

# DANCE AND SCIENCE IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE ARTICULATE BODY

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## Hypnotic Dancing and the Science of Sleep and Dreams

The Controversial Case of Madeleine G.

CHANTAL FRANKENBACH

German theater dance was in the midst of a remarkable transformation at the turn to the twentieth century. Newspapers reported daily on the latest marvels in the new dance art that would overturn the banalities of nineteenth-century ballet for a novelty-hungry German public. Early in 1904, a rhymed satire in the popular humor magazine *Jugend* announced that dance-crazed Munich, having raved over la Tortajada, Guerrero, Saharet, Cléo de Mérode, la belle Otero, and Miss Duncan, was ready for a new dance idol. “And lo and behold,” the dancer with “unconscious legs who only dances in dreams,” Madeleine G., has arrived.<sup>1</sup> Known as *die Schlaf tänzerin* (the “sleep dancer”), the latest dance phenomenon had her own peculiar innovations to capture public interest. Madeleine had created a sensation, wrote one journalist, that no other winter entertainment could compete with, for her dancing in a state of hypnosis captured “the two greatest powers of the mind—art and science.”<sup>2</sup> A leading Berlin newspaper further characterized Madeleine as “the newest half-scientific, half-artistic wonder.”<sup>3</sup>

Madeleine had indeed sparked a lively debate over the respective domains of art and science and their mutual fields of inquiry. Not just scientific experts, but those who saw Madeleine dance, were gripped by the questions she aroused. Was she really asleep? Was it a hoax? But most importantly, what did her spellbound movements reveal about the unconscious human mind? A leading doctor, commenting on the “passionate war of words” that followed one of Madeleine’s performances, confirms that “everywhere you listened, this question was discussed almost continuously . . . during the breaks and after the concert.”<sup>4</sup> Lampooning the publics’ obsession with Madeleine, one

satirist narrated his desperate journey by train across Germany to escape the incessant chatter about sleep dancing. Alas, as he reached the snowy peak of Germany's highest mountain, a lone alpinist greeted him with, "Tell me, have you seen Madeleine dance?"<sup>5</sup>

This essay examines Madeleine's sudden celebrity in Germany at a moment of intense interest in sleep and dreams as clues to the mystery of human creativity. Debates about the authenticity of Madeleine's sleep dancing in the popular press, medical journals, and scientific monographs reveal how interest in sleep and the subrational mind intersected with popular demonstrations of hypnosis such as Madeleine's, entangling theaters of medicine with theaters of art and entertainment in a search for the latent source of human creativity. Psychiatrists, hypnotists, neurologists, artists, satirists, philosophers: all scrutinized Madeleine in a discourse that brought fresh perspective to the developing science of the mind.

The deep interest in Madeleine's choreographic crossover from art to science was no accident. Her rise to fame was in fact engineered by an unusual combination of artists and scientists who brought her to Germany under the auspices of the Munich Psychological Society. Their chosen moniker for the trance dancer, "Madeleine G.," effectively invoked the pseudonyms given to celebrity psychiatric patients such as the famous Anna O. in Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud's 1895 *Studies on Hysteria*.<sup>6</sup> Madeleine G. was born Emma Archinard in Tiflis, Georgia, in 1875. She married and had two children with a Parisian purveyor of building materials, Albert Guipet, and in April 1902 sought medical treatment from the celebrated French magnetist Émile Magnin.<sup>7</sup> Magnin was a therapist and teacher at the Paris École de Magnétisme when Madeleine came to him for incurable headaches "of a nervous origin."<sup>8</sup> In the course of Madeleine's hypnotic treatments, Magnin noticed her unusual sensitivity to music and a striking gestural expressivity that prompted him to seek evaluation by a professional musician.<sup>9</sup> What Magnin had taken for hysterical convulsions he now suspected were artistic revelations "that had sprouted fully formed from her unconscious mind."<sup>10</sup> Magnin arranged for Madeleine to be "displayed" twice at the Opéra-Comique in January 1904, and then in the Paris studios of sculptors Auguste Rodin and Albert Besnard and photographer Fred Boissonnas.<sup>11</sup>

From there, Madeleine's notoriety grew. After attending one of these exhibitions, the German psychiatrist Albert von Schrenck-Notzing arranged for Madeleine and Magnin to come to Germany, where her "haunting art," as critic Georg Fuchs wrote, "unleashed storms of delight and put thousands and thousands into a frenzy."<sup>12</sup> Along with the public, a spectrum of experts—professors, psychiatrists, pedagogues, philosophers, theologians, occultists,

and aestheticists—jockeyed to see and to pass judgment on Madeleine’s dream dancing: “so full of lightening-like inspirations, so full of true experience, so full of gripping natural poetry,” wrote Leopold Weber, “as I have ever seen it manifested in the higher sphere of consciousness.”<sup>13</sup>

## The Science of Sleep, Dreams, and Hypnosis

Germans’ keen interest in Madeleine’s sleep dancing followed upon many decades of thought and experimentation in two key areas: nineteenth-century romantic nature philosophy, and scientific research on animal magnetism and hypnotism. Well before the surge of scientific interest in hypnosis and sleep, nineteenth-century German writers and philosophers had trolled the depths of the human psyche with a metaphysical view of the human subconscious informed by the awesome and infinitely mysterious power of nature. The nineteenth-century popularization of Darwinism in Germany aroused interest in human consciousness by challenging prior distinctions between the “civilized” and “instinctual” characteristics of human behavior. Darwin’s *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872) linked the human nervous system to ancient animal stimuli and behaviors, inviting research on dreams as a key to the regressive level of human impulse still coursing in the psyche of modern man.<sup>14</sup> For Romantic thinkers of the nineteenth century, this dual nervous system—one of the sleeping primordial past, one of the wakeful modern human—not only divided behavior into different realms of the self, but also, as art historian Marsha Morton explains, “established the unconscious as a state of being which unified man with other, more instinctual, forms of life.”<sup>15</sup>

This instinctual life, buried in the body, was thought to be most accessible to the mind in the dream state. By 1814, German readers were introduced to Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert’s *Symbolism of Dreams* and Jean Paul’s *Views into the World of Dreams*, which proposed that dreams were caused by somatic stimuli transmitted to the brain, and then transformed back to images taken from waking experience.<sup>16</sup> Arthur Schopenhauer’s writing on the relationship of the body to the will and to consciousness presented dreams and somnambulism as “essential resources for the study of human behavior.”<sup>17</sup> Another philosopher, Albert Scherner, posited sleep as a state of “assault . . . by the drives of the body,” whose nocturnal “sovereignty” reigned unchecked by any “moral laws.”<sup>18</sup> Attempts to relate the conscious to the unconscious mind incorporated the supernatural and the psychologically abnormal as prominent features of German Romanticism. Paranormal phenomena, séances, and hypnosis gained popularity via the sleepwalkers in stories and plays by Heinrich

von Kleist, Arthur Schnitzler, Gottfried Keller, and especially E. T. A. Hoffmann. Morton concludes that in Hoffmann's thinking, "the trance approximated creative consciousness" and dreams became "artistic 'levers' to activate fictional transitions from the empirical realm to the fantastic."<sup>19</sup>

Turning back from the fantastic to the empirical, however, scientists sought clues to the hypnotic state in the long tradition of experimentation with electricity and magnetism.<sup>20</sup> Eighteenth-century searches for the principles of magnetic and electric phenomena cleared the way for nineteenth-century breakthroughs by Humphry Davy, André-Marie Ampère, and Michael Faraday, whose work in electromagnetic induction led him to conclude that "matter is a pattern of invisible energy."<sup>21</sup> This conflation of matter with energy found a home in the thought of German nature philosopher F. W. J. Schelling, who believed that nature itself operates beneath the rational as an "unconscious slumbering spirit."<sup>22</sup>

These scientific ideas found practical application throughout the nineteenth century in hypnosis. This practice grew most directly out of Franz Anton Mesmer's eighteenth-century theories of attraction and repulsion through the medium of animal magnetism, a fluid he believed was "universally widespread and pervasive."<sup>23</sup> Mesmer, who considered himself a physicist, studied medicine at the University of Vienna and wrote a dissertation on the effect of the sun and moon on the tides, including those in the bodily humors affecting the course of disease.<sup>24</sup> He established a clinic in Paris in 1778 and was flooded with patients seeking magnetic correction of their disrupted fluids with a treatment involving a wooden tub of "magnetized water" and iron filings that stored "animal magnetism."<sup>25</sup> Groups of the afflicted, joined by a cord, grasped movable iron rods protruding from the tub and applied them to their ailing body parts to improve "free circulation of the magnetic fluid."<sup>26</sup> Mesmer also believed he could improve magnetic flow by passing his hands over patients' magnetic "poles" to induce an often convulsive hypnotic trance. He realized the economic potential of these "mesmerisms" by performing them before curious onlookers in European salons, lecture halls, and carnivals.

Interest in magnetism grew throughout the nineteenth century. By 1817, the University of Berlin had appointed two professors of animal magnetism.<sup>27</sup> One of these, Karl Christian Wolfart, ran a large "magnetic polyclinic" visited by scientists, doctors, and philosophers from across Europe.<sup>28</sup> The term "magnetism" gave way to "hypnotism," and by 1894 the Berlin physician Jonas Grossmann had compiled twenty-nine expert reports showing that hypnotic suggestion was "a beneficial and low-risk form of treatment for a range of medical conditions" including epilepsy, hysteria, and the migraine headaches

that afflicted Madeleine.<sup>29</sup> German psychologist Albert Moll's *Der Hypnotismus* (1899) brings us directly to the case of Madeleine, for in this work he carefully considered Schrenck-Notzing's advocacy of the dancer as a hypnotic subject. Two societies formed in Germany to encourage experimentation with hypnosis: Berlin's Society for Experimental Psychology and Munich's Psychological Society, which sponsored Madeleine's performances in Munich. Their experimentation tested the therapeutic efficacy of hypnosis, but also focused on the artistic potential of the dissociated mind, a question that informed much of the speculation about Madeleine.<sup>30</sup> Thus, two centuries of scientific inquiry into the nature of consciousness had set the stage for broad interest in Madeleine's "sleep dancing."

Madeleine's transference from Paris to Munich via Schrenck-Notzing's sponsorship paralleled a broader shift in the study of hypnosis and psychiatry from France to Germany.<sup>31</sup> The French rivalry in theories of hypnotic therapy between neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot at his Salpêtrière laboratory in Paris and Hippolyte Bernheim in Nancy was eclipsed in the 1880s by German-speaking neurologists and psychiatrists. Max Dessoir, Auguste Forel, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Albert Moll, Adolf Weinhold, and Schrenck-Notzing all issued books on the therapeutic use of hypnotism between 1879 and 1896. With Freud's *Studies on Hysteria*, hypnosis entered medical discourse as a way to "create a vacancy of consciousness" and rid the patient of resistance to the subliminal self.<sup>32</sup> Schrenck-Notzing believed hypnosis afforded a "relative loosening of the psychological tissue," so that wakeful ideas "detach themselves," and are thus paralyzed or condemned to sleep. This "complete surrender" to suggested impressions was key to understanding Madeleine's choreographic outpourings, most evident in her "rapturous" responses to music.<sup>33</sup>

Particularly interesting to the case of Madeleine is the search for the source of human creativity in theories of ideomotor action, which held that the "idea" of a movement is "already the beginning of the movement itself" and that every state of consciousness "has a tendency . . . to transform itself into a movement or an act."<sup>34</sup> The ability to suppress automatic movement thus emerged as a key to understanding all human agency, hypnotism producing this transformation "in its purest form."<sup>35</sup> If volition could be understood as the mental power to stop movement, hypnosis became all the more attractive as a way to investigate the absence of willed agency over the autonomic responses of the body to the mind.<sup>36</sup> One report on the scientific basis of the Madeleine "phenomenon" comments on the "latent talents" of expressivity that are inversely "awakened" by hypnosis.<sup>37</sup> This happens because with the suppression of consciousness, "the susceptibility to suggestion . . . is almost without resistance."<sup>38</sup> Put another way, philosopher of art Theodore Lipps ar-

gued that any inhibiting factors disturbing the purity of Madeleine's dancing have "fallen asleep."<sup>39</sup> By dancing in a state of hypnosis, Madeleine provided a theatrical exhibition of ideomotor suggestion and its relation to the mysteries of human consciousness. As one observer noted, relationships between physical action and psychological perception have received "a new, particularly interesting and valuable confirmation from the Munich sleep dancer."<sup>40</sup> In Schrenck-Notzing's view, Madeleine's body became "an ideoplastic instrument in which every mental impulse finds its adequate expression."<sup>41</sup>

### Madeleine's Hypnotic Dancing

Schrenck-Notzing considered Madeleine's sleep dancing an incomparable wealth of expressivity, making her case "equally valuable both psychologically and artistically."<sup>42</sup> He thus had to manage Madeleine's carefully staged program of musical and narrative "suggestion" as both physician and entrepreneur. Because public displays of hypnosis were illegal by 1903, he first presented Madeleine in a "séance" at his Munich residence.<sup>43</sup> More demonstrations followed in February 1904 for select circles of invited guests in the homes of a prominent banker and the Austrian Ambassador Count Zichy.<sup>44</sup> The *Berliner Morgenpost* reported on a performance in the salon of "an art-loving lady" in Munich where Madeleine "disarmed the most skeptical viewers."<sup>45</sup> In filmy blue robes, she succumbed to her magnetizer Magnin and "her flexible, elastic body became uncannily rigid." With her hypnosis complete, "a large, staring pair of eyes look directly into the electric spotlight directed at the figure. . . . Well-known doctors step to the podium and try to bend her outspread arms. . . . As sounds come from a piano . . . the eyes flash lightening and a vibration trembles through the still lifeless body of Madeleine. The expressions change abruptly, and . . . Madeleine follows the notes and struggles to do the strangest poses."<sup>46</sup>

Among the invited doctors, artists, writers, and journalists at these private soirées, some, like Alfred Keller, Alfred von Mensi-Klarbach, and Otto Julius Bierbaum, praised Madeleine's emotional immediacy.<sup>47</sup> Others suspected a hoax and shouted their objections. When dubious reports of these private showings hit the papers, Schrenck-Notzing hastened to defend his scientific reputation by booking Munich's intimate, experimental *Schauspielhaus* theater for six semi-public performances between March 9 and 22, where ticket-buyers paid an exorbitant twenty marks for entrance. Schrenck-Notzing's entrepreneurship, according to Corinna Treitel, "showed just how permeable the boundaries between science and art, research and performance could be in an age of emerging mass culture."<sup>48</sup> It also showed his defiance of regu-

lations meant to protect the public from charlatans. According to one disgruntled source, Schrenck-Notzing observed certain pretenses “for the appearance of legality. . . . The Psychological Society circumvents the ban on hypnotic displays . . . by supplying an ‘invitation card’ for shops entrusted with the sale of the tickets to distribute to buyers.”<sup>49</sup> One dubious critic signing as “Sleep writer” objected that Madeleine “will have made a small fortune” before the delicacies of high society “wake from their own gullible doze.”<sup>50</sup> Another scoffed that “when farce is passed off as science” for the overexcited Munich public, “everyone comes—everyone!”<sup>51</sup>

Madeleine’s hypnotic dances followed a carefully controlled dramatic arc. The program for March 9, advertised as “a demonstration by the dream dancer Madeleine G. by the Psychological Society,” contained three parts: an experimental prelude, consisting of Madeleine’s hypnotism by Magnin; a musical demonstration, in which she danced to Chopin’s *Funeral March*, Schubert’s *Erlkönig*, and Wagner’s *Lohengrin* performed by local professional musicians; and finally a dramatic pantomime to declamations by the actress Miss Lili Marberg.<sup>52</sup> Here Madeleine impersonated overwrought femmes fatales, what Don LaCoss calls “the immortal goddesses of hysteria”—among them Salomé, the Virgin Mary, Lucretia, and Helen.<sup>53</sup> Magnin’s hypnosis employed a combination of eye fixation and hand passing. Schrenck-Notzing described the process: Madeleine sits or stands in front of the hypnotist, who takes her hands and fixes her eyes. After a few seconds, her gaze becomes rigid, she no longer blinks, and conjunctival reflex is weakened. Her facial expression becomes “mask-like,” her arms fall to her sides and “a changed state of consciousness is quite unmistakable.” Active somnambulism emerges slowly, as mild music takes hold of Madeleine’s movements.<sup>54</sup>

The daily press reported Madeleine’s performances in vivid detail. According to one account, the *Schauspielhaus* curtain went up on a bare stage with a lady in white sitting in a spacious armchair.<sup>55</sup> In tails, Magnin steps forward and performs “the familiar movements of the hypnotist.” He steps back and the music begins. Respected musicians take turns at the grand piano, sometimes improvising. “The stately full figure of the hypnotized woman . . . rises from the armchair and makes a few tentative movements. . . . In the glaring glow of a blue lantern, the most wonderful and eerie dance begins. Every fiber of the woman’s body, guided by no conscious effort, trembles in the onslaught of the sound waves like the leaf of a tree in the wind.”<sup>56</sup>

When the music stops, Madeleine suddenly becomes rigid. Schrenck-Notzing calls on medical observers to investigate if they wish. “The doctors come, see, and are amazed.”<sup>57</sup> Writing in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, Dr. Seif credited Madeleine’s “hysterical disposition” for her extraordinary

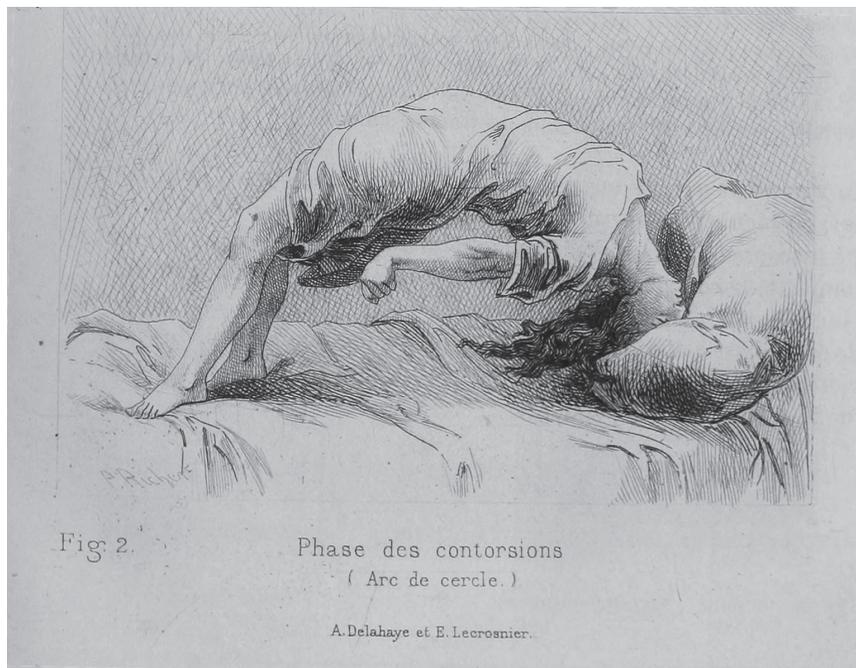


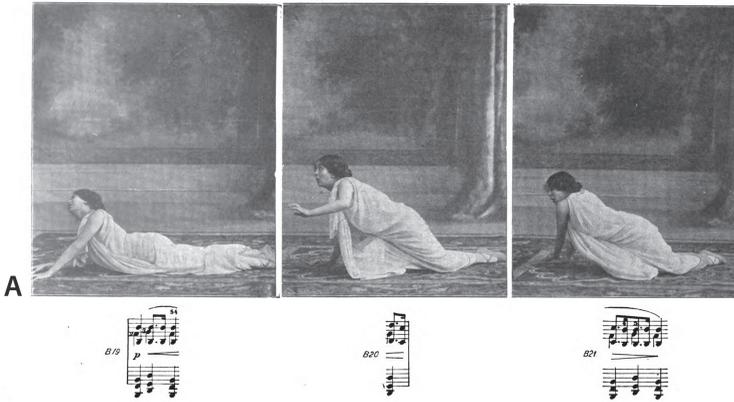
Figure 16.1. “Arc de cercle” of a hysteria patient at the Salpêtrière. Paul Richer, *Études cliniques sur la grande Hystérie ou hystéro-épilepsie* (Paris, 1885), 69. Public domain. Accessed in HathiTrust Digital Library.

expressivity. “Her gestures and pantomimic expressions reveal sadness, bliss, rapture, rage—i.e., all the emotions—rather precisely, even according to pitch, volume, sound color, intervals, and rhythms.”<sup>58</sup> The highly touted “hysterical” element of Madeleine’s hypnotic condition was evident in her wild and violent expressions and movements. According to Weber, extremes of emotion poured from her body: “How she cringes to the core as she meets the roar of the funeral march, how she rears up, her whole face wracked with sorrow, to a violent level of pathos and pain, staggering rhythmically, shaken by massive grief.”<sup>59</sup> Seif further described the “*arc de cercle*” (see figure 16.1 and figure 16.3) in which Madeleine’s head bent back to touch her spine, and “the almost embarrassing groaning and screaming during Chopin’s *Funeral March*, when she tries to dig her fingernails into the floor as the music slowly descends.”<sup>60</sup>

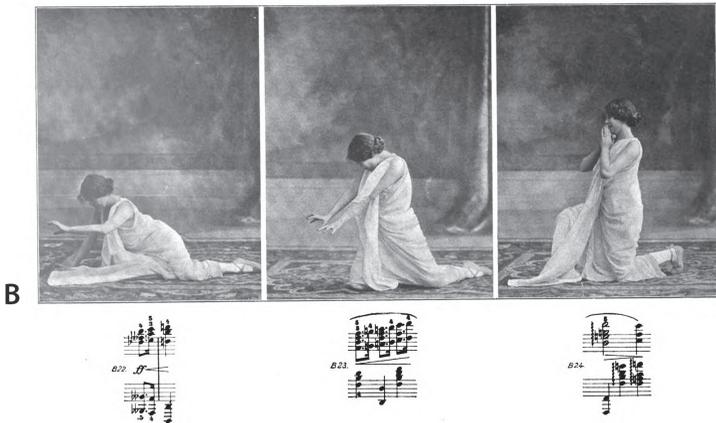
### Believers and Doubters

Reactions to the authenticity of Madeleine’s hypnotic state crossed many of the carefully constructed boundaries separating lay hypnotists and medical

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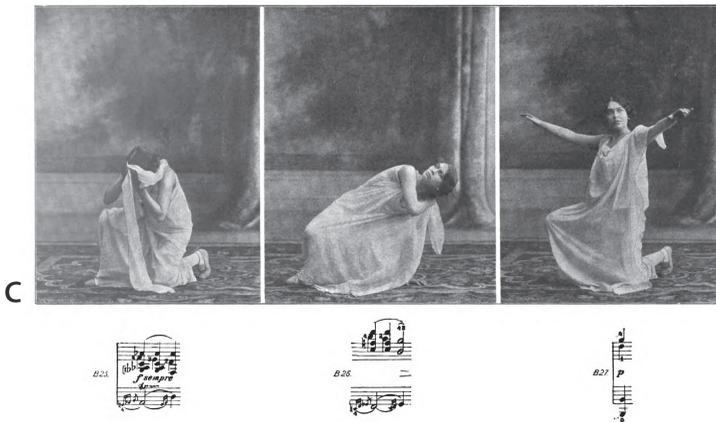


Figure 16.2a, 16.2b, 16.2c. Madeleine performing bars 19–27 of Chopin's *Funeral March*. Emile Magnin, *L'art et l'hypnose*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1907), 471, 473, 475. From a series of photographs by Frédéric Boissonnas. Public domain. Accessed in HathiTrust Digital Library.

practitioners. Critic and editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* Alfred von Mensi declared emphatically that “the cataleptic, inward-looking eye” maintained throughout Madeleine’s hypnotic exhibition was not a fraud. “She danced and played for two hours, twice being awakened to rest and then put back to sleep. . . . All Schrenck-Notzing’s colleagues found signs of an utterly cataleptic condition.”<sup>61</sup> Neurologist Leopold Loewenfeld professed absolute confidence in Madeleine’s hypnotic state; after participating in a special viewing for the Munich Medical Association, Loewenfeld attended Madeleine’s performance at the *Schauspielhaus* on March 16 and conducted a backstage examination of the dancer. There, he induced catalepsy of both arms, and then a severe contraction of one leg. “The muscles of the leg felt like a board and the resistance . . . was so unyielding that, in my judgment, it could hardly have been overcome by a man of very significant muscle strength. With her rigidly stretched and raised legs, the bizarrely twisted arms . . . and the pulled back head, standing motionless on the uncomfortable cane chair, the woman offered a scene that dispelled any doubts about simulation.”<sup>62</sup>

Yet Madeleine and Magnin did inspire doubts. These focused on Madeleine’s professed lack of dance training and the possibility of simulation. In 1894, the Viennese neurologist Moritz Benedikt had published a scathing denunciation of hypnotic therapy, claiming that at least 90 percent of hypnotized patients had later confessed to pretending they were asleep; other doctors had followed suit.<sup>63</sup> Likewise, popular humor magazines and daily newspapers ridiculed Madeleine’s “sleep dancing” as a sham. Several reviewers wondered why, if Madeleine was in a rapturous state of hypnosis, she never turned her back to the audience? How did she not collide with the stage props? And why did she adjust her hair and costume when they were out of place?<sup>64</sup> One skeptic notes that the appropriate movement “seems to have been triggered before the declamation or music has announced it.”<sup>65</sup> Key to her critics’ doubts was the claim that Madeleine had no dance training. *Jugend* lampooned this question in a series of comic drawings featuring one of Madeleine’s supposed imitators, “Signora Schmuggolina.” The spoof describes Schmuggolina’s pantomime of Richard Wagner’s “Ride of the Valkyries,” wryly emphasizing that she has of course “never had a single riding lesson.”<sup>66</sup> To counter such suspicions, Magnin assured audiences that Madeleine’s “perfectly natural and involuntary expressions of instinct” were merely “the outflow of a natural talent, freed from all inhibitions by hypnosis and requiring no training.”<sup>67</sup> Yet critic Detta Zilcken was not convinced: “I became certain,” she cautions, “that this lady had frequent gymnastic exercise” and that a natural acting talent had been carefully developed. She had in fact “been preparing her role for a long time.”<sup>68</sup>

Madeleine received intense medical scrutiny to further dispel such doubts. In addition to their observations during her performances, physicians performed tests on Madeleine in their laboratories and at the viewing for the Munich Medical Association. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* reported that Schrenck-Notzing sought scientific verification of his observations from three neurologists—Dr. Seif, Dr. Hirt, and Dr. Feser—and from a specialist in the psychology of sound, Dr. Schultz. After an hours-long examination, all four scientific luminaries “are convinced Magdeleine’s demonstrations take place in a state of hystero-hypnosis.”<sup>69</sup> Further agreement came from Dr. Focke, director of the local insane asylum. Their tests focused on the sensory apparatus of the nervous system. While observing disturbances in Madeleine’s eyes, the ophthalmologist Dr. Ancke noted “rigid pupils” and a complete absence of blinking for a duration of 11 ½ minutes.<sup>70</sup> In his book about Madeleine, Schrenck-Notzing provided the detailed findings of seventeen specialists who examined Madeleine during her five weeks in Munich, compiling data on her vision, hearing, reflexes, muscular strength, memory, intelligence, and motor control.<sup>71</sup> Never forgetting Madeleine’s choreographic impact, Schrenck-Notzing was also attuned to the artistic potential of Madeleine’s case. His stated aim, as coordinator of this research, was to document “the artistic and scientific sides of ‘sleep dance’ . . . in the dramatic-choreographic field.”<sup>72</sup>

Yet as Schrenck-Notzing and many others stressed, Madeleine’s impact was only “half-scientific.” The complementary half of her importance was felt by artists. Munich’s Psychological Society, since its formation, had in fact linked art with the study of the mind. The group’s 1887 manifesto invited artists to consider the Psychological Society “a unique venue in which to apply new experimental psychology to the realistic treatment of psychological themes and topics in their work.”<sup>73</sup> Society member Alfred Keller, who created upward of twenty paintings of Madeleine, acted in collaboration with Schrenck-Notzing as art director of her *Schauspielhaus* performances. Keller joined the Society in 1886, held more than fifty séances at his home, and made over a dozen paintings “involving scenes from psychical research.”<sup>74</sup> Before becoming entranced with Madeleine, he was already using hypnotized models to access their emotional immediacy in depictions of nightmares and altered states of consciousness.<sup>75</sup> Many artists of the nineteenth century had similarly explored themes of the *somnambule*. Max Klinger’s work from the 1870s and 1880s formed a provocative confrontation of the conscious and unconscious regions of the human mind in dreams, where, as Morton explains, “self-possession is involuntarily relinquished and figures are portrayed in hypnotic conditions whose dissociative character is conveyed by gaze, pose, and a sense of suspended animation.”<sup>76</sup> Other artists belonging to the Psycho-

logical Society had also been experimenting with depictions of the insentient mind for over a decade. Their experimentation with occult phenomena put them, according to Treitel, in the vanguard of “an emerging modernist sensibility dedicated to exploring how the eruptions of unconscious drives, desires, and emotions played out on the surface of the human face and body.”<sup>77</sup> Motivated by their interest in psychological realism, several of Munich’s Decadent and Secessionist artists—Hugo von Habermann, Friedrich August von Kaulbach, and Franz von Stuck—made paintings of Madeleine.<sup>78</sup> In response to some of Madeleine’s critics, Keller, von Stuck, and von Kaulbach signed a statement of support that appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*: “After the declarations made in the newspapers by the scientific party which deals with the phenomenon of Mme. Magdeleine, we artists feel . . . we must publicly express our admiration and our gratitude for the extraordinarily artistic satisfaction we experienced in being able to study the force of her expressive power.”<sup>79</sup>

Photography added another means to explore Madeleine’s expressive range. Magnin’s monograph on Madeleine included over 200 images taken by the Swiss photographer Fred Boissonnas. Their collaboration on *L’art et l’hypnose* combined artistic with scientific validation of hypnosis, presenting Madeleine as star witness (see figure 16.2). But Boissonnas also had precedents for his modernized “visual repertoire of hypnoses.”<sup>80</sup> Two decades earlier, Charcot’s assistant, Paul Richer, had meticulously photographed patients at the Salpêtrière neuropsychiatric hospital for women, revealing their “spectacle of pain” in a variety of cataleptic attitudes and poses, indexed in a table that depicts the four phases of a hysterical attack (see figure 16.3).<sup>81</sup> Richer’s 1881 photographs and drawings form an uncanny prequel to Boissonnas’s record of Madeleine, suggesting that he and Schrenck-Notzing, and possibly even Madeleine, had studied the cataleptic attitudes and gestures observed in Charcot’s theater of hysteria.<sup>82</sup>

## Theaters of Dance and Medicine

The documentary record of Madeleine’s sleep dancing makes clear her appeal to both artists and scientists. Yet we must wonder why their typically different aims and approaches converged on a dancer and how this convergence ultimately broke down. I argue here that Madeleine’s gestural enactment of the subconscious mind effectively cross-referenced the protocols of artistic and scientific inquiry. By transposing dance to fields of inquiry artists and scientists found equally legible, Madeleine also allowed each to borrow from the other’s legitimacy.

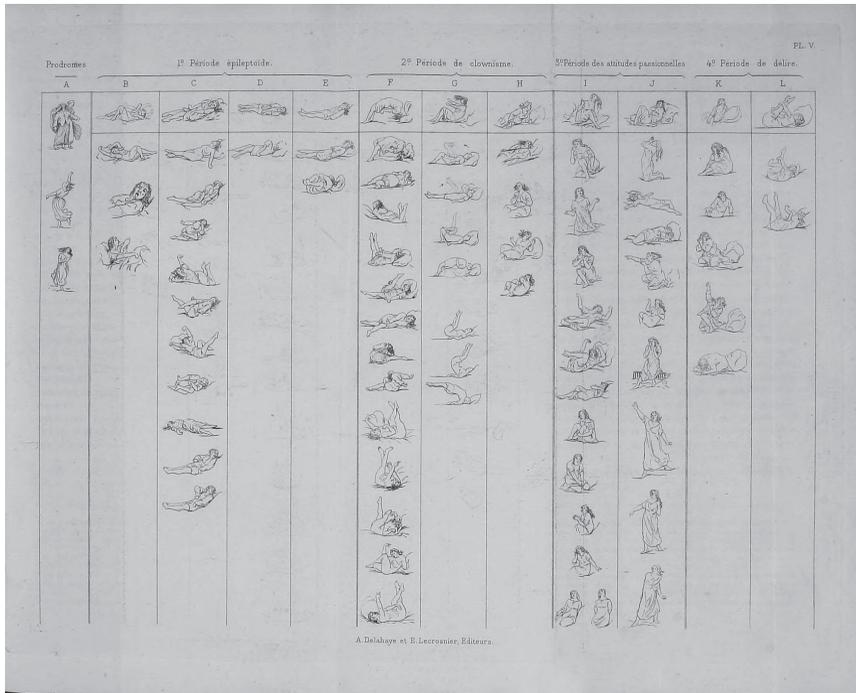


Figure 16.3. Synoptic table of the “complete and regular great hysterical attack,” with its four periods and their variant poses. Richer, *Études cliniques sur la grande Hystérie ou hystéro-épilepsie*. (Paris, 1885), 168. Public domain. Accessed in HathiTrust Digital Library.

Medicine itself had a reputation for dramatically staged rituals as it sought to inspire respect and awe for the advances of modern surgery and psychotherapy. The nineteenth-century operating theater spawned its own genre of painting devoted to the drama of relations among celebrity surgeons, unconscious patient, and voyeuristic audience. Thomas Eakins’s *The Agnew Clinic* (1889), in which the performance of a mastectomy absorbs the attention of an elite male audience, accesses many elements of traditional theater: dramatic arrangement of light and props, clearly delineated cast of characters, and rapt gaze of onlookers. Clinical advances in psychiatric treatment offered a similarly dramatic proscenium of discovery. Charcot performed demonstrations of the various stages of hysteria “in packed lecture halls, bathed in a spotlight before international medical and lay audiences.”<sup>83</sup> The “theatrical bodies” of Charcot’s patients exhibit, according to Didi-Huberman, “an extraordinary complicity between patients and doctors” that contributed not only to the spectacle of hysteria, but to its very invention, constructing a covert

identification of hysteria with theater.<sup>84</sup> In *Une leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière* (1887), French artist André Brouillet depicts Charcot at one of his regular Tuesday lectures in a taut scene of suspense, a large audience of male students gazing intently on a female subject in a state of hysterical contracture. Didi-Huberman describes the dramaturgy of acts, scenes, and tableaux in the hysterical attacks of one of Charcot's star patients (Augustine), with intervening periods of "repose" and "entracte."<sup>85</sup> In this light, we see Charcot join Schrenck-Notzing as a theatrical "entrepreneur" of hypno-hysteria.<sup>86</sup>

Kéline Gotman further refines this entrepreneurship in terms of dance. Charcot's "convulsionary theater" displayed a science of neurology "born as a choreographic process,"<sup>87</sup> reproducing gestures in clinical settings where the patient's seizure "presented a dramaturgical arc, from onset to crisis and resolution."<sup>88</sup> The choreo-dramatic symptoms of Charcot's female hysterics do indeed emerge as an arc in the table constructed by Paul Richer depicting the phases of a hysterical attack (see figure 16.3). This arc seems to merge the horrors of female hysteria with Madeleine's very similar theatrical poses, exposing the darker, clinical symptoms latent in Madeleine's beautifully lucid dancing. As Gotman explains, the theatricality of psychiatric research occurred on a hierarchy of planes. In the first, for example, which might correspond to Richer's "Période épileptoïde," the female hysteric "performs her distress" by corporealizing "what is linguistically inexpressible." She is thus imagined to access "an ancient type of corporeality."<sup>89</sup> For Madeleine's observers, this ancient corporeality invoked the archaic and terrifying forms of animal instinct revealed by the precepts of Darwinian evolution, made both attractive and entertaining in the controlled conditions of theatrical hypnosis.

The cultural traffic between theaters of entertainment and medicine ran in both directions. Where medical experimentation sometimes appropriated elements of entertainment, public spectacles staged by lay hypnotists borrowed equal legitimacy from the rituals of scientific demonstration. Beginning in 1878, the most famous itinerant stage hypnotist, Carl Hansen, presented himself as a learned professor. His performances began with an introductory lecture on animal magnetism and proceeded to demonstrate the validity of his claims on "receptive" individuals from the audience (see figure 16.4). A report from 1880 described large audiences for a series of shows in Breslau where Hansen brought prominent citizens onto the stage. Hansen induced his magnetized subjects to eat raw potatoes, sing to the crowd, and perform "preposterous pantomimes."<sup>90</sup> According to eyewitness Stanley Hall, the civic authorities in Breslau invited the university professor and animal magnetist Professor Heidenhain to join in Hansen's exhibitions to offer "scientific" explanation.<sup>91</sup> At Hansen's shows in Chemnitz, physician and chemist Adolf F.

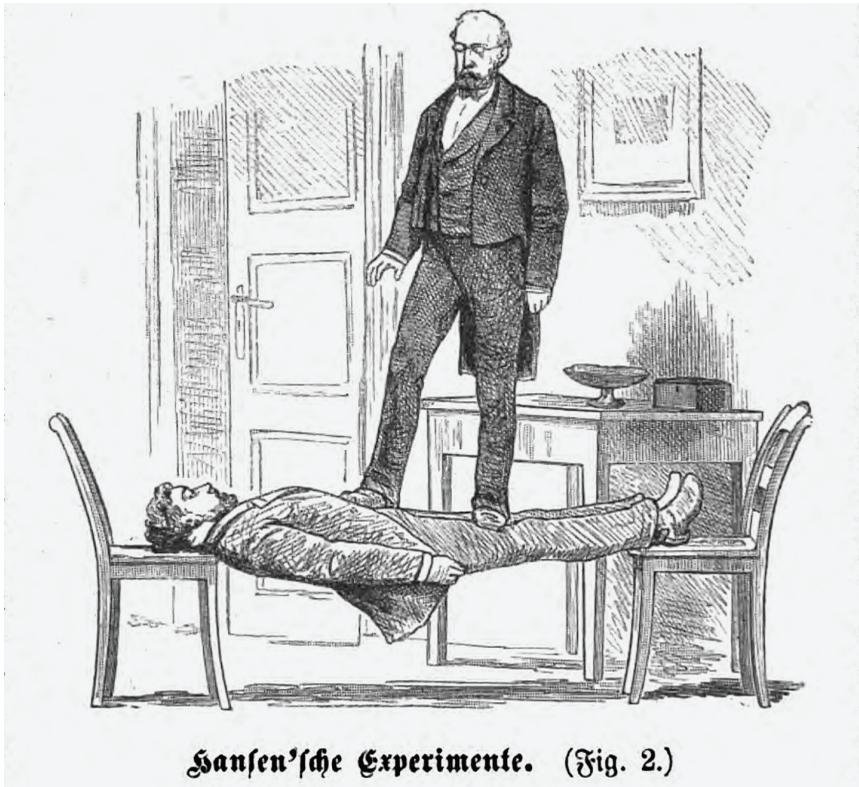


Figure 16.4. Carl Hansen's "human plank" tested credulity by placing a cataleptic subject between two chairs so Hansen could stand on the rigid body. Richard Rühlman, "Die Experimente mit dem sogenannten thierischen Magnetismus," *Die Gartenlaube* 28 (1880): 129. Public domain. Accessed in HathiTrust Digital Library.

Weinhold fulfilled the same function and also performed hypnotisms himself.<sup>92</sup> To the lay audiences that Hansen and a cadre of lesser-known traveling hypnotists entertained, these stage demonstrations differed little from the experiments being carried out in medical laboratories and clinical settings.

Among scientists, they sparked curiosity. Freud, Krafft-Ebing, and Charcot all attended Hansen's performances, which had in fact helped initiate the wave of scientific research on dreams, sleep, and hypnotism.<sup>93</sup> Gauld as well contends that German doctors' interest in hypnotism was "largely unleashed" by Hansen and his recruitment of medical men for his shows in cities and towns across Germany.<sup>94</sup> Thus, in spite of physicians' work to establish a medical monopoly over popular magnetizers like Hansen, the two classes of practitioner communicated and even collaborated in overlapping theaters of inquiry that eventually collided headlong in the case of Madeleine.

This collision reached maximum impact when members of the medical community publicly condemned Schrenck-Notzing's activities with Madeleine. As a leader of the campaign to separate medical hypnosis from lay mesmerism, Schrenck-Notzing had previously argued in several publications that hypnosis was a physical and psychological danger in the hands of lay practitioners.<sup>95</sup> Albert Moll, the esteemed neurologist who had worked with Schrenck-Notzing to outlaw the nonmedical use of hypnosis, bristled at the dual nature of Schrenck-Notzing's experiments: "sometimes of a scientific and sometimes of an artistic nature."<sup>96</sup> He considered Schrenck-Notzing's role in Madeleine's onstage antics a treacherous "insult to science," a duplicitous endorsement of quacksalvers and vaudevillians, and "a downright misdemeanor."<sup>97</sup>

Moll was not alone. Dr. Franz Roberts issued a twenty-four-page brochure attacking both Schrenck-Notzing and a gullible Munich public for falling prey to Madeleine's simulations.<sup>98</sup> Roberts asserts that the smart set of Munich was thoroughly duped by Schrenck-Notzing's skillful "launch" of the sleep dancer: "Very quietly, little notices appeared to prepare the public. Then came larger notices, then small articles, then raptures, then beatings of the tamtam and gong, and finally the trumpets of Jericho. The necessary authorities were recruited, the mass press persuaded, and 'all Munich' crept into the well-set trap."<sup>99</sup> In accordance with the motto, "Mundus vult decipi" (the world wants to be deceived), Roberts concludes with the idiom that Munich "has had a bear put on its back" ("Jemanden ein Bären aufbinden")—tricked, in other words, and left for fools. He asserts that Schrenck-Notzing is not just a mountebank, but a defiler of science for he has led Munich out of the light and into the "dark sciences" of the occult.

Further denouncing Schrenck-Notzing's crossing of this boundary with Madeleine and Magnin, another doctor recalls the early nineteenth-century practice of allowing the public into insane asylums for an entrance fee in order to "delight" in the inmates' abnormalities.<sup>100</sup> In his view, Madeleine's performances smack of "the barbarous practice of exhibiting insane patients to the gaping public."<sup>101</sup> Another critique came from a lay hypnotist who objected to a doctor becoming a "manager" of commercial exploitation, which could only be "repulsive and outrageous."<sup>102</sup> Viewing the "psychological agony" of temporary mental illness is no different than witnessing the trauma of a surgical incision, according to this critic, and no psychiatrist should allow spectators to observe the insane for their amusement. Madeleine's handlers do just this, and for a public "whose claim to this sight is based only on frivolous curiosity."<sup>103</sup> This moral theme motivated another critic who wished Madeleine would choose to be either an artist or a subject of scientific experimentation:

“If Madame G. really dances in a somnambulistic state, she . . . belongs not on the stage, but in a theater of abnormalities.”<sup>104</sup>

Schrenck-Notzing issued a rebuttal, defending the Psychological Society’s public showings of “this rare and interesting case.”<sup>105</sup> Once the newspapers had revealed Madeleine’s presence in Munich, he explained, dozens of organizations and all the major cities of Germany and Austria had eagerly requested private showings. The *Schauspielhaus* demonstrations—sponsored by a responsible organization in an artistically tasteful manner—were the lesser of many evils that might have befallen an entertainer in such demand. In this way, Madeleine could be compensated for her talents, sensation-seekers could be limited from entrance (thus the high ticket prices), and for three matinees the theater and orchestra could be devoted to specially invited groups of artists, students, and medical professionals. Faced with unforeseeable demand, the Psychological Society “fulfilled its duty as far as possible.”<sup>106</sup>

### Seeking the Source of Creativity

In order to understand Schrenck-Notzing’s turn against decades of work on boundary-building between objective research and popular amusement, we must consider Madeleine’s impact on his theories of hysteria and hypnosis. For Schrenck-Notzing, Madeleine’s “mild hysteria” made her especially susceptible to hypnosis and its liberation of individual consciousness from “inhibiting and disruptive” psychological factors, thus laying bare the nature of artistic revelation.<sup>107</sup> He believed this relationship between hysteria and artistic sensitivity was in fact present in all great actresses—Sarah Bernhardt and Eleanore Duse in particular—and in every sensitive human as well.<sup>108</sup> What made Madeleine such an important case was the activation of her talent by hypnosis alone. “In the dream dancer we see a great born artist who did not develop in normal daily life, whose choreographic and mimic ability could only be brought to free development in a hypnotic state. What other artists achieved through laborious years of study, upbringing, and practice, Magdeleine received as a ready-made gift from nature.”<sup>109</sup>

As a window into artistic inspiration, hypnosis struck some as a charade. The powerful critic Hanns von Gumppenberg found a “poverty” in Madeleine’s performance that lay in the “immature passivity” of her condition. She was only a “puppet,” lacking the “active, purposeful spirit” required of a true artist.<sup>110</sup> Yet some of the most astute critics of the time believed Madeleine’s hystero-hypnosis revealed the source of artistic inspiration. Critic and keen cultural observer Georg Fuchs saw in Madeleine something akin to the mental state of brilliant actors. Once they are on stage, these artists “fall into a sort

of trance, which allows them spiritual and physical abilities impossible under normal conditions.”<sup>111</sup> To dance as she did, the otherwise unremarkable Madeleine “needed a changed state of consciousness and a dream-like veiling of her inner life.”<sup>112</sup> Fuchs maintained that Madeleine’s facial expressions, “equal to the high style of Duse,” enabled her to evoke the extreme psychological states of Dionysian ecstasy in her depictions of Judith, Salomé, Klytemnestra, Helen, Antigone, and Cassandra.<sup>113</sup>

Many others saw in Madeleine’s raw emotional impact a revelation of the hidden regions of the human mind and spirit. German novelist Otto Julius Bierbaum called it “a spectacle of almost uncanny violence and at the same time of absolute beauty. Never in my life, not even with the greatest actresses, have I seen a human body, a human face, with mental processes so strongly revealed.”<sup>114</sup> Overwhelmed by Madeleine’s expressive power, he accepted the dream state as the closest possible to being struck “with rare inspiration.”<sup>115</sup> Fuchs also likened Madeleine’s trances to divine inspiration, declaring that her dancing can only be considered “an artistic and cultural miracle.”<sup>116</sup> With her consciousness redirected in the sleep state, she could represent more potently what occurs in all artists who “shape themselves under the pressure of an inner experience.” All artists require a form of “auto-suggestion,” akin to an ecstatic state of intoxication, allowing them to reveal their innermost being to an audience.<sup>117</sup> Fuchs believed hypnosis did this for Madeleine: “Like the angel who troubles the waters of Bethesda, the melodies stroke the surface of her soul: she trembles, she sways, she ruffles in gentle waves . . . she foams in chasing, howling storm surges . . . And what happens there in the dark regions . . . is brought out in the most perfect reflection before our delighted eye. ‘What walks in the labyrinth of the heart through the night’ comes through it to the light of earthly life: we can see it, we can experience it, pure and perfect as it happens.”<sup>118</sup> Another critic declared that for many, Madeleine’s “miraculous” expressivity revealed the possibility that creative forces lying in every human being “might be loosened by hypnosis.”<sup>119</sup> Our artists, according to this observer, must consciously undertake “the same loosening of these fetters. . . . An artist is, as it were, one who is able to hypnotize himself.” The urologist Dr. Felix Schlagintweit agreed. On the basis of Madeleine’s demonstration for the Munich Medical Association, he concluded she was probably not hypnotized by Magnin, but was instead “auto-hypnotized” by the state of ecstasy all artists summon to unleash their creative powers.<sup>120</sup>

For some, Madeleine’s expressive power even made the authenticity of her hypnosis unimportant. Theater critic Alfred Kerr declared her dancing “a fabulous phenomenon” in the art of acting.<sup>121</sup> Even while awake, “it would be great enough.” Kerr extended this thinking to suggest that any creative act

must induce a dream state to be fully expressive. Of writers, he asked, “Do we not lower our inner eyes to just one spot while paralyzing all our other faculties? Does a great, completely emotional actor do anything but sleep? Is Duse capable of effects which grip the very soul without the autosuggestion of sleep?” In Madeleine, the power of autosuggestion reached a higher level. “Is she a strongly hysterical performer . . . or is she a strong performer of hysteria?” Kerr concluded she is both, a “wildly great” example of the inhibitions “swept aside” and the “innermost turned outward.”<sup>122</sup>

### Back to *Jugend*

I began with *Jugend*'s satire on Madeleine as the next in a long line of performers appearing in Munich's 1904 wave of dance novelties. In another rhymed mockery, *Jugend* satirized the Munich medical community's fight over Madeleine, concluding that the “arguing and ranting in the newspapers” is harmful to all parties: first, to Madeleine “whose hysteria is displayed for profit”; second to the public, “made stupid by the deception”; and especially to the medical profession, “which can never mask the fact that Magnin led it by the nose.”<sup>123</sup> Yet the heated response to Madeleine's dances brought the science of sleep, hysteria, dreams, and hypnosis into direct dialogue with the nature of artistic creation. Madeleine G.'s impact, which one reviewer claimed made Isadora Duncan seem only a “weak dilettante,” has been forgotten.<sup>124</sup> But as the science of neurology and psychiatry advanced apace with the aesthetics of dance, Madeleine's “unconscious legs” became a brief focal point of interest in the mysteries of the mind. Dancing in the bright light of the public theater, Madeleine brought science and art together in a common search for the dark secrets of the human psyche.

### Notes

- 1 *Jugend*, Mar. 16, 1904, 258.
- 2 Zilcken, “Die Schlaf tänzerin,” 48.
- 3 *Berliner Morgenpost*, Feb. 24, 1904.
- 4 Maier, “Die ‘Schlaf tänzerin’ Madeleine G.,” 315.
- 5 H. St. “Die Schlaf tänzerin. Drama in vielen Vorgängen,” 1–2.
- 6 Eidenbenz, “Hypnosis at the Parthenon,” 8.
- 7 Magnin, *L'Art et l'Hypnose*, 9.
- 8 Eidenbenz, “Hypnosis at the Parthenon,” 1.
- 9 Börner, *So träumt man*, 10.
- 10 LaCoss, “Our Lady of Darkness,” 55.
- 11 For the Opéra-comique program, see Magnin, *L'Art et l'Hypnose*, 397.

- 12 Fuchs, *Der Tanz*, 29–30.
- 13 Weber, *Der Kunstwart*, 90.
- 14 Morton, *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture*, 258.
- 15 Morton, *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture*, 271.
- 16 Morton, *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture*, 259.
- 17 Morton, *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture*, 259.
- 18 Scherner, *Das Leben des Traums*, 6. Cited in Morton, 260.
- 19 Morton, *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture*, 275.
- 20 Wilson, “Matter and Spirit in the Age of Animal Magnetism,” 331.
- 21 Faraday, cited in Wilson, “Matter and Spirit in the Age of Animal Magnetism.”
- 22 Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 142.
- 23 Wilson, “Matter and Spirit in the Age of Animal Magnetism,” 331.
- 24 Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 1–2.
- 25 Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 5.
- 26 Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 5.
- 27 Maehle, “A Dangerous Method,” 198.
- 28 Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 88–90.
- 29 Maehle, “A Dangerous Method,” 198.
- 30 Wolfram, “An Object of Vulgar Curiosity,” 160.
- 31 Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 419.
- 32 Hales, “Dancer in the Dark,” 537.
- 33 Schrenk-Nozting, *Traumtänzerin*, 61–62.
- 34 Cowan, *Cult of the Will*, 90.
- 35 Cowan, *Cult of the Will*, 92.
- 36 Cowan, *Cult of the Will*, 90.
- 37 Henig, *Berliner Tagblatt*, Mar. 4, 1904, 6.
- 38 Henig, *Berliner Tagblatt*, Mar. 4, 1904, 6.
- 39 Lipps, “Zur Verständigung über die ‘Schlafftänzerin,’” 3.
- 40 Henig, *Berliner Tagblatt*, Mar. 4, 1904, 6–7.
- 41 Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, 121.
- 42 Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, 9.
- 43 Treitel, *A Science for the Soul*, 116.
- 44 Zilcken, “Die Schlafftänzerin,” 51.
- 45 *Berliner Morgenpost*, Feb. 24, 1904, 3.
- 46 *Berliner Morgenpost*, Feb. 24, 1904, 3.
- 47 Engels, cited in Maier, “Die ‘Schlafftänzerin’ Madeleine G.,” 241.
- 48 Treitel, *A Science for the Soul*, 116.
- 49 Fürer, “Auch ein Beitrag,” 471.
- 50 Kohl, “Das Märchen vom Schlaffanz,” *Münchener Ratsch-Kathl*, Mar. 9, 1904, 2.
- 51 “Die Madeleine und ihr Impresario,” *Münchener Post*, Mar. 12, 1904, 1.
- 52 Fürer, “Auch ein Beitrag,” 471.
- 53 LaCoss, “Our Lady of Darkness,” 65. For detailed description of these pantomimes see Zilcken, “Die Schlafftänzerin,” 52.
- 54 Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, 48.
- 55 Engels, cited in Maier, “Die ‘Schlafftänzerin’ Madeleine G.,” 240–41.

- 56 Engels, cited in Maier, "Die 'Schlaf tänzerin' Madeleine G.," 240–41.
- 57 Engels, cited in Maier, "Die 'Schlaf tänzerin' Madeleine G.," 240–41.
- 58 Seif (1905), cited in Marx, "Madeleine: Two Reviews," 30.
- 59 Weber, *Der Kunstwart*, 90.
- 60 Seif (1904), cited in Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, 41.
- 61 Von Mensi, cited in Maier, "Die 'Schlaf tänzerin' Madeleine G.," 238–39.
- 62 Loewenfeld, "In Sachen der Schlaf tänzerin," 570. The pulled back head likely indicates the *arc de cercle* pictured in Figure 1.
- 63 Maehle, "A Dangerous Method," 202.
- 64 Zilcken, "Die Schlaf tänzerin," 52. See also *Münchener Post*, Mar. 12, 1904, 2.
- 65 Stümpke, *Bühne und Welt*, 476.
- 66 *Jugend*, Mar. 3, 1904, 218.
- 67 Zilcken, "Die Schlaf tänzerin," 50.
- 68 Zilcken, "Die Schlaf tänzerin," 55. On Madeleine's access to dance training see Börner, *So träumt man*, 10.
- 69 *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, Mar. 16, 1904. Cited in Magnin, *L'Art et l'Hypnose*, 374.
- 70 Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, 35–36.
- 71 Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, 23–26.
- 72 Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, v.
- 73 Treitel, *A Science for the Soul*, 110.
- 74 Treitel, *A Science for the Soul*, 113.
- 75 Wolffram, *Stepchildren of Science*, 117 and Müller, *Albert von Keller*, 52.
- 76 Morton, *Max Klinger*, 252.
- 77 Treitel, *A Science for the Soul*, 114.
- 78 LaCoss, "Our Lady of Darkness," 58–59.
- 79 Cited in Magnin, *L'Art et l'Hypnose*, 375.
- 80 Eidenbenz, "Hypnosis at the Parthenon," 9.
- 81 Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, 1.
- 82 Richer, *Études cliniques*. See also Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, 8.
- 83 Lerner, "Hysterical Cures," 81.
- 84 Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, xi.
- 85 Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, 117.
- 86 Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, 115.
- 87 Gotman, *Choreomania*, 152–53.
- 88 Gotman, *Choreomania*, 156.
- 89 Gotman, *Choreomania*, 139–40.
- 90 Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 303.
- 91 Hall, "Recent Researches," 98.
- 92 Mayer, *Sites of the Unconscious*, 114.
- 93 Mayer, *Sites of the Unconscious*, 268.
- 94 Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 302.
- 95 Wolffram, "An Object," 152–53.
- 96 Moll, *Der Hypnotismus*, 475.
- 97 Moll, *Der Hypnotismus*, 534.

- 98 Roberts, *Die Schlaf tänzerin Madeleine G.*, 5–6.  
 99 Roberts, *Die Schlaf tänzerin Madeleine G.*, 6.  
 100 Fürer, “Auch ein Beitrag,” 471.  
 101 *Journal of the American Medical Association* (April 16, 1904), 1033.  
 102 Grünwald, “Die Vorführung,” 571.  
 103 Grünwald, “Die Vorführung,” 571.  
 104 Verus, *Münchener Ratsch-Kathl*, Mar. 23, 1904.  
 105 Schrenck-Notzing, “Einige Bemerkungen,” 667.  
 106 Schrenck-Notzing, “Einige Bemerkungen,” 667.  
 107 Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, 121.  
 108 Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, 71.  
 109 Schrenck-Notzing, *Traumtänzerin*, 10.  
 110 Gumpfenberg, *Der Kunstwart*, 698.  
 111 Fuchs, *Sturm und Drang*, 242.  
 112 Fuchs, *Sturm und Drang*, 242.  
 113 Fuchs, *Sturm und Drang*, 243.  
 114 Bierbaum, cited in Müller, *Albert von Keller*, 52.  
 115 Bierbaum, cited in LaCoss, “Our Lady of Darkness,” 67.  
 116 Fuchs, *Der Tanz*, 21.  
 117 Fuchs, *Der Tanz*, 21.  
 118 Fuchs, *Der Tanz*, 25.  
 119 Engels, cited in Maier, “Die ‘Schlaf tänzerin’ Madeleine G.,” 241.  
 120 Schlagintweit, “Die Schlaf tänzerin,” 525.  
 121 Kerr (1905), cited in Marx, “Madeleine: Two Reviews,” 31.  
 122 Kerr (1905), cited in Marx, “Madeleine: Two Reviews,” 31.  
 123 *Jugend*, Mar. 23, 1904, 277.  
 124 “Magdeleine,” *Der Kunstwart*, Mar. 1905, 852.

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