced by Baudelaire's numerous letters to his mother that reference his usage of the drug,[94] but hashish was immensely more popular. Hashish is similar to marijuana, and comes from the cannabis plant, but this concentrated form is much stronger and produces effects similar to LSD. Again, as shown in writings by Baudelaire, hashish is used as a way to explore the psychedelic experience by developing the imagination to a prodigious degree.[95] In *Artificial Paradises* (1860), Baudelaire discusses the drugs, and gives advice and direction on how to prepare the drugs, the method of consumption, the effects, how to recoup, where to do it, and with whom. He also describes in detail the three phases of hashish, describing in the second stage when the drug takes hold: "Your extremities become cold, your hands are made of butter. A new acuteness, a superior perceptivity is manifested in all senses. The sense of smell, sight, hearing, and touch participate equally in this progress."[96] He continues to reflect on and write about his experience, describing hallucinations and examples of drug-induced synesthesia, "Sounds take on colors, and colors contain music…";[97] and of metamorphosis of the body, "…the bird that is floating far in the blue *represents* at first the immortal wish to float above human affairs; but already you are the bird itself,"; and of associations,

> Your attention is fastened a little too long on the bluish clouds that are curling up from your pipe. The idea of evaporation, slow, successive, eternal, takes hold of your mind, and soon you begin to apply this idea to your own thoughts, to your thinking matter. By an extraordinary ambiguity, by a kind of transposition…you will feel

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[94] F. W. J. Hemmings. *Baudelaire the Damned: A Biography* (London: Hamilton, 1982), 239.

[95] Catherine B. Osborn, "Artificial Paradises: Baudelaire and the Psychedelic Experience," *The American Scholar* 36, no. 4 (Autumn 1967): 665.

[96] Baudelaire, *Artificial Paradises*, 50.

[97] Baudelaire, *Artificial Paradises*, 19.

> yourself evaporating and you will attribute to your pipe…the strange ability to *smoke you*.[98]

Throughout *Artificial Paradises*, Baudelaire continually emphasizes the transformative, metamorphic, symbolic, and associative elements of a hashish experience, and more recent scientific studies have confirmed that there is a broad overlap between dreaming and psychedelic states, "supporting the notion that psychedelics acutely induce dreamlike subjective experiences."[99] Beyond the associative elements, the similarities between dreams and psychedelics are numerous: the disassociation from one's body, an ability to combine incongruous ideas into seemingly significant and impactful conclusions, visual and auditory hallucinations, loss of a sense of agency and volitional control, and heightened emotional reactivity.[100] Much like the visual language perceived in dreams, psychedelics assist in unlocking the unconscious while in a waking-state, and by enhancing "cognition, including associative reasoning, thinking in metaphors and symbols and creative problem solving…dreams may be understood as hallucinatory experiences, and…psychedelic states may be understood as experiential dreams."[101]

This obvious relationship between the effects of psychedelics like hashish, and visual imagery associated with the dream-state, makes clear the motive of artists who were already attempting to source creativity from their unconscious. In fact, there was so much interest in hashish's effect on mental states, Dr. Jacques-Joseph Moreau, who was an early psychiatrist,

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[98] Baudelaire, *Artificial Paradises*, 51.

[99] Kraehenmann, *Dreams and Psychedelics*.

[100] Camila Sanz et al., "The Experience Elicited by Hallucinogens Presents the Highest Similarity to Dreaming within a Large Database of Psychoactive Substance Reports," *Front Neurosci* 12, no. 7 (January 22, 2018).

[101] Kraehenmann, *Dreams and Psychedelics.*

was interested in hashish as a therapeutic remedy. In the mid-1830's when accompanying his mentor, Dr. Esquirol, on a trip through the Orient, Moreau was able to observe the usage and effects of hashish. This Middle-East experience initially ignited Moreau's interest in the drug's use, and encouraged his belief that a significant attribute of hashish use to be, "not just that it procures illusions, visions, and other unusual states. It is that it produces these states while leaving consciousness intact, and thus enables the states to be observed, as they unfold, from the inside."[102] Like Saint-Denys, Moreau was a proponent of self-experimentation, and realized early into his exploration of the drugs' effects he needed to expand his pool of test subjects. As any good scientist will attest, in order to prove a hypothesis, the study must rely on a variety of subjects and conditions, and the outcome remain consistent. Dr. Moreau's answer to this problem was to establish a secret club, which he called the "Hashish-Eaters Club." From 1844-49, Moreau complied a group of influential artists and writers who got together often to "eat hashish and experience its cerebral effects…the Hashish-Eaters Club acted simultaneously as a controlled experiment in pursuit of scientific knowledge, and a sensuous exercise in pursuit of self-understanding."[103] Moreau's "guinea pigs," his friends and members of the Hashish-Eaters Club reads like a who's who of the intellectual and artistic bohemian subculture of mid-nineteenth-century Paris: Gautier, Baudelaire, Hugo, Alexander Dumas, Balzac, and Eugène Delacroix to name a few.

The members would gather at the Hotel Pimodan, which is now the Hotel de Lazun on the Ile Saint-Louis. They would wear lavish Middle-Eastern and Asian-inspired

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[102] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madnes,* 99.

[103] Sara E. Black, "Doctors on Drugs: Medical Professionals and the Proliferation of Morphine Addiction in Nineteenth-Century France," *Social History of Medicine* 30 (2017): 131.

costuming, and were served the hashish in the form of *dawamesk*, which is a bright green jam-like substance that combines the hashish-resin with nutmeg, orange peel, pistachio, butter, clove, cinnamon, and sugar. Théophile Gautier published an article in 1846 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* called *Le Club des Hachichins*, in which he provides the most detailed description of taking the *dawamesk* and the experience it produced:

> The doctor stood near a sideboard whereon rested a tray laden with small Japanese porcelain saucers. He spooned a morsel of paste or greenish jam about as large as a thumb from a crystal vase, and placed it next to the silver spoon on each saucer. The doctor's face beamed with enthusiasm; his eyes sparkled, his purple cheeks were aglow, the veins in his temples stood out strongly, and his dilated nostrils drew in the air with force. 'This will be subtracted from your share in Paradise,' he said as he handed me my portion….[104]

In Moreau's 1846 book, *De Hachish et de l'Alienation Mentale-Etudes Psychologiques*, he documents the hashish experiments and his conclusions, based on his own experiences and those of the Hashish-Eaters Club members. In the book, he describes the ability of hashish to gradually weaken one's will to direct their own thoughts,

> "These ideas, which the will has not called forth, which arise in your mind, no one knows why or how, which come no one known whence, become more and more numerous, more vivid, more startling. Soon we pay more attention to them; we follow them in their most bizarre associations, in their most impossible and most fantastic creations…."[105]

This description not only describes the psychological associations made while using hashish, but also aptly describes the free-association experienced while dreaming. This belief, evidenced by documented testimonies of users, and through Dr. Moreau's observations, strengthens the argument that when the brain is given an opportunity to relax, either through natural or induced means, disassociation of the body, and free-association of sensory

[104] Theophile Gautier. *The Hashishin Club* (Elektron Ebooks, 2013. Kindle), 64-5.

[105] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness,* 100.

information, imagery, and language, are allowed to take place, influencing the way reality is perceived, and thus producing creative impulses and inspiration.

Gautier's enthusiasm for the drug's creative effects became so well-known through his own testimonies and numerous writings, that the caricaturist Mailly drew Gautier's portrait with a hookah pipe (Fig.10). In the image, Gautier's head, disproportionately large, is covered with a Middle-Eastern style turban, and is positioned atop the body of a much smaller seated woman. His head is surrounded by wisps of hashish smoke, and placed nearby in the foreground of the composition is the hookah, with an artists' palette and brushes placed beside. With this caricature, Mailly is emphasizing the relationship between hashish and creativity, and Gautier's giant head illustrates the feeling of disassociation with one's own body, a known effect of hashish use.

There are other artworks from this period depicting drug-use, though typically when illustrated, the work's subject matter is not the drug, but instead the drug is an attribute to the overall composition. For example, in Delacroix's *Women of Algiers in their Apartment*, three women, dressed in exotic clothing of the Middle East sit on the floor, lounging on pillows. The group is seated around a large hookah, an instrument for smoking hashish. This painting from 1847 is similar to the version Delacroix painted in 1834 (Fig. 11), where the viewer seems to be looking in on the women, but separate from their activities. One woman looks at the audience, while the other two and their servant woman ignore the audience, talking amongst themselves. In the second version, two of the three women are looking directly at the viewer, inviting them to join their hashish party. The painting uses chiaroscuro, almost sheathing the woman in the middle of the canvas completely in shadow. The settings of both paintings appear very similar, but the overall mood between the two works differs

significantly. In the 1847 painting (Fig. 12), the apartment appears less ornate than in the first, where the apartment has colorful tiles, lush fabrics, gilded mirrors, and golden sunlight pouring through the window, illuminating the women. The apartment they occupy in the later version is much darker, barely any sunlight enters the room. The walls are plain, drab, and have only a couple framed items hung. The servant girl is so completely shrouded in darkness that she is camouflaged and easy to overlook, and the apartment is much emptier, in possessions, as well as spirit. The women appear to be very subdued, lethargic, and quiet, while in the first painting, it’s clear the women are engaged with each other. Delacroix, like many other artists at this time, were fascinated by the Orient, so his intent of creating these two paintings may be influenced by that interest, but the second painting was produced during the time when Delacroix would have been participating with the Hashish-Eaters Club and is probably more reminiscent of his own experience; sitting with others on the floor in a darkened room, passing around a hookah or coffee laced with *dawamesk*. Hashish, like other depressants, is not energizing, its effects include making the user feel euphoric, yet relaxed, subdued, and “spaced out.”

Another work, an anonymous drawing from ca. 1849 called *Caricature of the Romantic Writer Searching for his Inspiration in the Hashish*, shows a young bohemian man, lying on a couch exhaling smoke from a hookah pipe. This drawing (Fig.13) and its title serve to illustrate that the idea of inducing an altered mental state similar to the dream-state was not only beginning to be widely understood as a way to seek inspiration and creativity, but is also an example of the drug’s growing popularity in bohemian and artistic circles, and acceptance in mainstream culture.

Due to the documented interest, experimentation, and involvement with secret groups like the Hashish-Eaters Club by several creative people, it is apparent that the artistic community was interested in the drug as a way to access "states of altered perception, thought, and feeling that are not experienced otherwise except in dreams, or at times of religious exaltation."[106] Although Baudelaire agreed that "the dream-state is superior to waking-life because of cognitive flexibility, forming new associations, and providing insight to hidden abstract rules,"[107] and his zealous attitude towards hashish combined with his known penchant for all things exotic, it would seem he would be a huge proponent of regular use of hashish, but he actually only used sporadically. According to Gautier, Baudelaire never made continuous use of the drug, as "he felt much repugnance for that sort of happiness, bought at the chemist's."[108] While the poet argues that hashish allows the "meaning of life to reveal itself,"[109] in the conclusion of *Artificial Paradises*, he questions the motives of those seeking altered states, asking, "Why do men take drugs? To reach the infinite, to overcome guilt, to revel in the senses, to step outside of time? Why do we long for artificial paradises?"[110] The answer one provides themselves is personal and important, but Baudelaire offers a warning to artists who find themselves relying on altered states for their creativity, "…while hashish certainly enhances the imagination and thus creativity, it is highly dangerous to subordinate all such processes to the drug. For the creative artist to

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[106] Kraehenmann, *Dreams and Psychedelics.*

[107] Kraehenmann, *Dreams and Psychedelics.*

[108] Jonathon Green. *Cannabis* (London: Pavilion, 2005), 101.

[109] Osborn, *Artificial Paradises: Baudelaire and the Psychedelic Experience*, 663.

[110] Baudelaire, *Artificial Paradises*.

believe that they can create only when "high" is a disaster."[111] The Hashish-Eaters Club disbanded in 1849, and by that time the club had fulfilled its original purpose, providing Dr. Moreau the evidence needed to substantiate his belief that, "There are two modes of existence…given to man. The first one results from our communication with the external world, with the universe. The second one is but the reflection of the self and is fed from its own distinct internal sources. The dream is an in-between land where external life ends and the internal life begins."[112] Moreau believed hashish could help people enter this in-between land, and the experiences of his friends provided him with the evidence to complete his study, publishing his findings in *De Hachish et de l'Alienation Mentale-Etudes Psychologiques*.

It is clear by the various modes of achieving an altered psychological state, through natural means like synesthesia and unconsciousness, or induced by drug use, that artists were interested in exploring and experimenting with how they perceived reality. This expanded perception of truth, reality, and of the unconscious, combined with allowing the brain to make associations freely, provided an understanding of their ability to control their own perception and use that knowledge to expand their imagination. It is imperative to remember that dreams are based in emotive content; an internal response to external conflict, and while these artists were exploring their unconscious, ultimately once asleep, there was little they could do to guide the imagery, instead the dreams would continue to emphasize their insecurities, fears, and illustrate their innermost feelings and desires.

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[111] Baudelaire, *Artificial Paradises*, 74.

[112] David Jenison, "The Hashish Eaters Club." PRØHBTD.

CHAPTER 4

VISUALIZING THE UNCONSCIOUS: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE DREAM-STATE

Throughout this study it has been argued that the associative, metamorphic, and ambiguous elements of dreams are what makes explorations of the unconscious appealing to artists. People realized that dreams are the middle-ground between waking-life and the unconscious, and that dreams are a source of endless creativity and imagination. As this belief grew in popularity, artists and writers began to attribute so much of their creativity to the unconscious that in the 1840s many began attempting to induce the dream-state in order to consciously experience the unconscious. Like synesthesia, dreams are motivated by emotional responses, and "dreams are often biased towards negative emotions," like fear, anxiety, and aggression.[113] In addition to discussing the way in which nineteenth-century artists and their predecessors depicted the dream and its associative elements in artwork, this chapter seeks to explore the way in which two nineteenth-century artists used dream-work practices to process the negative emotions brought about due to tragedy.

The "truth" that philosophers Von Hartmann, Schopenhauer, and Voltaire all reference being found in the unconscious could be expressed as many things: our dreams can be revealing and help us achieve our potential by showing our goals, desires, and our genuine self. Dreams can also reveal the consciously ignored and repressed feelings of loss, hurt, betrayal, apprehension, anxiety, fear, and loneliness, as well as dealing with events that are

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[113] Kraehenmann, *Dreams and Psychedelics*, 1034.

too conceptual and painful to comprehend, for example death and the afterlife. In *Our Dreaming Mind*, a collection of dream research spanning centuries, author Dr. Robert L. Van de Castle summarized influential dream theorist Frank Seafield's 1865 book, *The Literature and Curiosities of Dreams*[114]. Van de Castle writes that Seafield clearly recognized several properties and possibilities of the dreaming mind, including, "Introspection about one's dreams can give the dreamer valuable insights about the elements of his character which might need modification, to produce a better-balanced personality."[115] Through these powerful revelations of personal potential or of personal pain, the dreamer is able to learn something of themselves and achieve a new sense of identity. This new identity may be something as simple as finding the clarity of mind required to embark upon a new experience, or finding the courage to move on after a painful one.

The challenge artists faced was not how to use the creativity sourced from their unconscious, but for those who desired to illustrate what they felt *in* their unconscious. How does one visually depict something as elusive, intangible, and personal as a dream? Prior to the 1840s, dream illustrations were generally formulaic, showing the dream in the same space as the dreamer. The dreamer, laying asleep, and the unconscious as a separate image nearby. Often the dream figure appears next to, or above the sleeping person, or the dream and all its elements float above in a cloud-like state, as shown in the Currier & Ives drawing *The Jockey's Dream*, as if the dream is being projected onto the walls of the mind.

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[114]Frank Seafield. *The Literature and Curiosities of Dreams: A Commonplace Book of Speculations concerning the Mystery of Dreams ... Records of ... Dreams, and Notes on ... Interpretation, Etc*. 4th ed. (London: Lockwood, 1869).

[115]Robert L. Van De Castle. *Our Dreaming Mind* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1994).

The technique of placing dream-imagery into cloud-like settings is also seen in Gillray's 1796 caricature, *The Orangerie*, and in Ingres' *The Dream of Ossian*. In all three examples, the clouds serve not only as a means of separation between reality and the unconscious, but also as a literal support structure for dream-imagery. In *The Jockey's Dream* (Fig.14), the jockey lies on straw-covered stable floor, his eyes shut and nestled near his horse. Floating above the pair, an elongated horizontal cloud, encompassing the jockey's dream. The cloud begins to dissipate as it moves away from the center of the composition, leaving the drawing's focus on the dream. The dream's narrative is straightforward, showing the jockey and his horse participating in a race, at the moment when they advance ahead of the competition, and in the background of the dream, the cheering crowd is visible. This drawing is a clear example of what Freud referred to as "wish-fulfillment"; the jockey's dream expresses his desire to win horseraces and become successful in his sport. This sort of dream, in which our deepest desires are revealed, is, according to Freud's theory of dream interpretation, the objective of dreaming.

In Gillray's *The Orangerie* (Fig.15), and Ingres' *The Dream of Ossian*, the clouds that signify the dream-state are less a barrier to distinguish the separation of reality and fantasy as seen in *The Jockey's Dream*, but continue to retain their structural role, acting almost like supportive platforms, or modes of transportation for the dream figures. In both of these works the clouds envelop and support the subjects of the dream; in *The Orangerie*, billowing cumulous clouds envelop many very pregnant women. The women are floating within the cloud environment, surrounding the sleeping body of William V, who is here shown as a putti, sleeping among numerous young, potted orange trees. The orchard's fruit is, instead of regular oranges, shown here as orange-hued faces, resembling that of William V. Along the

right side of the drawing, hordes of pregnant women emerge from the clouds, giving the appearance they are floating into the dream. The full title of this 1796 caricature is *The Orangerie-or-the Dutch Cupid Reposing After the Fatigues of Planting, depicting William V, Prince of Orange, as a fat, naked Cupid*. Gillray is implying with this caricature that William V has recently made several attempts with, what appears to be several women, to produce a male heir. William V is the Prince of Orange, and his spawn appears to him in his dream as oranges growing on very young fruit trees. Similar to *The Jockey's Dream*, Gillray's caricature is an illustration of the wish-fulfillment theory, humorously exposing William V's desire for an heir.

Ingres' *The Dream of Ossian*, instead of showing a wish-fulfillment dream exposing desires like *The Jockey's Dream* and *The Orangerie*, illustrates the dream of an old man recalling vivid memories of his cultural past. Just as dreams are capable of exposing our desires, they also expose our innermost feelings, often facilitated through scenarios constructed by personal memories. Ingres' painting is based on an eighteenth-century epic poem by James Macpherson, who claimed the tales are a collection of centuries-old Gaelic folklore. The poems take place in antiquity, in which Ossian, an old and blind bard, recounts tales of numerous battles and unhappy loves belonging to those of his clan. Macpherson writes of Ossian's poems, "Naturally fond of military fame, and remarkably attached to the memory of their ancestors, they delighted in traditions and songs concerning the exploits of their nation, and especially of their own particular families. A succession of bards was retained in every clan to hand down the memorable actions of their forefathers."[116]

[116]James Macpherson. *Poems of Ossian* (St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1970), 72.

In Ingres' *The Dream of Ossian* (Fig.16), the clouds appear quite solid, somewhat flat, and smooth. Ingres' clouds, like Gillray's, act as a support for the copious number of people in the dream. Ossian, seated at the bottom of the composition, is hunched over, asleep with his head cradled in his arms, resting upon his harp. The dream imagery surrounds and floats above him showing a plethora of figures, some sitting or standing upon the cloud "platform," and some appear to be emerging from it. The dream-figures in the foreground, nearest to the sleeping Ossian, appear the most solid, and as the dream retreats into the middle and backgrounds away from the dreamer, the figures become more translucent and less independent, piling on top of, and emerging from other figures, giving the appearance of multiple layers of people. Some of the dream-figures appear to be soldiers, with their spears, shields and armor, while others hold harps and bows. Many of the soldiers stand entwined with their nude lovers, preparing to depart into battle. While this painting was created in 1813, Ossian's dream-figures, with their smooth, flawless, white-marble solidity, and their accouterments appear similar to ancient Greek sculptures, in the manner of famous works like the *Farnese Hercules* and Samothrace's *Winged Victory*. The visual narrative Ingres created by portraying Ossian's dream-figures as ancient Greek sculptures serves to emphasize the time period in which the painting takes place, and the epic, heroic, and tragic nature of the memories Ossian is recounting in his dream. This painting is a good example of the persistent theory, endorsed by Schopenhauer, Von Hartmann, Voltaire, Saint-Denys, and Freud, that dreams are heavily based on our waking-life experiences. The unconscious will not only fabricate major players and familiar imagery into the dream, but will also interject the individual's associated emotional responses to the surroundings, people, and events that create the dream narrative.

The emotional response of the sleeping person is harder to illustrate in artwork than the dream imagery, because in general, sleeping people do not express their dream experiences through facial expressions or physical acts. Therefore, often emotions are implied rather than depicted explicitly in artwork. For example, in *Ossian* it is not obvious how the old man is reacting on an emotional level to the narrative of his dream. But during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries, the story of Ossian was popular, and those familiar with the poem would have known that Ossian is recounting tragic experiences, involving battles, abandonment, and people killing their lovers on accident and subsequently dying of grief. While the experiences Ossian is extolling may not be explicitly his own, as a bard, he has been charged with passing down the history of his people, and the alabaster statuesque representations of Ossian's dream act as the visual expressions of the emotional responses to his cultures' shared memories. The figures appear melancholic and exhausted; some are hunched over, others lean on their companions, most are looking downward, as if depressed, and lethargic. The feelings expressed by the dream-figures are evocative of how the Scots felt when reminiscing their past; the melancholy felt from military defeats and lost loved ones, as expressed throughout Macpherson's recounting of the Gaelic poems.

In order to communicate that a work of art is taking place during sleep, artists would use visual clues to symbolize the unconscious. Clouds were a common symbol of the dream-state, as seen with Gillray and Ingres' works, perhaps due to shared attributes such as impermanence and illusion. The inherent association people feel between dreaming and clouds may also be attributed to the persistent and popular belief that dreams are related to the divine. Clouds reside in the heavens, from which, as has been discussed, many people believe dreams also originate.

Another common way dreams were illustrated was that the dream-content would appear in the same room with the sleeping person. Unlike the dream floating above in the same, but separate space, the dream-imagery would appear beside, or, common in nightmares, on top of the dreamer. Comegys' *The Artist's Dream* is an example of this type of dream illustration, as well as clearly illustrating the growing certainty of a connection between dreams and creativity. The print (Fig.17) shows the artist sleeping in his studio, he is perhaps hopeful inspiration will appear to him while dreaming. His dream, which surrounds him, appears as a vision of a collection of great artists of the past, including Rubens, Rembrandt, Titian, Da Vinci, and Michelangelo.[117] The inspirational artists of the sleeping man's unconscious appear within the same space as the sleeper, and like Ingres' work, the further away from the dreamer the figures get, the less defined they appear. But unlike Ingres', the figures in Comegy's dream vision do not become transparent, but are instead, just as solid and opaque as the dreamer. This print could be read as a form of wish-fulfillment, Comegy's sleeping artist desiring to divine inspiration from personal heroes of the past, and one day be considered among them.

The practice of showing the dream-imagery on top of the dreamer was common in the depiction of nightmares, illustrated best by Fuseli's *The Nightmare* (Fig. 18). In this painting, a demon is sitting on the sleeping woman's chest while a black horse with wild eyes peers out from behind a curtain. By the woman's position, it is clear she is not experiencing a peaceful sleep though the inert and comatose expression on her face implies she is completely unresponsive. She is lying on her back on a bed, her right leg bent at the knee and tucked under her left leg. She is bent at the waist, her torso hanging off the side of the bed,

[117] "The Art of Dreams," *The Public Domain Review* (April 26, 2018).

her arms dangling, one behind her head, the other draped down to the floor. Her gauzy, white nightgown clings her to body, illuminating each curve, and concealing little. It is a position of complete submission, which adds to the paintings' pervasive feeling of violent voyeurism. The demon crouches on her stomach, his head turned so he is able to stare directly at the viewer.

The Nightmare was exhibited in London at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1782 and "shocked, titillated, and frightened exhibition visitors and critics."[118] In the late eighteenth-century, displaying a painting not based in historical, literary, or allegorical content was unusual, and Fuseli's imaginary scene was shocking, due to his subject matter as well as the overtly sexual way in the which the woman is presented. While shocking, the oppressive nightmarish content would have been understood by viewers, and possibly even relatable to some. Most cultures have folkloric stories of creatures coming in the night and applying pressure upon one's chest. Brazil and Spain both have myths about a strikingly similar creature[119] invading people's homes and either sitting on or trampling the sleeper's chest, making it difficult to breathe. In Japanese culture, folklore tells of a vengeful spirit who suffocates enemies through a process called "kanashibari," which is the "state of being totally bound, as if constrained by metal chains."[120] While in Fuseli's painting it would seem the black mare would be indicative of the woman's nightmare, the word "nightmare" does not refer to horses; rather "mare" is the incorrect evolution of the word "mara," which is an evil spirit "that, in heathen mythology, was related to torment or to suffocate sleepers. A

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[118]Noelle Paulson, "Henry Fuseli, The Nightmare." Khan Academy.

[119] In Brazil, the nightmarish creatures are referred to as "Pisadeira," and in Spain as the "Pesanta."

[120]Sara G. Miller, "The Demon on Your Chest and Other Terrifying Tales of Sleep Paralysis," *LiveScience* (October 10, 2016).

morbid oppression in the night resembling the pressure of weight upon the breast."[121] Therefore, it is easy to understand why Fuseli's painting embodies the oppressive nature of nightmares, and why it was so shocking and frightening to viewers.

In a particularly unsettling 1854 etching from Friedrich Voight Leipzig[122], a sleeping child is surrounded by demons and spirits, staring at the child in anticipation of being acknowledged. Eugene Thivier's 1894 sculpture, *Le Cauchemar*, like Fuseli's painting, shows a demon crouched on a woman's body, but unlike Fuseli's demon Thivier's is winged, and stares at the woman with ferocity, whereas Fuseli's demon stares at the viewer. William Blake did several pieces involving dreams, and in *Job's Evil Dreams* (Fig.19), Job's nightmare is represented by an identical figure who hovers just above Job's unconscious body. The real Job is recoiled and tense, his face turned to the side, his hands uplifted as if to protect himself and push away the nightmare. Below Job, demons reach up from Hell, grasping his legs and thighs, disallowing Job's escape.

Just as when discussing dreams and the unconscious people inevitably refer to Freud's theories, when discussing dreams and metamorphosis depicted in artwork people will predictably reference the Surrealists. What is being ignored by both arguments though, is the fact that Freud and the Surrealists both built their oeuvres upon little-acknowledged but incalculably important artists and theorists who came before. French artists J.J. Grandville and Victor Hugo were two of the most prominent French artists during this time who utilized elements of the unconscious to shape their artistic processes and subject matter in a way that had not been seen before. These two artists were total opposites in their technique, but had

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[121] Paulson, *Henry Fuseli, The Nightmare.*

[122] Allison Meier, "When Nightmares in Art Were All the Rage," *Hyperallergic* (August 29, 2013).

shared experiences and both endured enormous tragedy. They are examples of artists who were exploring the possibilities of the dream-state and its characteristics, including free-association and metamorphosis, to resolve internal conflict regarding external stimuli, in the case of both Hugo and Grandville, the loss of a child. Voltaire held the belief that dreams were caused by excess, and understood that after one endured a tragedy, the excess of emotion could potentially manifest itself within the unconscious, writing,

> A man profoundly afflicted at the death of his wife or his son, sees them in his sleep; he speaks to them; they reply to him; and to him they have certainly appeared. Other men have had similar dreams; it is therefore impossible to deny that the dead may return; but it is certain, at the same time, that these deceased, whether inhumed, reduced to ashes, or buried in the abyss of the sea, have not been able to reserve their bodies; it is, therefore, the soul which we have seen.[123]

As with the other works cited in this chapter, expressing the emotional content of a dream can be difficult, especially for those works that depict the subconscious without showing the dreamer. Hugo and Grandville are two artists from this period who used their artwork to illustrate the emotions evoked by their often-tumultuous dream experiences. Dreams are a safe way to explore situations, feelings, and ideas that are beyond our comprehension or comfort zone; Hugo and Grandville both experienced immense personal loss, outliving spouses and multiple children. Death is one of those experiences humans struggle to comprehend and accept, and there is evidence these two artists were using their dream drawings as a form of therapy, as a creative release for emotional turmoil and melancholy, and as a way to explore answers to the question of what happens when we die.

Many of Victor Hugo's 4,000 drawings were created while spending fifteen-years in self-imposed exile on the island of Guernsey beginning in 1855. Leading up to this period,

[123] Voltaire, *The Philosophical Dictionary,* ch. 425.

Hugo had already made a name for himself as an author, he had explored the effects of hashish in Dr. Moreau's Hashish-Eaters Club, and was continuing his belief that one could speak with the deceased through table-turning séances. Hugo's interest in the occult, experimental, and altered-state consciousness is well-documented, and Hugo understood dreams as existing on a continuum with reality, as Tony James writes in his book *Dreams, Creativity, and Madness*, "As with light and darkness, there is no precise boundary where one ends and the other begins."[124] This belief is directly stated in an early poem from 1831 titled *Le Pente de la Rêverie,* where Hugo describes dreams as, "an imperceptible slope from the real world to the sphere of the invisible."[125] The incorporation of several dream elements in *Rêverie*, such as a reliance on memory and the use of association to create a narrative, allude to Hugo's ever-growing interest of the unconscious and mystical. Much of the visual, narrative, and symbolic content of *Rêverie* reappears throughout Hugo's literary and visual work over the next several decades, perhaps most clearly in *Les Travaillers de la Mer*, published in 1866.

In the beginning of the poem, the author implores his readers to avoid dreaming of happy subjects or past experiences, because, "thought is a dark thing."

> Friends, never delve into the dreams you cherish; Leave the soil of your flowering plains untouched; Whenever slumbering oceans rise before you, swim at the surface, or play on the shore-Because thought is a dark thing![126]

As has been discussed, the unconscious is biased towards negative emotions, and due to this tendency, which Hugo here acknowledges, the likelihood that dreaming of, or consciously

[124] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness*, 197.

[125]Victor Hugo, ed. and trans. E. H. Blackmore and A. M. Blackmore. *Selected Poems of Victor Hugo: A Bilingual Edition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 36.

[126] Hugo, *Selected Poems,* 36-45.

thinking too deeply of a particular happy moment would, in the end, tarnish that memory. The ability to consciously and unconsciously over-analyze and scrutinize the past, combined with the brain's inherent bias towards negativity, could potentially cause "the dreams you cherish" to evolve into a nightmare of sorts. Later in the poem the reader can follow the author's path of associations; each element (spring, childhood, dawn) is connected to the others by their common reference of growth. "Spring, childhood, dawn, combined in my retreat; The Seine, like me, was nonchalantly letting its scarlet tide follow its bent." Hugo acknowledges the stream-of-consciousness thinking by comparing his thought process to the lazy meanderings of the Seine. Another major dream element, one's memory, is another way Hugo references the dream-state, in one part recalling memories of friends, seen in his mind's eye.

> Then, in my mind, I saw my friends around me- Not indistinctly, but exactly as I see them come at evening, grave and loyal…And after that, those who have died were visible, just as they used to look when they too lived.[127]

The last section of *Rêverie* is less a poetic rendering of dream-state elements and more of a personal quest to find, and understand, the deep connection between dream and reality, the narrator ultimately concluding that "It is what we do not see that counts."[128]

> I longed to sound the double sea of time and space, where the human ship goes to and fro eternally-To touch its sand, to study it, and search it and explore and fathom it, and bring back some strange rich thing, and say whether its bed is made of rock or mud. So then my spirit dived into this unknown ocean, swam down, naked, alone, to the abyss, pressing on from ineffable to invisible-Suddenly it came back with a great cry, dazzled, stunned, gasping, staggered, and astonished: In the depths it had found eternity.

[127] Hugo, *Selected Poems,* 36-45.

[128] Hugo, *Oeuvres Completes*. vol. 12, 689.

The “sound” the narrator describes, alludes to the geographic formation, in which a sound is a narrow sea or ocean channel that separates two bodies of land. In the poem, the sound separates time and space, and the “human ship” is man’s consciousness, which eternally goes from one to the other, exploring these fundamentals of reality. Time and space also exist in the dream, but in a more fluid and malleable state. As mentioned before, Hugo believed that reality existed on a continuum, making it impossible to know where one ends and the other begins, akin to the movement of water, flowing from an inland body to the ocean, crossing a fluid, imperceptible boundary. The sound referred to in *Rêverie* leads the narrator to the unknown where his spirit dives in alone and vulnerable only to have his consciousness awoken by the truth, or reality, that is found within his dreams. In *Rêverie*, as in *Les Travailler de la Mer*, the “unknown” is Hugo’s metaphor for the ocean, as well as the unconscious. Hugo’s belief of dreams revealing personal truths and exposing reality for its own certainties hearkens back to the theories of Voltaire and Schopenhauer, although the poet articulated the beauty and complexity of this idea more eloquently than most.

With his immense interest in the supernatural, and his past explorations of mind-expanding substances and experiences, it is only natural that Hugo would begin to utilize the associative techniques of dreaming in his artwork. While *Pieuvre* is a good example of the artist’s affinity for using non-traditional drawing techniques and materials, as discussed in chapter three, the work is also an excellent example of Hugo’s simultaneous curiosity and apprehension about his subconscious and what lay there. Hugo had several personal experiences that may have caused his dreaming mind to be dominated by negative emotional content, which the octopus came to symbolize. This association is partly due to Hugo’s perceived connections between bodies of water and tragedy. In September 1843, Hugo’s

favorite daughter Léopoldine drowned in the Seine after her boat tipped over. Léopoldine, who was just nineteen, was pulled down into the river by her heavy skirts, and her new husband, Charles, while attempting to save his bride, also drowned. Hugo learned of the deaths several days later from a newspaper while travelling with a mistress in the South of France. Hugo was devastated, some biographers suggest he never recovered from her tragic death. This theory is supported by the fact that it took Hugo three years to find the courage to visit her grave, which he then did regularly until his exile. He wrote numerous poems about her, most notably his 1856 poem, *Tomorrow, At Dawn*, and while in exile, Hugo was known to participate in turning-table séances in an effort to connect with the dead.[129]

Victor Hugo depicts the unconscious in a less fanciful and whimsical way than other artists, choosing instead to associate dreams not with clouds and the divine, but with the mystery of "the Unknown." This he does both in his private visual artworks as well as in his writings, perhaps best articulating his belief of the dream/reality continuum in *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, Hugo's oceanic adventure tale of Gilliat, a misfit sailor. Throughout this story, dreams and their connection with creation are considered, one chapter describing three states of consciousness: hallucination, reverie, and dreaming. Hugo uses Gilliat's trepidatious discovery of "the monster" as a way to emphasize his belief that "dream is linked with the whole question of how creation comes to be,"[130] by suggesting that "dream is the key to creation, bringing into being and endowing with life 'creatures' which before had only potential existence.[131] When Gilliat encounters "the Unknown," the narrator writes,

[129]William Poundstone, "Ouija Boards and Ink Blots: How Victor Hugo Conjured Modern Art," Ouija Boards and Ink Blots: How Victor Hugo Conjured Modern Art (October 28, 2018).

[130] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness,* 199.

[131] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness,* 209.

> At some moments we may be tempted to believe that the intangible forms that haunt our dreams encounter, in the world of the possible, magnets on which their lineaments are caught, and that these obscure dream images become living creatures. The Unknown has the power to produce marvels, and uses it to create monsters.[132]

This passage can be interpreted as very revealing of Hugo's emotional state whilst writing *Les Travailleurs*; Hugo, as Gilliat, is equating the Unknown with the ocean, and simultaneously the unconscious, the place where the things of dreams and nightmares become real. In the book, the Unknown produces feelings of curiosity in Gilliat, but also feelings of fear and anxiety, perhaps representative of Hugo's own feelings of the ocean, due to his grief and anger in the aftermath of his daughter's traumatic death. The Unknown is later revealed to be concealing a horrifying octopus, whom Gilliat refers to as "the monster." Hugo acknowledges the "relationship of dreaming with the Unknown, and with the possibility of strange creations…who takes the form of the octopus, the denizen of the underwater grotto."[133] To Hugo, the ocean has become representative of his unconscious, both teeming with the Unknown, and the octopus, a visual symbol for the negative feelings of fear and anxiety Hugo experiences in his dreams. These turbulent emotions were expressed in his writing by Gilliat's fear of the "monster," and in his visual work by the "obscure decompositions of prodigy, these waxings and wanings in a murky depth, these floating forms in darkness, all this mystery which we call dream and which is nothing other than the approach of an invisible reality."[134] During this time, the octopus was still a mostly unknown, mysterious, terrifying creature which resided in the dark depths of the ocean,

[132]Victor Hugo. *The Toilers of the Sea*, trans. Graham Robb and James Hogarth (NY: Modern Library, 2002), 349.

[133] James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness*, 201.

[134] Hugo, *Toilers of the Sea*, 203.

therefore it is conceivable that Hugo would subconsciously align his dreams, fueled by negative emotions, with the visual representation of a monster. As Hugo writes in *Les Travaillers* "Dream is the aquarium of night."[135]

Many of Hugo's drawings from the 1850-60s deal explicitly with elements of the sea and of the mysterious creatures which live in the depths. While this infatuation with the ocean may be attributed to the landscape of Guernsey and his extended time on the island, it is also entirely probable that these drawings were an ongoing attempt to process the lasting devastation Hugo felt regarding the loss of his daughter. His 1866 drawing *Le Rêve*, like *Pieuvre*, is a wash of brown and black, with no fore, middle, or background. The composition (Fig. 20) is entirely centered upon a large forearm and hand reaching out of an indistinguishable and undefined nothingness. The only indication of place and dimension lies at the very top of the paper, a thin stripe across the picture plane was left blank, leading to the top right corner, and the shape of what could be assumed to be a ship sits, the mast barely visible, engulfed in the tumultuous water. This work could be read as merely a dream, as the title dictates, but when combined with Hugo's tragedy, his documented willingness to explore spirituality and the "other side" through séances, and his experimentation with mind-altering substances like hashish, it is reasonable to suggest *Le Rêve* carries much more weight to the artist than what is initially obvious. The hand, stretched upwards, has an immediacy and desperation in its action. The individual, immersed in cold, turbulent water, has not yet given up on salvation, and is frantically searching for something, anything, to grab onto. The sleeve, with its buttons and frilly cuff would suggest a female, but ultimately it is unclear the gender of the victim.

[135] Hugo, *Toilers of the Sea*, 203.

Hugo's drawings from the 1860s are ethereal and otherworldly; they have an overarching feeling of uneasiness and apprehension stemming from the murky distortion and abstraction of his images and subject matter. Hugo's acknowledgement of the influence of his subconscious on his artwork can be seen in both *Le Rêve* and *Pieuvre*, where it seems Hugo "not only employed accident and chance to engender imagery; his methods show that he wanted to keep intention at bay in an effort to convey a kind of waking dream."[136] His application of watery, translucent blacks and browns juxtaposed with an intense chiaroscuro creates a distortion of space, a murkiness and lack of perceivable depth on the picture plane. In the catalog from the 1974 exhibition of Hugo's drawings at the Victoria and Albert Museum, curator Pierre Georgel describes the development of Hugo's drawings, "…the graphic work moved further and further away from the real…to reflect the ebb and flow of an imaginary world in which shapes could form and dissolve in an instant."[137] These characteristics combined with the seemingly random placement of figures and shapes "in an empty space in which confused appearances sometimes float. These metamorphoses of familiar things, these mixtures of reality and illusion, belong above all to the dream state."[138] These characteristics of composition add up to create a confusing experience for the viewer, making us feel uneasy and apprehensive. Hugo was allowing certain characteristics of his subconscious to leak into his waking-life and influence his art, tendencies the Surrealists would commend later on.

Even in *Les Travaillers de la Mer*, beyond the imagery of the octopus associated with the Unknown, there are parallels between Gilliat and Hugo's search for truth. In the story,

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[136] Connelly, *The Grotesque,* 68.

[137] Pierre Georgel. *Drawings by Victor Hugo: Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: H.M.S.O., 1974), 32.

[138] Georgel, *Drawings by Victor Hugo,* 19.

Gilliat attempts to rescue Lethierry, the father of the woman he intends to marry. In the story Lethierry is shipwrecked on a reef off the coast of Guernsey, and during the rescue Gilliat battles an octopus and saves the father. Later Gilliat refuses to marry the woman because he felt betrayed, and while staring out at the ocean's tide broken-hearted and with his dreams shattered, he drowns. It is easy to see the parallels between Hugo's personal drama and the story of *Les Travaillers*; the need to be rescued, or the feeling of being helpless and unable to rescue, battling the Unknown and unseen, and the feeling of being lost, defeated, and unable to go on because what you loved is no longer yours. While *Les Travaillers* was written in 1866, twenty-three years after Léopoldine's death, the tragic and sudden death of a child is an enduring pain, an experience that is bound to affect the rest of one's life. Hugo felt the loss of his young daughter acutely, he carried the pain with him daily as evidenced by the emotional turmoil, subtle references to death, and the abundance of watery scenes consistently evident in his prose and visual works. On the fourth anniversary of her death, Hugo visited the place his daughter took her gasping last breath and in a moment of solitude wrote the poem *A Villequier*,[139] which illustrates the substantial pain he felt,

> Alas! Turning to the past with envy, with nothing down here can comfort me, I always look this time of my life, I saw her open her wings and fly! I will see that instant until I die, The moment superfluous tears! I cried: The child that I had just now, What then? I do not!

Hugo's exploration of the sea's mysterious creatures, and of the Unknown, would correlate with his supposed need to understand how and why Léopoldine died. The underwater world was still a mostly mysterious and undiscovered realm, and it is plausible that Hugo's obsessive need to understand her death would extend to the unseen dark waters and what monsters live there. Even though an octopus was not the culprit in her demise, to

[139]Victor Hugo, "At Villequier," trans. By Anna Evans, *Consolatio*.

Hugo it had become the symbol of the pain, loss, and anger he experienced throughout the grieving process, as he continued to deal with, and attempt to accept, the devastating heartbreak caused by his daughter's tragic death. Many other drawings explore elements of the unconscious, for example a page from Hugo's journal, which contains many drawings, depicts a tree growing out of an implied ground. The roots beneath the ground transform into vertebrae and a human skull, approximately equal size of the tree, and facing upward. Like his other drawings, this one is also done in a wash of sepia-tones, and expressive brushwork. This simple untitled drawing (Fig. 21) illustrates the metamorphosis of the tree and the skull, and emphasizes the prevalence of the artists' negative emotions, and preoccupation with death. The skull under the tree could symbolize the burial of someone, or, it could be symbolic that after death our bodies once again become part of the earth and produce new life. Due to the abundance of transformative elements, Hugo's interest in the afterlife, documented in his visual work, literature, and participation in mysticism, it is not improbable to suppose Hugo was using his artwork as a therapeutic device.

Like Hugo, other nineteenth-century artists, influenced by Romanticism, began to approach dreams differently than their predecessors, as their interest lied in depicting what was happening *inside the unconscious*. Hugo used experimental imagery, materials, and intense chiaroscuro to convey his unconscious emotional state, and Grandville's *Transfiguration* lithographs are composed without ever showing the dreamer, concentrating solely on the imagery of the dream and how it transforms by association. Grandville was little appreciated during his time, and his contributions remain little acknowledged today. Grandville was, however, far ahead of his time, depicting the unconscious in a revolutionary way. As Stefanie Heraeus has noted, Grandville was well aware of how his style of pictorial

expression and symbolic language was innovative, and took a certain amount of pride in his achievement. In a letter to friend Edouard Charton, the artist writes of the 'novelty and difficulty' of this venture, "Until now, to my knowledge, no work of art has understood and expressed the dream in this way."[140] Grandville produced his *Transfiguration* drawings twenty-years before Victor Hugo produced his haunting dream-work, and three decades before the Symbolist's Odilon Redon's *Dans le Rêve* explored the unconscious. Grandville's depictions are unlike any other artist's that preceded him, as he focused on the dream, rather than the dreamer.

One rare example of the artist including the dreamer in the drawing is *Le Cauchemar (The Nightmare).* This drawing (Fig. 22) from 1843, acted as the frontispiece from *Les Petites misère de la vie humaine*. This print, which "exposes in an almost didactic manner the mechanical and physiological causes attributed then to dreamlike phenomena,"[141] also encompasses many characteristics common in Grandville's work: there are fantastical hybrid creatures, personified objects, elongated humans, metamorphosis, and a multitude of bizarreries, some tumbling down stairs that lead to the unknown. In the middle of it all, a sleeping man, one hand dangling off the bed into a pot of water, the other draped across his chest. Sitting upon the sleeping man's chest, the image of his nightmare: a horrific beast, standing upright on two back legs, his front hands clasped around a large weight, which rests upon the sleeping man's chest, adding to the feeling of oppression and breathlessness experienced during nightmares. The beast's mouth is reminiscent of an enormous bird beak, but also calls to mind a lobster claw, topped with a small rhino horn. The nightmare's hands

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[140] Heraeus and Cohen, *Artists and the Dream,* 152.

[141] Philippe Kaenel, "Le Rêve Risible Dans Les Arts Graphiques Au XIXe Siècle," *Fabula Colloques*, Fabula Colloques / Équipe de recherche Fabula, (January 27, 2018).

are similar to human's; the back legs and feet are heavy and sturdy, like an elephants', and springing from the beasts' back, numerous porcupine-like quills. The nightmare stands oppressively on the sleeper's chest, similar to other nightmare depictions from the same time period.

Aside from a couple of drawings, illustrating the dreamer was rare for Grandville, he would instead illustrate the dream, what was happening inside the unconscious, making the imagination the focus of the artwork. His approach to illustrating that which is ambiguous, enigmatic, and intangible, would predict the work of the Symbolists, and later the Surrealists.

Baudelaire, who was an outspoken critic of Grandville's otherworldly and hybrid drawings, did recognize the value of a strong imagination:

> To dream magnificently is not a gift given to all men, and even for those who possess it, it runs a strong risk of being progressively diminished by the ever-growing dissipation of modern life and by the restlessness engendered by material progress. The ability to dream is a divine and mysterious ability; because it is through dreams that man communicates with the shadowy world which surrounds him. But this power needs solitude to develop freely; the more one concentrates, the more one is likely to dream fully, deeply.[142]

Throughout his career, Grandville utilized metamorphosis and hybridity, personifying everything, living or object, for comical and allegorical purposes. In 1829, he published seventy lithographs under the title *Metamorphosis du jour*; this series (Fig. 23) proved to be influential on much of his future activity, and helped to establish his place in the art community. The metamorphosis the title alludes to is the "satirical human-animal combinations to which Grandville was to recur so often, and with which his name is still most closely linked: full bodies of animals in human clothes, human bodies with animal

[142] Baudelaire, *Oeuvres Complètes*.

heads, or even further variations."[143] Grandville's style was distinct and set him apart from other artists, he was "developing bold techniques of pictorial narrative and expressive distortion which were to reappear in some of his best book illustrations."[144] These skills continued to develop and culminated in his 1844 graphic novel masterpiece *Un Autre Monde*. Unlike Hugo, whose technique embraces accident and relies on spontaneity and association of form and application, Grandville's work is graphic, the line work is precise and deliberate. Some critics, including Baudelaire, thought his work stiff, while others characterized the style as:

> Lack[ing] the verve and robust eloquence found in Daumier, and does not possess the elegant fluidity of Ingres, it is neither as dry and lifeless as Baudelaire pretends. It possesses its own mesmerizing charm, captivating the viewer who takes the time to investigate and at length appreciate the detailed images Grandville so painstakingly achieved.[145]

Un Autre Monde, or "Another World," was published in 1844 to lackluster reviews. The serious subject matter he tackles is camouflaged by a seemingly innocuous storyline and illustrations. This book, like his other drawings, while light-hearted and humorous, received little praise probably because, "Grandville's contemporaries found this surfeit of extravagant images not so much entertaining as visually disorienting and therefore psychically disturbing."[146] Later, the Surrealists would discover a kindred-spirit in Grandville.

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[143] Grandville and Stanley Appelbaum. *Bizarreries and Fantasies of Grandville: 266 Illustrations from Un Autre Monde and Les Animaux* (New York: Dover, 1974), viii.

[144] Grandville, *Bizarreries and Fantasies of Grandville,* ix.

[145]Clive Frank Getty. *The Diary of J.J. Grandville and the Missouri Album: The Life of an Opposition Caricaturist and Romantic Book Illustrator in Paris under the July Monarchy* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2010), 86.

[146] Getty, *The Diary of J.J.Grandville,* 70.

Interestingly, Baudelaire, who appreciated the graphic arts and the possibilities of the imagination, was outspoken about his antipathy for Grandville, writing:

> There are superficial people whom Grandville amuses, but as for me, he frightens me. When I enter into Grandville's work, I feel a certain discomfort, like in an apartment where disorder is systematically organized, where bizarre cornices rest on the floor, where paintings seem distorted by an optic lens, where objects are deformed by being shoved together at odd angles, where furniture has its feet in the air, and where drawers push in instead of out.[147]

While Grandville was interested in exploring and expressing his unconscious, there is no evidence that the artist experimented with altered states, and although he resided in Paris at the same time as many of the other artists discussed, he seems to have kept mostly to himself. It would seem that based upon Grandville's earlier work, which relied heavily upon associations expressed through the metamorphosis of form, and combinatory figures, his imagination was so fruitful he would have no need to induce a dream-like state in order to source creativity from it. Based on the descriptions and recollections from those who knew him, including Baudelaire and Alexander Dumas, he is painted as a devoted father and husband, charismatic and bright-eyed, having a strong sense of humor but not a malicious one. His catalog of drawings would imply he was someone who looked for the humor in life and questioned the tendency to take things so very seriously. Inside though, Grandville may have been filled with melancholy and sadness. Many people who are charismatic and funny, like comedians, use it as a way to hide their immense inner turmoil. Dumas, who was a close friend and Hashish-Eaters Club member, recalls Grandville as, "a delicate and sarcastic smile, eyes sparkling with intelligence, a satirical mouth, short figure and large heart and a

[147] Baudelaire, *Oeuvres Complètes*.

delightful tincture of melancholy perceptible everywhere-that is your portrait, dear Grandville!”[148]

Like Hugo, Grandville suffered great personal loss, experiencing the death of his beloved wife, and three of his four sons. These tragedies happened in a relatively short duration of time, and the artist took the death of his third, and youngest, son particularly hard. Similar to Hugo expressing his emotions regarding the loss of his daughter through his artwork, it is conceivable that Grandville was also using dream-work as a way to grapple with the question of what happens when we and our loved ones die. While Grandville has a long history of incorporating fantastical imagery and metamorphosis in his drawings, towards the end of his life, with the *Transfiguration* series in particular, his inquiry into the afterlife became more urgent and personal, fueled by the recent devastating loss and subsequent heartbreak.

The two drawings Grandville produced near the end of his career are telling about his state of mind. In *A Dream of Crime and Punishment*, the first of two drawings from Grandville’s *Transfiguration* series, the overarching feeling is anxiety, guilt and anger. This masterful drawing that encapsulates and defines Grandville’s body of work was done only weeks after his four-year old son’s tragic death. This drawing, composed using the same delicate line work and shading, has all the highlights of Grandville’s oeuvre; a hybrid of incongruous forms, metamorphosis, free-association and verbal-visual puns to illustrate a narrative based in morality. It is a phantasmagoria, reading from the top left, the associative narrative sweeping downwards to its conclusion upon waking.

[148]Alexandre Dumas. *My Memoirs*. Vol. 6. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975), 29.

The dream illustrated in *A Dream of Crime and Punishment* (Fig. 24) begins with a man holding a club above his head, we see him at the moment when he murders the tree-man, a hybrid human with roots growing out of his toes and hair. The tree-man's root-hair dangles down the composition and changes into elongated drips, presumably of blood. As the narration continues there is a cross, to signify the tree-man's death, then a fountain, water streaming down, the splashes becoming a cacophony of hands desperately reaching upwards. They are met with a sword, then the scales of justice, one side replaced by a human eye, staring out at you with damning judgment. Below the scales, a larger eye, not judging, but critical and severe, with a frightful stare as it watches the man running away. This pattern repeats itself three times, the man running from the all-seeing, all-knowing eye of judgement and guilt, but gaining no distance. As the man runs from his crimes, the eye follows him, the eyebrow transforming into large birds of prey. The dark horse of a nightmare appears, which the man rides until it disappears and he falls, crashing into a statue, then into the sea below. The eyes, which have multiplied, continue to follow the man into the sea, where they fuse together and become a gigantic fish-monster with huge pointed teeth. Reaching out in desperation, the man is almost able to grasp the bright, white cross of salvation, but is stopped short of deliverance by the monster, who grabs the man's leg with his teeth. We can only surmise how the nightmare ends.

This drawing needs very little explanation of purpose. Its narrative is clear and it is obvious from the drawing and title that this picture is about consequences of actions. The emotions depicted in this drawing are anger, guilt, remorse, pain, and terror. These emotions are characteristic of those one has when experiencing grief as documented in the more

contemporary Kubler-Ross model.[149] Once these negative emotions have been dealt with, there is the "upward turn," which leads us to reconstruction and working through, then finally acceptance and hope. *A Dream of Crime and Punishment*, like stated before, was the first lithograph Grandville published after his son's death. Grandville was a devoted father and his neighbor, M. Clogenson, remembers fondly the father and son relationship he was witness to:

> Georges…was always at [his father's] side. Many times, upon entering, I found him seated on the table where the artist was working in the middle of his pencils, watching him draw. Father and child only talked to each other in a whisper, often only a glance was all they needed to communicate.[150]

Grandville and Georges had a deep love for each other and it is possible that this drawing was a reaction to the tragedy, a therapeutic response to express the abundance of turmoil, anger, guilt and sadness the father felt after losing yet another of his children. A letter dated February 6, 1847 written by Grandville to his father-in-law sheds light on the artists' sorrow and undeserved guilt,

> …perhaps the first time in my life that I gave way to unconcern for the future, to hope that I had the right to expect (for so many past sufferings), for the first time that I let myself live happily in the present by enjoying that good interior family life, without giving a thought to financial matters, behold, fate, comes to strike me a fourth time in the same wound-scarcely healed.[151]

The emotions the artist expressed in the letter are apparent in *Crime*; guilt, anger, bitterness and pain. It is a powerful drawing, made even more so with the knowledge of the events leading up to its creation, and its aftermath.

A Promenade Across the Sky (Fig. 25), like *Crime*, is a visual narrative, developing as we read it through visual punning and word associations, and using "surprising juxtapositions

[149] "7 Stages of Grief," *Recover From Grief.* n.d.

[150] Getty, *The Diary of J.J. Grandville,* 255.

[151] Getty, *The Diary of J.J. Grandville,* 253.

in an effort to replicate the troubling, often irrational aspect of dreams."[152] Starting in the top left corner we see a sliver of the moon, which then turns into a mushroom, then an umbrella, an osprey, a pair of hearts shot with an arrow, a spool, and finally into a horse drawn chariot dashing into the stars. The relationship between each image to the previous is based on verbal or visual puns, and "Grandville considered his series of analogous shapes to replicate the metamorphosis that takes place while dreaming."[153] The meaning of the drawing, like dreams, is ambiguous, and left to the audience/dreamer to impart their own meaning. Freud would have appreciated Grandville's *Transfiguration* drawings, which illustrate what he described in *The Interpretation of Dreams* regarding the dream-state's visual language being "expressed as it were in a pictographic script, the characters of which have to be transposed individually into the language of the dream-thoughts."[154] *Promenade* is a good representation of the dream-state; the first images are simplistic and familiar, and as the dream progresses the images become more detailed and complex, in the same way dreams are allowed to develop from nothing into a narrative.

Reading *Crime* as the artists' initial angry response to his son's sudden death, it would serve to understand *Promenade* as perhaps Grandville's next chapter, the "upward turn" stage of the seven stages of grief. Similar to Hugo's grieving artworks, Grandville has also embedded more gravity and symbolism in the drawing than what is immediately apparent. *Promenade* is not nearly as tumultuous and angry as *Crime*, the guilt and desperation of *Crime* is not felt in the second dream, it instead has almost a feeling of

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[152]Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel P. Weisberg. *Twenty-first-century Perspectives on Nineteenth-century Art: Essays in Honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2008).

[153] Ten-Doesschate Chu, *Twenty-first century Perspectives.*

[154] Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

melancholic serenity, an acceptance of things transpired, and of your own fate. The dream culminates with three black horses, each with a star floating around its head, akin to a halo. The horses pull a chariot whose simplicity is reminiscent of a child's toy. The horses' inclusion is significant, they are possibly representative of the three children Grandville outlived, and each image of the dream narrative has the possibility of retaining a personal memory or association. Dumas, in his memoir, remembers when this extraordinarily horrific and tragic time took place in his friend's life, and there is marked difference in Dumas' description of Grandville's demeanor from earlier; he says,

> Then, in the midst of all these merry figures which fell from his pencil and pen came heartrending and bitter sorrows; his wife and three children died one after the other; when the last died, he himself fell ill. It was as though the voices of his four beloved ones were calling him to them. His conversation changed in character; it became more elevated; no more studio laughter or youthful joking was to be heard. He talked of that future life towards which he was going, of that immortality of the soul of which he was to know the secret; he soared into purest ether and floated on the most transparent clouds.[155]

When we read the two *Transfiguration* drawings together as a complete narrative of an individual's subconscious mental and emotional state, a picture of the artist's soul begins to form. A soul exhausted from misfortune and heartbreak, ready to explore the elusive next stage of being. On March 17, 1847, only two months after his son George suddenly passed away, Jean-Ignace-Isidore Gérard followed him into the great Unknown after three days spent in an institution following what some observers described as "madness." Grandville composed his own eulogy, which Théophile Gautier read at the funeral. It read, "Here lies

[155] Dumas, *My Memoirs*, vol. 6, 34-5.

Grandville; he loved everything, made everything live, speak and walk, but could not make a way for himself."[156]

The way in which Grandville draws with exacting and precise line-work, consistent shading, and his detailed illustration of subjects is not overtly emotional. He is more reserved than Hugo, relying on the narrative to convey the emotional state felt upon waking. Hugo and Grandville were creating a new visual language through their usage of experimental and visionary elements such as non-traditional materials, abstraction of form, and in Hugo's case, a willingness to experiment with new approaches to the construction of artworks by folding, ripping, and spilling onto the paper in order to create innovative forms. Both artists were experimenting with subject and material to "reflect the ebb and flow of an imaginary world in which shapes could form and dissolve in an instant."[157] Grandville tended to be more direct in his illustrations of the unconscious, his drawings were clearly showing the dreaming mind, his pictures an enigma of time and narrative, not, like Hugo's dream-work, an enigma of feeling and purpose. That is not to say Grandville's drawings, his *Transfiguration* series in particular, are not emotionally driven. It is clear that these drawings, *A Dream of Crime and Punishment*, and *A Promenade Through the Sky*, are of what is taking place inside the artist's mind in the dream-state, the difference between Grandville and Hugo's technique though, lies in the picture's emotive power. Grandville's drawings tend to rely on their narrative and precise imagery to convey the feeling of the dreamer, unlike the raw power and immediate, intense, visceral emotional response evoked from Hugo's *Le Rêve*.

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[156] Grandville, *Bizarreries and Fantasies of Grandville,*.xvii.

[157] Georgel, *Drawings by Victor Hugo.*

Grandville enjoyed a moderate amount of success with his artworks, he was praised for his caricature work, but beginning with *Metamorphosis du jour* his later works were met with confusion and seemingly "the public was unprepared for the novelty of different objects that seemed to change into one another."[158] Many artists and critics recognized the inherent value of Grandville's experimentation with form and his bountiful imagination, but disagreed with the artist that, "these transformations…accurately duplicated similar metamorphosis that take place during the process of dreaming."[159] Baudelaire found Grandville's dream depictions unconvincing and stiff, writing in *Quelques caricaturists francais*, "Before his death [Grandville] applied his always stubborn will to the noting of his successive dream and nightmares in plastic form, with all the precision of a stenographer writing down an orator's speech."[160] After Grandville's death, he continued to be discredited, partially due to the sudden and mysterious cause of death. The all-but-forgotten artist enjoyed a resurgence of interest in the early twentieth-century with the Surrealists, who recognized in Grandville that which they were attempting to illustrate: the contradictions and humor of waking-life through the hidden bizarreries and fantasies of the subconscious. French art historian Jean Adhémar wrote in regards to Grandville that, "from the beginning, these deliberate visionaries [the Surrealists] considered him as one of their own. Indeed, the plates from *Un Autre Monde* could have figured in all their exhibitions next to the works of Salvador Dali or Max Ernst."[161] Max Ernst in particular was fascinated and influenced by Grandville's drawings,

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[158] Getty, *The Diary of J.J. Grandville,* 70.

[159] Getty, *The Diary of J.J. Grandville,* 70.

[160] Baudelaire, *Oeuvres Complètes*.

[161]Clive Frank Getty, "J.J. Grandville and Max Ernst," in *Twenty-first-century Perspectives on Nineteenth-century Art: Essays in Honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg*, ed Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 116.

specifically the metamorphoses that occurred to animals, humans, and plants, forming hybrid creatures. Ernst's surreal book of collage, *Une semain de bonté* (Fig. 26), has drawn parallels to *Un Autre Monde*, partly due to Ernst's depiction of, "animal-headed figures [that] were doubtless influenced by…Grandville."[162] Art historian and leading Grandville researcher Clive F. Getty claimed that there are, "At least three aspects of Grandville's drawings that anticipate Ernst's work. Two of them, surprising juxtapositions and oneiric imagery, characterize Surrealism in general. The third, an 'image first, text second' approach…foreshadows Ernst's development of the novel without words."[163]

Grandville's two *Transfiguration* drawings are some of his most original, and were a strong influence on the Surrealists and other modern artists, because "they expressed the peculiar and amusing logic of dreams, the moral sense of absurdity, the phantasmic reality of the grotesque, and thus discovered a new art," which Grandville called "the art of the deformation and reformation of images, the art of transitions that succeed one another and run parallel to a moral sense."[164] Grandville's influence and legacy are substantial and significant, but due to his profoundly unique perception of our universe, and the radical way in which he created the "new" and illustrated intangibles, his prolific body of work has since been greatly over-looked.

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162 Getty, *J.J. Grandville and Max Ernst*, 116.

163 Getty, *J.J. Grandville and Max Ernst*, 116.

164 Michele Hannoosh. *Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1992), 168.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study attempts to understand the connection between dreams and creativity as explored by mid-nineteenth century French artists. This connection was examined by looking at the nature of dreams, the popular and scholarly perception of dreams and their purpose, the characteristics of the dreaming mind, and the way in which all those aspects were incorporated into artwork and literature. The enduring allure and fascination of dreams within popular culture, and especially within creative communities, is in large part due to their inherent mystery. Dreams are spontaneous, ambiguous, and nonsensical, where non-linear narratives, distortion, and the occurrence of metamorphic imagery and sensation synesthesia are allowed to take place. Dreams are the middle-ground between waking-life and the unconscious, and because of these characteristics, dreams are a source of endless creativity and imagination.

Due to the nature of dreams, it was crucial to take an interdisciplinary approach to this study. Throughout the research process, scientific, philosophical, and popular perspectives were considered in order to better understand and identify the persistent theories of purpose and function of dreams throughout history. This included the supernatural-origin belief of antiquity that dreams were divine communication, eighteenth and nineteenth-century theories of Arthur Schopenhauer, Eduard von Hartmann, and Voltaire, who acknowledged the impact the unconscious has on one's imagination, and introduced the idea of dreams revealing one's true self. The phenomenon of Dream Books were considered as part of the growing interest in modern dream interpretation and their ability to provide insight

on one's personality and future. Freud's theories were also considered for comparison, albeit briefly, as his ideas were published after the timeframe of this study.

An understanding of the common elements of dreaming is necessary in order to understand how those elements were borrowed and then incorporated into creative efforts. The depth of creativity that exists within the unconscious is largely based in associations. Associations can be formed through visual and verbal punning, sensory impulses, and personal memories; these characteristics allow for the development of new, incongruous things, and ideas, in unexpected ways, through free association and transfiguration of forms. Artists became increasingly interested in fabricating a dream-like state to allow them the ability to experience the associative and combinatory aspects of a dream, but do it while awake. In the 1840's, Dr. Moreau's Hashish-Eaters Club provided an opportunity to artists such as Hugo, Dumas, Delacroix, Baudelaire, and many others through the use of controlled hashish experiments. They believed that by consciously experiencing a state similar to the unconscious, they were expanding their awareness and therefore expanding the source of inspiration and creativity.

Up until the mid-nineteenth century, dreams were portrayed in artwork in a relatively uniform way, utilizing visual clues such as clouds, or showing the dreamer sleeping. Up until J.J. Grandville's *Transfiguration* series, no artist had excluded the dreamer from the depiction of the dream. Generally visual art relied on the formulaic way to represent the unconscious; as an active scene, but confined to separate space near, or floating above, the dreamer. In pictures such as Fuseli's *The Nightmare*, where bad dreams are shown, it was common to depict the evil spirit, demon, or figure of nightmarish quality, as sitting directly upon the sleeping person implying the oppressive nature of nightmares. The revolutionary

way in which Victor Hugo and Grandville chose to illustrate their dreams, by emphasizing associative qualities through, in Hugo's case, the choice of non-traditional materials and application, or through Grandville's technique of precise drawings of active transformation of form, changed the way dreams were depicted for future artists. As stated in chapter four, I believe both these artists expressed the immense personal pain endured from the loss of multiple family members through their unsettling, enigmatic, emotionally-driven artwork. An understanding of the elements and influences of dreaming provides insight into how artists were able to harness those ambiguous and associative characteristics and accurately portray the process by which their unconscious receives, filters, and disseminates external stimuli into visual imagery based in emotional responses.

I think this study is helpful in explaining the various ways in which dreams were understood in popular culture, and the evolution of how they were depicted in artwork. Up until recently Hugo's drawings were relatively unknown, like Grandville's work, and by reading them with a critical eye and knowledge of their personal traumas, we can discern the emotional content not just of the work, but of the man. Hugo's dream-work adds an entirely new complex layer of humanity to his oeuvre.

In the case of Grandville, his influence can be seen in the drawings of John Tenniel, who is best known for illustrating Lewis Carroll's 1865 story *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Due to the high number of similar drawings by Tenniel to Grandville's *Un Autre Monde*, it is certainly possible that Carroll "must have been familiar with at least the illustrations for *Un Autre Monde* when he wrote *Alice*, and that Tenniel subsequently based some of his drawings for Carroll on these items by Grandville."[165] Some of the most obvious

[165] Grandville, *Bizarreries and Fantasies of Grandville,* xviii.

similarities in regards to subject and style are Tenniel's illustration of playing cards (Fig. 27) which is reminiscent of Grandville's *The Battle of Cards* (Fig. 28). Carroll includes a scene where Alice encounters talking flowers; Tenniel's illustration is again reminiscent of Grandville's prints of personified plants, as seen in *Un Autre Monde*, as well as the artists' book *Les Fleurs Animées*. Tenniel, like Grandville, utilized a precise and exacting technique of drawing to depict the hybrid animals, plants, and objects his characters encounter, including the White Rabbit. Professor Roger Simpson, who wrote *Sir John Tenniel: Aspects of His Work*, which discusses Tenniel's *Alice* illustrations, asserted that "Grandville likely did originate the White Rabbit, both in form, and, in his depiction of a rabbit as a tail-coated government clerk,"[166]

While Grandville existed quietly, and his life was cut short, his contributions to several facets of modern art is significant. I believe Grandville is deserving of more recognition for his contribution to the development of dream-work imagery, as well as graphic novels/visual books, and artistic elements that were later pursued by the Surrealist movement. Max Ernst once described the Surrealist mode of collage as, "the culture of systematic displacement and its effects…the coupling of two realities, irreconcilable in appearance, upon a plane which apparently does not suit them."[167] Ernst's declaration echoes that of Grandville's creative process; Grandville writing to a friend, said, "I have imagined graceful monstrosities for the person who needs, above all, the new-but I don't invent-all I do

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[166] Roger Simpson and John Tenniel. *Sir John Tenniel: Aspects of His Work* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994), 159.

[167] M. E. Warlick, "Max Ernst's Alchemical Novel: "Une Semaine De Bonté," *Art Journal* 46, no. 1 (1987): 72.

is bring together incompatible elements and graft incongruous and heterogeneous forms onto one another."[168]

Grandville was revolutionary in his attempt to convey the pain and heartbreak he felt so acutely in his dreams. His entire catalog of work, from *Metamorphosis du jour* to *Un Autre Monde*, was based on the idea of taking dissimilar things and ideas, and combining them into new and unusual forms, which were often insightful, humorous, and at times, disconcerting. As close friend Alexander Dumas wrote in his memoirs, "When two hours had gone by, full of laughter, noise and smoke for the others, Grandville had drawn from his brain, as from some fanciful circle, a whole new creation… It was all very exquisite, very clever, very enchanting; and expressed very clearly what it wished to interpret."[169]

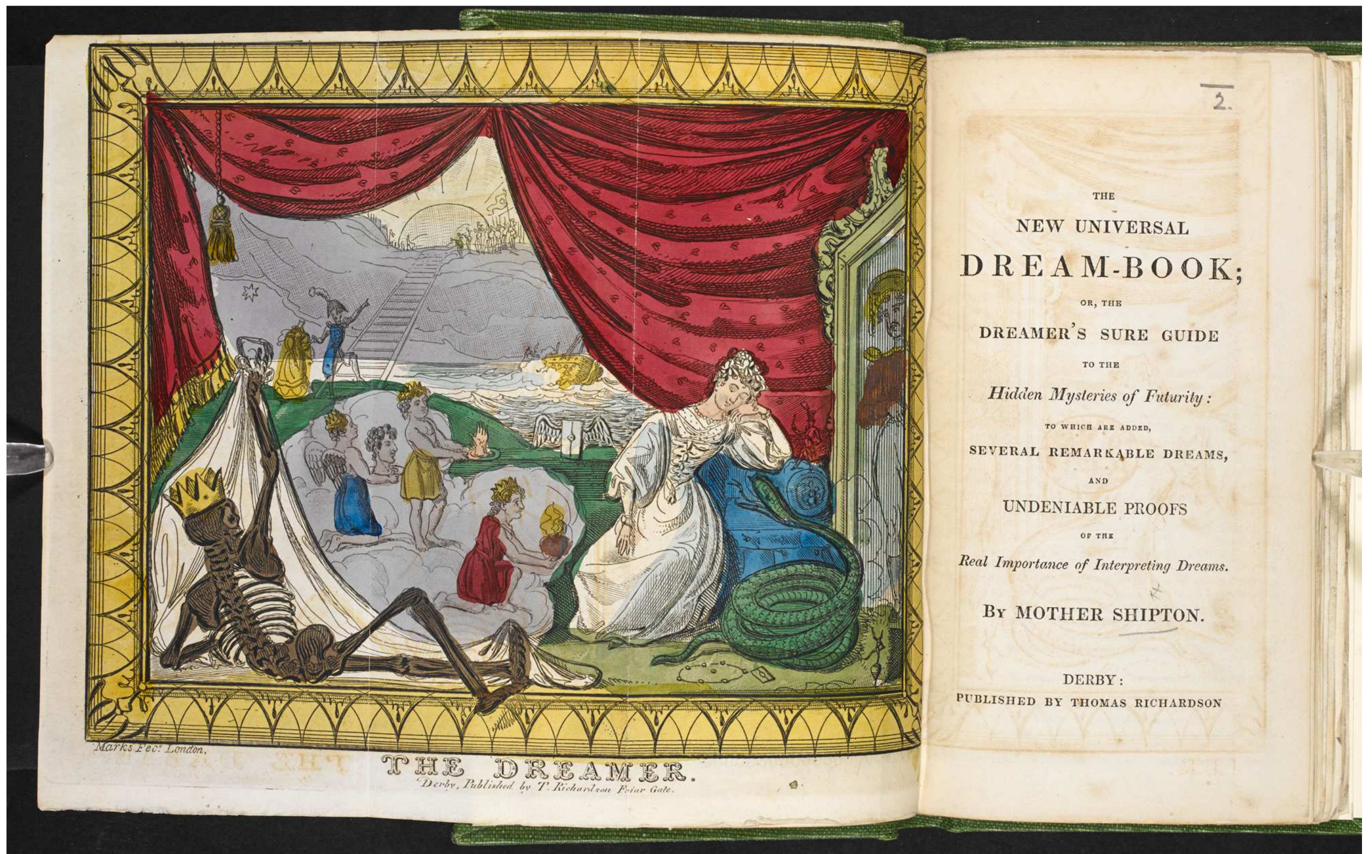
As can be seen, the influence of dreams on artwork began much earlier than the twentieth-century with the Surrealists, and is much more fruitful than as an abstract source for combinatory figures. The unconscious is the place where emotional turmoil and internal conflict is processed and often resolved through the use of creative problem solving. Artists of the mid-nineteenth century acknowledged this source of immense inspiration, and chose to experiment with various modes of exploring the unconscious in order to best express what was dreamt, forever changing the way popular culture understood and appreciated their dreams.

[168] Grandville, *Bizarreries and Fantasies of Grandville,* ix.

[169] Dumas, *My Memoirs*. Vol. 6., 34.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Francisco de Goya, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters,* 1797-1799, etching and aquatint on paper, 21.5 cm x 15 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.



THE
NEW UNIVERSAL
DREAM-BOOK;
OR, THE
DREAMER'S SURE GUIDE
TO THE
Hidden Mysteries of Futurity:
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
SEVERAL REMARKABLE DREAMS,
AND
UNDENIABLE PROOFS
OF THE
Real Importance of Interpreting Dreams.
BY MOTHER SHIPTON.

DERBY:
PUBLISHED BY THOMAS RICHARDSON

Figure 2. Frontispiece from *Mother Shipton's Gipsy Fortune Teller and Dream Book,* 1890.

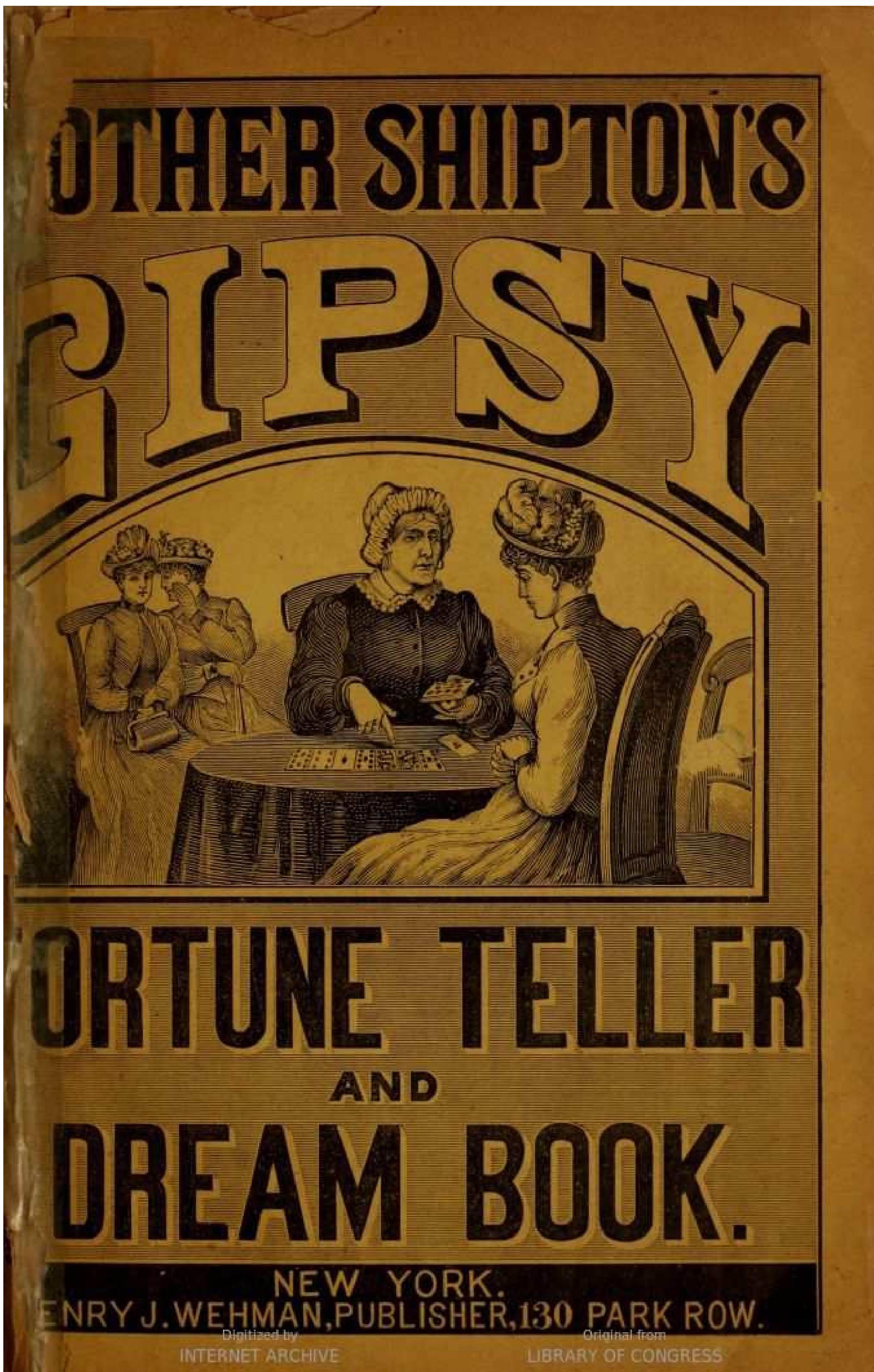


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Figure 3. Title page from *Mother Shipton's Gipsy Fortune Teller and Dream Book,* 1890.

MOTHER SHIPTON'S

GIPSY FORTUNE TELLER

—AND—

DREAM BOOK.

Dreams and Their Interpretations; and Numbers of the Lottery to which They Apply.

ABSENCE.—To see absent persons in your dreams is a certain sign of their return. 4, 11.

ABUSE.—To dream that you are abused and insulted is a certain sign that some dispute will happen between you and some person with whom you have business; therefore, after such a dream you should be particularly careful of yourself, and be as gentle and mild as possible, that you may not give those with whom you have dealings any advantage over you. 9, 13.

ACORN.—Denotes poverty. 7, 33.

ACQUISITION.—A favorable sign to the dreamer. 2, 19, 46.

ACTIVITY.—If you dream that you are very active, it shows you will have great losses through your own negligence. 10, 11, 75.

ACTRESS.—To see one play, misfortune; if you talk with her, you will have success in what you undertake; if you make love to her, your life will be joyful. If you dream that you enjoy her, you will meet great troubles. 14, 36, 52.

ADOPTION.—To dream of adopting children foreshadows sorrow and trouble. 21.

ADMIRATION.—If you dream that you are admired, it foretells good fortune; but if you admire any one else, it is a very bad sign. 59, 71.

ADULTERY.—If you commit it in your dreams, you must prepare for misfortune and disgrace. 1, 11, 39.

AGUE.—To dream you have an ague denotes nothing very particular more than that you are in danger of becoming a drunkard and a glutton. To dream your sweetheart has an ague is a lucky omen; it shows you are beloved, and that you will be happy with the object of your wishes, but never very rich. 9, 7, 4.

AIR.—If you dream that it is clear, it signifies that you will come into a great fortune; if the air is foggy, you will have sorrows; if it is filled with sweet odors, you will be successful in love. 42.

ALMONDS.—Signify embarrassments, all which you may avoid by care; to eat them, good fortune. 61, 76.

ALTAR.—To dream you see an altar betokens your speedy marriage. 36, 51, 57. 62.

ANGEL.—To dream of an angel brings joyous tidings; if the angel does not approach you, it is a sign that your life is evil and a warning to reform. 14, 65.

ANTS.—To dream of them shows covetousness. If they are winged, you will make a dangerous voyage, or meet with an accident. The dream is good for farmers, ploughmen, and public servants. 2, 7, 41.

APE.—To see one in your dreams shows that you will fall into the hands of sharpers; and that some enemy will endeavor to defraud you. 4, 5, 6, 31.

APRICOTS.—To see them shows that you will be disappointed in what you hope for; to eat them, good fortune. If it is not the season for them, it denotes great misfortunes; if they are dry, they bring sorrow. 28, 40, 78.

APPAREL.—If you dream that you have new clothes, it denotes prosperity and happiness; if the garments are white, it is a bad dream for all persons except clergymen; to mechanics it signifies loss of business; to the sick, death. If, however, they dream of black, it is a sign of recovery. If they are scarlet, it is a good dream for rich men and servants, but death to the sick and loss to the poor; to dream of woman's apparel is good for the unmarried, but to the married man, loss of wife and children. 4, 13.

APPARITION.—Of any kind is a very bad sign. 20.

APPLES.—If you take them from the tree, it signifies that you will be persecuted. If they are ripe and ruddy, and you eat them, it will bring much happiness. If they are sour, you will shortly quarrel with some one. 4, 11, 44.

ARM.—To dream that you have the right arm cut off is significant of the death of a female relative; if both arms are cut off, captivity and sickness; an arm broke or withered, sorrows, losses, and widowhood; an arm swollen, sudden fortune falling to a dear friend; to dream that you have strong arms signifies health and happiness; dirty arms, misery; hairy arms, an increase of fortune and family. 3, 70.

ARMY.—If victorious, good tidings; but if routed, you must prepare for misfortune. 52.

ARCHBISHOP.—To dream of one, you will hear of the death of a friend. 13.

ARTICHOKE.—To see them foretells secret trouble; if you eat them, you may expect to have trouble. 12.

ARTIST.—To dream of artists shows that you will have many pleasures. 27.

ASHES.—Are significant of mourning. 17, 30.

ASS.—If you see him running, brings misfortune; if he is tied fast, you will be slandered; if you hear him bray, you will experience great loss. 44.

3

Figure 4. Page 3 from *Mother Shipton's Gipsy Fortune Teller and Dream Book,* 1890.

Figure 5. Casper David Friedrich, *Wanderer Above the Mist*, 1817-18, oil on canvas, 94.8 x 74.8 cm, Kunsthalle Hamburg, Hamburg.

Figure 6. John Mallord William Turner, *Snow Storm-Steam Boat off a Harbour's Mouth,* 1842, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 121.9 cm, Tate, London

Figure 7. J.J. Grandville, *Steam Concert*, from *Un Autre Monde,* 1844, lithographic print, 20 x 15 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

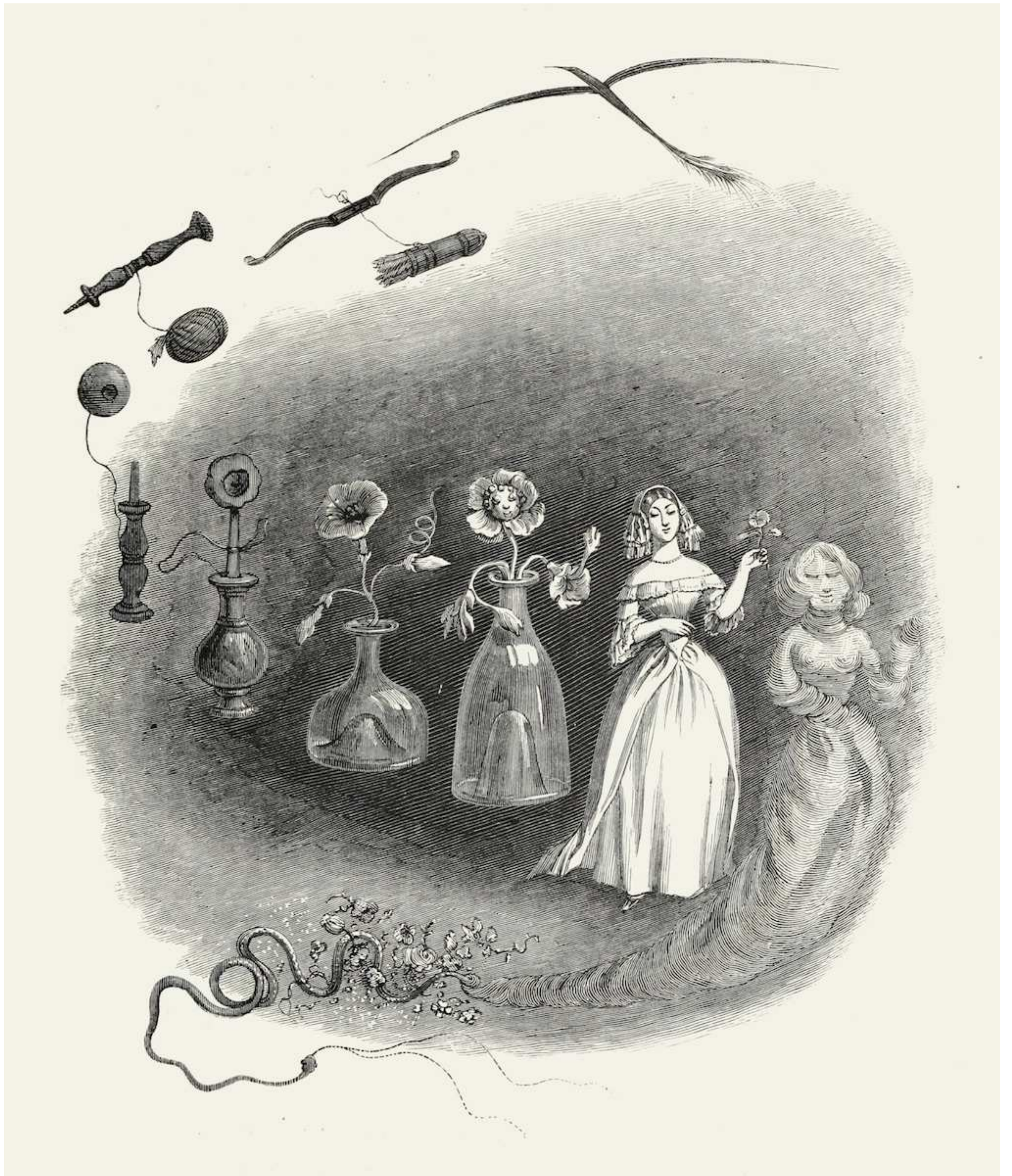

Figure 8. J.J. Grandville, *Metamorphosis of Sleep* from *Un Autre Monde,* 1844, lithographic print, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Figure 9. Victor Hugo, *Pieuvre,* 1866, ink, coffee grounds, salt, sand, and dirt on paper

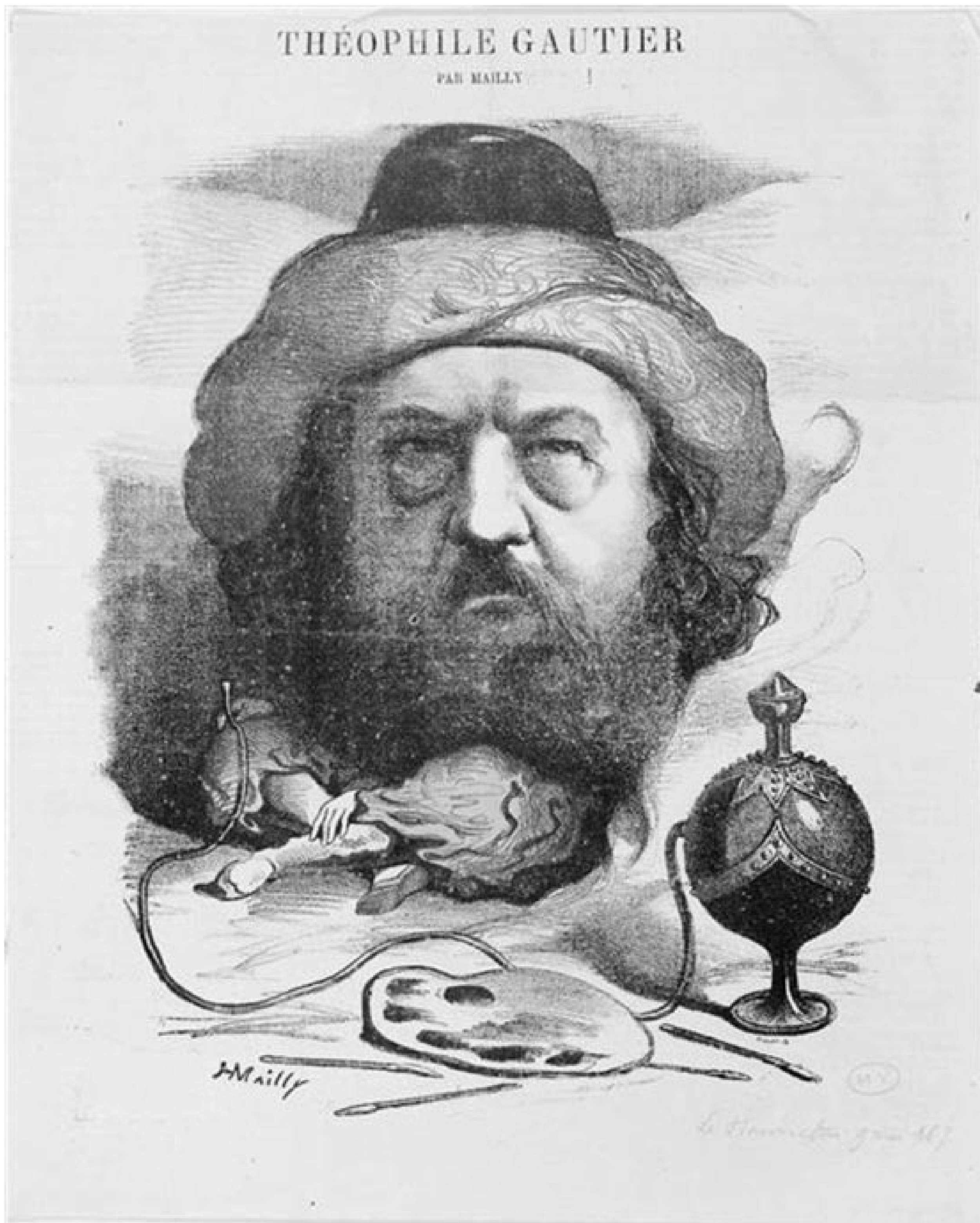

Figure 10. Hippolyte Mailly, *Théophile Gautier,* 1867, lithographic print, 34.7 x 28.2 cm, Les Collections de Châteaux de Versailles, Versailles

Figure 11. Eugéne Delacroix, *Women of Algiers in their Apartment,* 1834, oil on canvas, 152.4 x 213.36 cm, Louvre, Paris

Figure 12. Eugéne Delacroix, *Women of Algiers in their Apartment,* 1847, oil on canvas, 85 x 112 cm, The National Gallery, London

Figure 13. Anonymous, *Caricature of the Romantic Writer Searching for Inspiration in the Hashish,* ca. 1849, pencil on paper

Figure 14. Currier & Ives, *The Jockey's Dream,* ca. 1880, lithographic print, 24 x 32.7 cm, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Figure 15. James Gillray, *The Orangerie-or-the Dutch Cupid Reposing, after the Fatigues of Planting, depicting William V, Prince of Orange, as a Fat Naked Cupid,* 1796, hand-colored etching, 7.2 x 13 cm, The British Museum, London

Figure 16. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian,* 1813, oil on canvas, 348 x 275 cm, Musée Ingres, Montauban

Figure 17. George H. Comegys, *The Artists' Dream,* 1840, engraving, 42.9 x 52.4 cm, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Figure 18. Henry Fuseli, *The Nightmare,* 1781, oil on canvas, 101.7 x 127.1 cm, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit

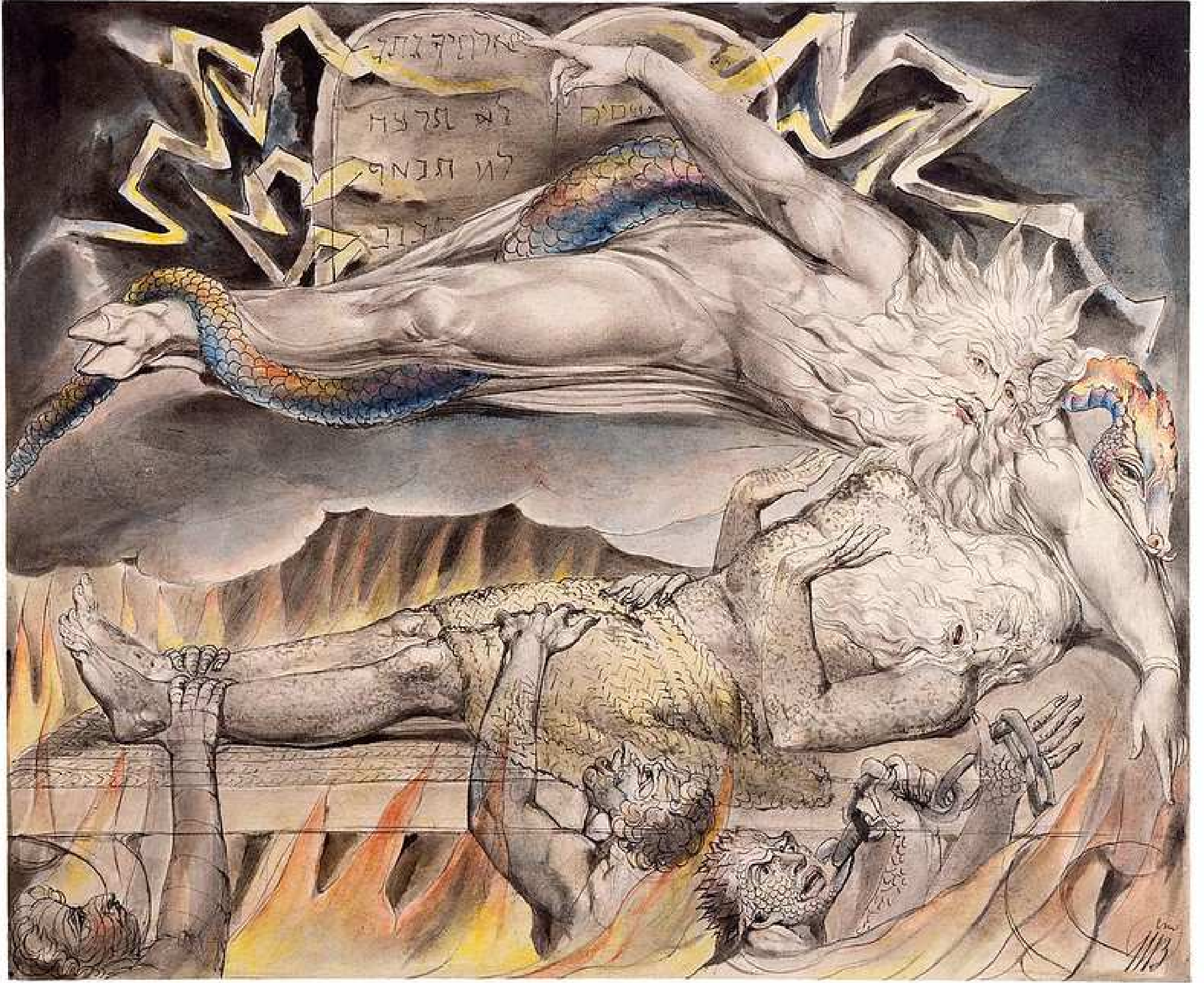

Figure 19. William Blake, *Job's Evil Dreams,* 1825 reprinted 1874, line engraving on paper, 19.7 x 15.2 cm, Tate, London

Figure 20. Victor Hugo, *Le Réve,* 1866, ink on paper, Maison de Victor Hugo, Guernsey

Figure 21. Victor Hugo, *Untitled page from personal journal,* ca. 1866, ink on paper, Maison de Victor Hugo, Guernsey

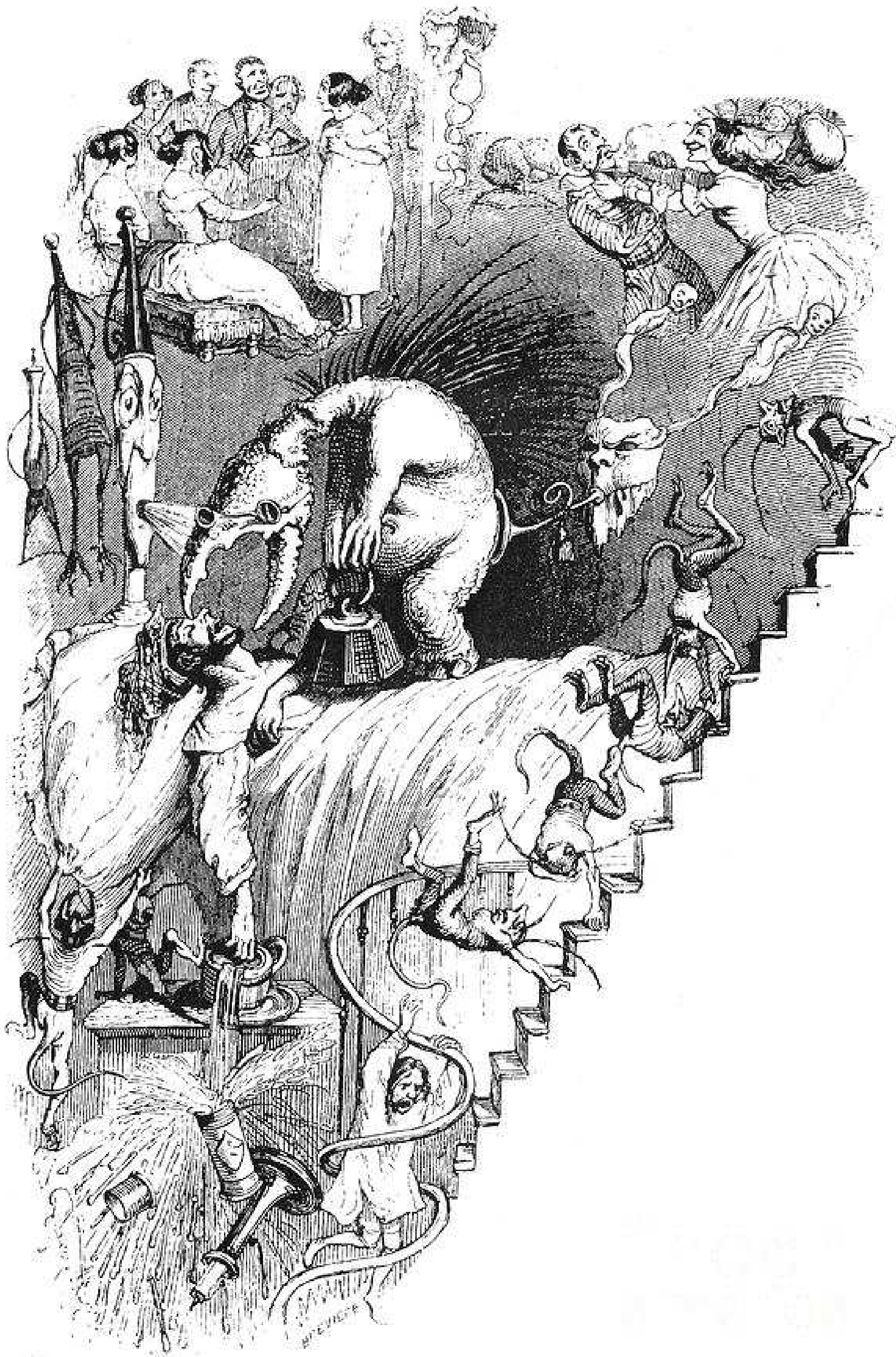

Figure 22. J.J. Grandville**,** *Le Cauchemar,* from *Les Petites misère de la vie humaine,* 1843, engraving

Figure 23. J.J. Grandville, *Leçons de danse,* from the series *Metamorphosis du jour,* 1829, lithograph

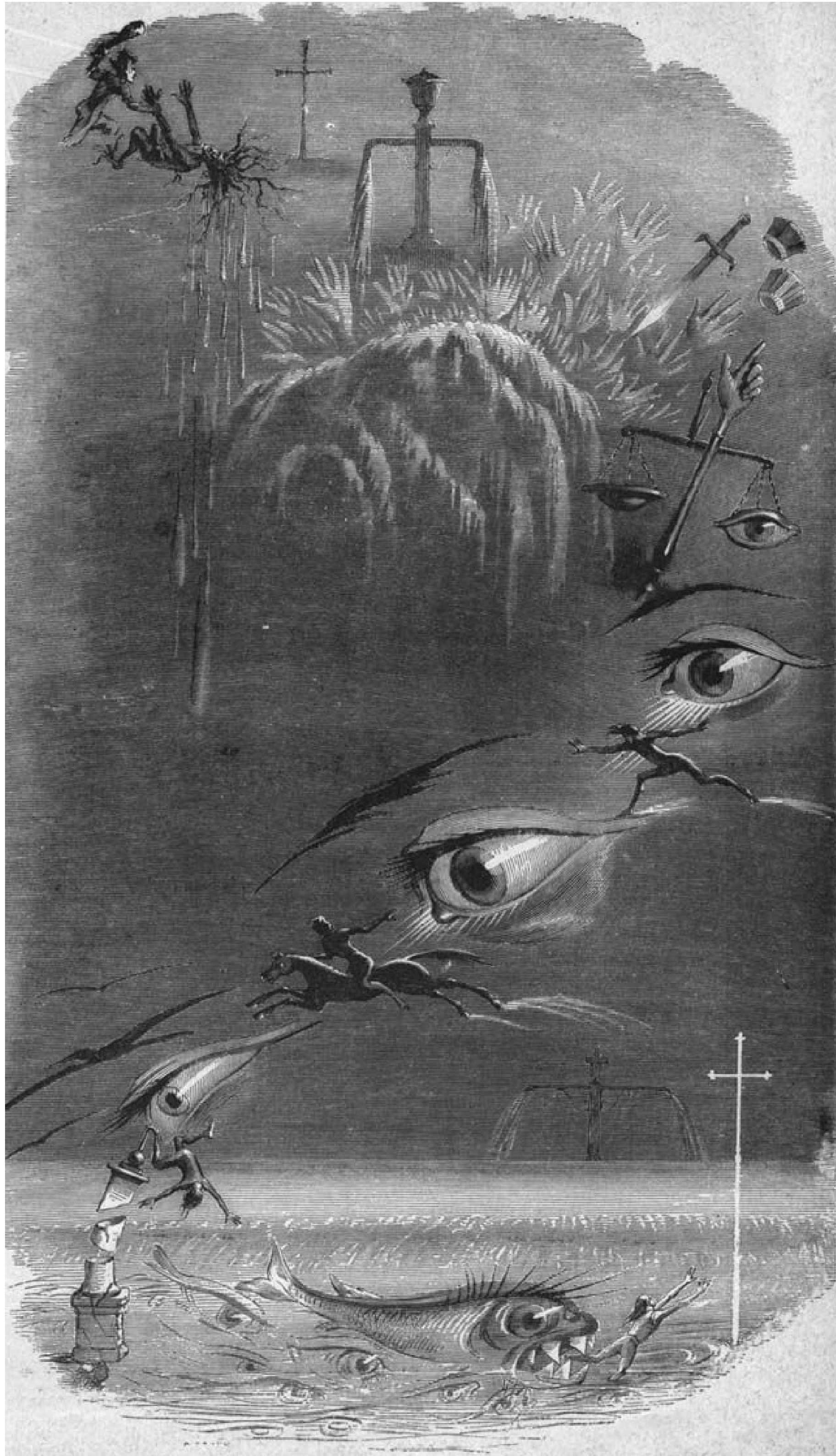

Figure 24. J.J. Grandville, *A Dream of Crime and Punishment,* 1847, wood engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

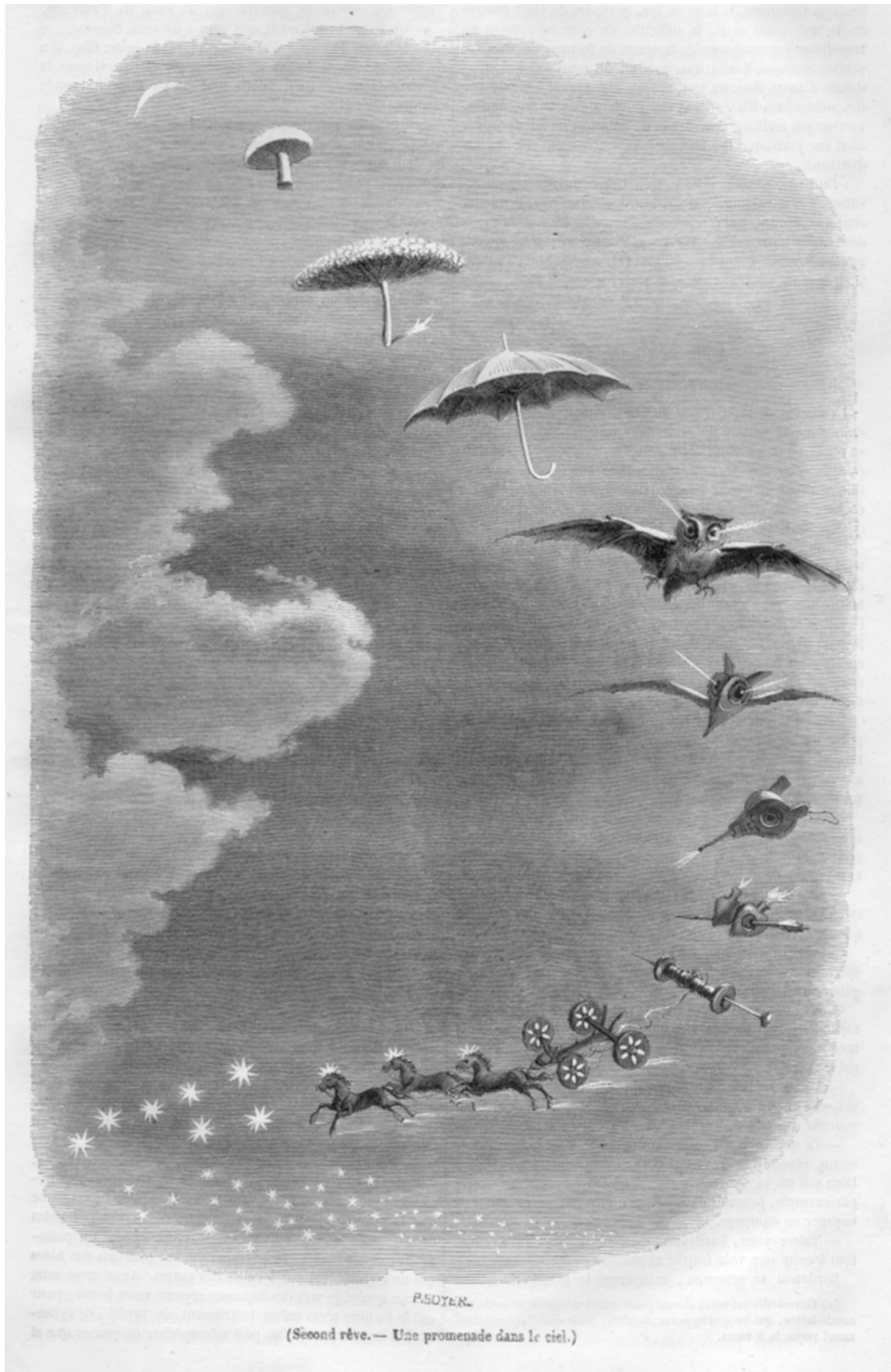

Figure 25. J.J. Grandville, *A Promenade Across the Sky,* 1847, wood engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

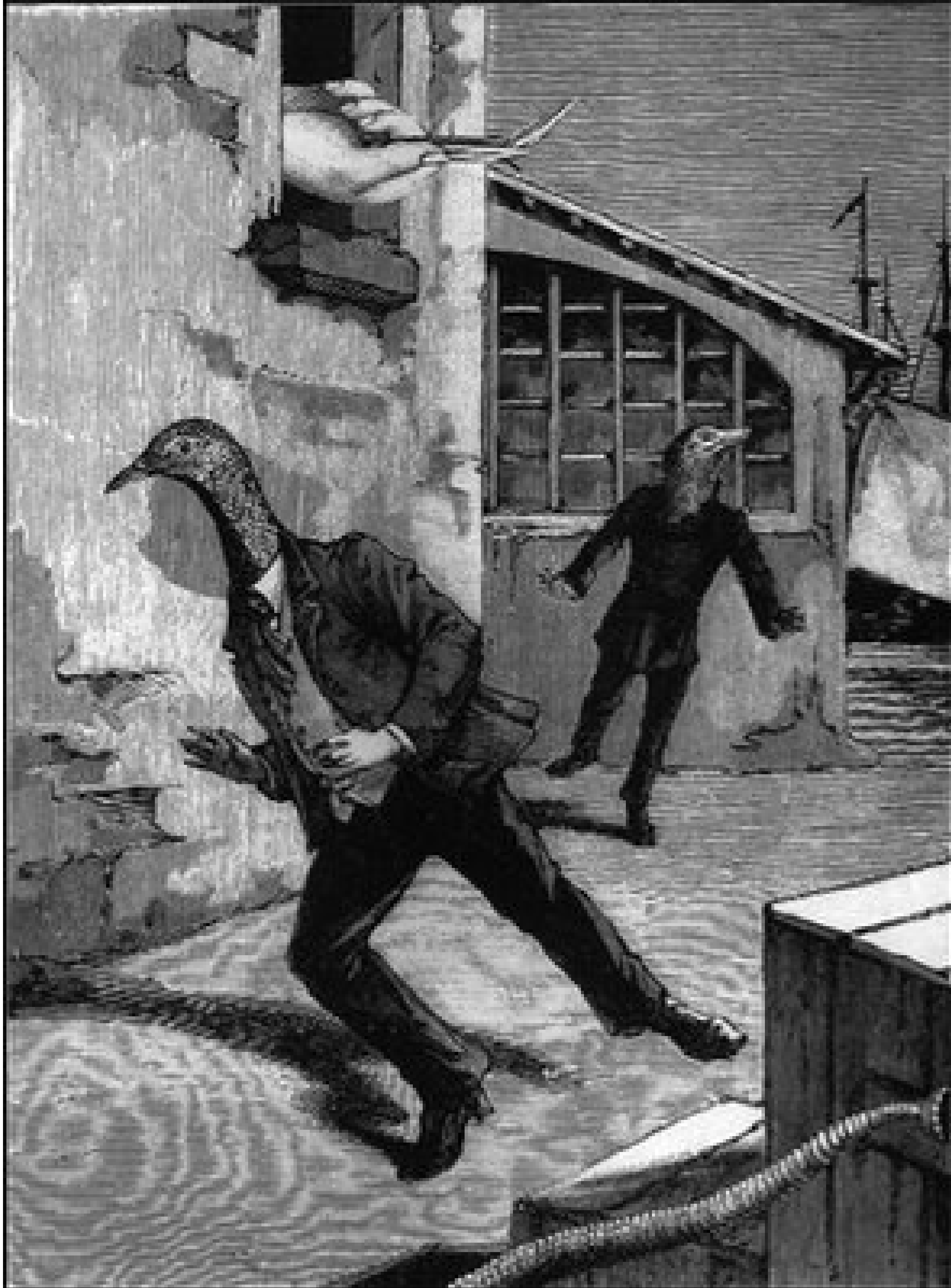

Figure 26. Max Ernst, *Une semaine de bonté; ou, Les sept éléments capitaux,* 1934, five volume serial novel with 182 line blocks after collages, 27 x 20.5 cm, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

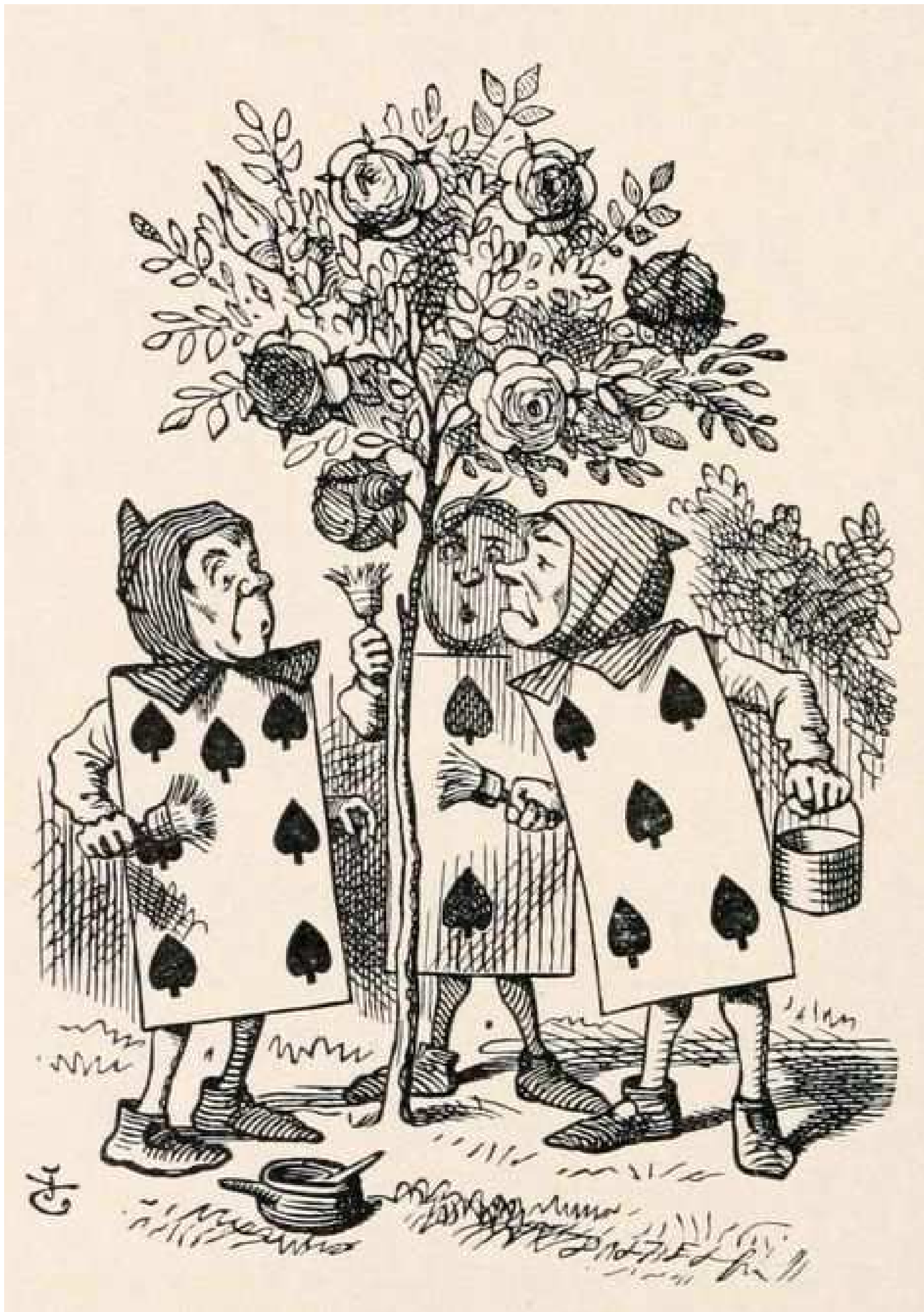

Figure 27. John Tenniel, *Playing Cards,* drawing from *Alice in Wonderland,* 1865, from the novel by Lewis Carroll.

Figure 28. J.J. Grandville, *The Battle of Cards,* from *Un Autre Monde* 1844, colored wood engraving.

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