

**Usurping Masculinity:
The Gender Dynamics of the *coiffure à la Titus* in Revolutionary France**

Jessica Larson
Advised by Professor Susan Siegfried

A thesis submitted to fulfill the
requirement for the degree of

BACHELOR OF ARTS WITH HONORS

**THE DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN**

April 20, 2013

*Dedicated to my father,
Mark Sayer Larson.*

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank Professor Susan Siegfried, who was courteous enough to agree to the undoubtedly frustrating position of being my thesis advisor. The subject of the *coiffure à la Titus* was Professor Siegfried's suggestion and research on my topic would have been impossible without her endless supply of references and notes, which she graciously shared with me at every opportunity. Her thorough line-edits and annotations must have been time consuming and I am deeply grateful for her work. Professor Siegfried's enthusiasm for the art and fashion of Revolutionary France was truly inspiring.

Secondly, I want to acknowledge Professor Howard Lay's devotion to the honors thesis program. He held all of the thesis students' hands every step of the way. Professor Lay was always willing to discuss any thesis problems, even at 11 pm the night before our Symposium. His patience with the continual war I waged against the English language throughout the writing of this thesis was a thankless job.

I am eternally appreciative of all my friends and family who have supported this project. I know that haircuts from the eighteenth-century are not of supreme interest to everyone, but thank you to those who listened intently—or humored me—when I just had to talk through an idea. I adored writing about this topic and I only hope that my love of the *coiffure à la Titus* was, at least a little, infectious.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	5
Introduction.....	8
Chapter I.....	11
Chapter II.....	22
Chapter III.....	32
Chapter IV.....	42
Conclusion.....	60
Bibliography.....	62

List of Figures

Figures:

Figure 1: Ambroise Tardieu, *Théroigne de Méricourt*, from *Des maladies mentales*. Print. 1838. National Library of Medicine.

Figure 2: “Cheveux à la Titus. Tunique à la Mameluck.” *Costume Parisien*, 393, An 10. Print. 1803.

Figure 3: Fashion Plate from the *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 14 Ventôse An VI . Print. March 4, 1798.

Figure 4: James Gillray, “The Progress of the Toilet...Dress Competed.” Hand colored etching. February 25, 1810. From the British Museum.

Figure 5: “Chevelure à la Titus, Parsemée de Fleurs. Collier d’Ambre. Garniture de Robe Drapée.” *Costume Parisien*. Print. 1808.

Figure 6: Sandro Boticelli, *Primavera* (detail). Tempera on Panel. c. 1482. Uffizi Gallery.

Figure 7: “Giraffe Hairdos by Croisart, January No. 710,” *Petit Courrier des Dames*. Print. 1830.

Figure 8: Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Antoine-Vincent Arnault*. Oil on canvas. c. 1805. Musée du Louvre.

Figure 9: Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Madame Arnault de Gorse*. Oil on canvas. c. 1805. Musée du Louvre.

Figure 10: Pierre-Narcisse Guérin, *Jeune Fille en Buste*. Oil on Canvas. 1794. Musée Louvre.

Figure 11: François Gérard, *Portrait of Madame Tallien* (detail of her *Titus*). Oil on Canvas. 1805. Musée Carnavalet.

Figure 12: *Coiffure à l'Indépendance* or the Triumph of Liberty. Print . c. 1778. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 13: “Le Perruquier patriote.” Print. 1789. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Figure 14: Philibert-Louis Debucourt, Louis Leopold Boilly, *Madame St. Aubin*. Aquatint on Paper. 1803. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

Figure 15: Georges-Jacques Gatine. “Les Titus et les Cache-folie, le Bon Genre No. 39,” *La Mésangère*. Print. 1810. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Figure 16: *Capitoline Brutus*. Bronze. c. 300 BC. Capitoline Museums.

Figure 17: Jacques-Louis David, *The Lictors Bring to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons*. Oil on canvas. 1789. Musée du Louvre.

Figure 18: Jacques-Louis David, *Oath of the Horatii*. Oil on canvas. 1784. Musée du Louvre.

Figure 19: Jacques-Louis David, *Intervention of the Sabine Women*. Oil on canvas. 1799. Musée du Louvre.

Figure 20: Carle Vernet, *Les Incroyables* (detail). Print. 1797.

Figure 21: “*Croisures à la victime*” from *le Journal des Dames et des Modes*. Print. 1798. Bibliothèque Nationale.

Figure 22: Guillotine Earrings. Metal and Gold. Uncertain date, but most likely from the Directoire Period. Musée Carnavalet.

Figure 23: George Cruikshank, “A Republican Belle.” Print. March 10, 1794. The British Museum.

Figure 24: Published by la Fabrique de Pellerin in Epinal, *Le Monde Renversé (IVe planche)*. Wood block Print in Color. 1829. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Figure 25: Louis-August Brun, *Marie-Antoinette on Horseback*. Oil on canvas. 1781-1782. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 26: “*Troc pour Troc, Coeffure pour Couronne, Paris pour Montmédy, Départ pour l’Autriche.*” Print. 1791. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Figure 27: Bond. W. *Madame Tallien*. Print. 1803. Musée Carnavalet. Probably done from an earlier painting.

Figure 28: Jean-Louis Laneuville, *The Citoyenne Tallien in a Prison Cell at La Force, Holding Her Hair Which Has Just Been Cut*. Oil on canvas. 1796.

Figure 29: Jean-Louis Laneuville, *Portrait of Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac*. Oil on canvas. 1793-1794. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

Figure 30: James Gillray, *The Occupations of Madame Tallien and Empress Josephine*. Print. c. 1805. The British Museum.

Figure 31: Anne Flore Millet, *Marie-Antoinette of Austria, Queen of France*. Engraving. 1795. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Figure 32: Jean-Baptiste-François Desoria, *Portrait de la Citoyenne Pipelet*. Oil on canvas. 1797. Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 33: Anne-Louis Girodet, *Sleep of Endymion*. Oil on canvas. 1791. Musée du Louvre.

Figure 34: Anne-Louis Girodet, *Self-portrait with Julie Candaille* (the “Double Portrait”). Lithograph by E. Louis Tanty after a lost drawing. 1807. Musée de Girodet.

Figure 35: Anne-Louis Girodet, *Constance de Salm*. Print. 1814.

Figure 36: Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Madame Fouler, Comtesse de Relingue*. Oil on Canvas. 1810. Fondation Napoléon.

Figure 37: James Gillray, “*La Belle Espagnole—or—la Doublure de Madame Tallien.*” Print. 1796. The British Museum.

Introduction

In 1838 the medical treatise *Des maladies mentales* (**Figure 1**) published an engraving of the former Revolutionary figure Théroigne de Méricourt. The print, engraved by Ambrose Tardieu after an 1816 sketch, depicted de Méricourt from side-profile while institutionalized at the Salpêtrière psychiatric hospital in Paris.¹ The print showed a deranged de Méricourt, who's once praised beauty had vanished and left her gaunt and sexless. The print's most glaring signifier of her insanity is, without a doubt, de Méricourt's absence of hair. The long and billowing tresses that had always been present in Revolutionary portraiture of de Méricourt had been bluntly cropped, which was a common practice in asylums for women regarded as too maniacal to manage their hair.² The text that accompanied the print described de Méricourt's descent into madness, which less than subtly insinuated that her "deplorable role" in the French Revolution was to blame.³ What the engraving, in accompaniment with *Des maladies mentales*, meant to elucidate is unmistakable: insanity is the result when women are given a political voice and this image, wherein the subject is shorn of her hair, is the physical manifestation of this lunacy.

Now, backtrack forty years; the women in the streets of Paris have cropped their hair radically short. This style, called *la coiffure à la Titus*, was one of the most worn hairstyles of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras (**Figure 2**). Unlike de Méricourt's short hair, however, the women who wore the *Titus* had purposefully assumed the fashion. The *coiffure à la Titus* had initially found popularity with Republican men in the early 1790s who wished to imitate the style of Roman Emperor busts, but midway through the decade the haircut was seized by women.

¹ Jane Kromm, *Art of Frenzy: Public Madness in the Visual Culture of Europe, 1500-1850*, (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2002), 213-214.

² Kromm 214.

³ Etienne Esquirol, *Des maladies mentales considérées sous les rapports médical, hygiénique et médico-légal, Volume 1*, (Bruxelles: Meline, Cans, et Cie, 1838), 445-448.

What had been intended as a signifier of male devotion to a Republican France was fundamentally transformed by the women who took part in the style. Unsurprisingly, the visual association between female and male Republicanism was not warmly greeted by all. Women coiffed *à la Titus* were continually derided in the press as frivolous, de-feminized, or too outspoken in a time when women were not free to exercise an independent voice—or, at least not without repercussions. Without their hair, a traditional mode of femininity, women were considered “disfigured.”⁴

In spite of the recoil by many men the *coiffure à la Titus* remained popular until around 1810, when images and mentions in publications began to cease. For a style that was met with continual opposition at every turn, this was a remarkably long time for the controversial cut to remain in vogue. Although it is unclear how most women with the *coiffure à la Titus* truly felt about the style, I would like to think that its long span of popularity was a testament to a sense of liberation felt by women with very few options for self-representation. The Revolution had not delivered to women the same freedoms granted to their male counterparts and Napoleon was even less receptive to female empowerment. Fashion, one of the few avenues through which women could exert a degree of autonomy, seemed to serve women well in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Under the Directory period an entire industry devoted to women’s fashion interests burgeoned, most prominently through fashion periodicals. Even less wealthy women were able to create their own public identities as they had never been able to before.

There were, however, mitigating factors which shaped the *coiffure à la Titus*. Early images of the *Titus* picture it as a short, rough, and often spiked look (**Figure 3**). As pictorial representations progressed, the style began to take on a more refined, beautified approach. Beginning in about 1800, images increasingly showed the women cut *à la Titus* to add more

⁴ C. M. P. H., *Critique de la Coiffure à la Titus pour les Femme*, (Paris: Imprimerie de Fain, c. 1800).

“feminine” accoutrements to their hair, most commonly with flowers. The short style was more often represented as curled and pomaded. It seems likely that this transformation was a concession to accusations that the *coiffure à la Titus* meant to give women the same visual presence as men. Regardless of such amends, the criticisms never ceased. A cartoon published in 1810 by the English satirist James Gillray satirized French women’s fashion (**Figure 4**). Titled “The Progress of the Toilet—Dress Completed,” it caricatured a revealingly dressed woman with her hair cut into the *Titus*, which is well styled and smooth. The implication of the cartoon was that the *coiffure à la Titus* was the woman’s head undressed. Seemingly, no modifications to the style would ever assuage the outrage of its critics. The *Titus* could be given flowers and curls, but the leopard could never change its spots.

This thesis examines the “lifespan” of the *coiffure à la Titus* and the broader implications of gender and politics in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. As a mode of visual representation, the importance of hair is rarely discussed in length by art historians. This seems, to me, to be a misstep. Particularly during the 1790s, when revolutionaries like Jacques-Louis David sought to create a new visual language for a new France, hair spoke to an entire codification of social relations. The narrative that the *coiffure à la Titus* followed paradoxically conformed to and overturned these distinctions at various points in its popularity. Ultimately, the hairstyle disappeared from fashion approximately fifteen years after women first appropriated it, only to be replaced by elaborate and categorically “feminine” styles with no hint of influence from the *Titus*. For women who lived in the time of the *coiffure à la Titus*, the hairstyle is all too emblematic of the hopes and unfulfilled promises of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER I

...a capricious whim...which has no other merit than that of being fashionable.⁵

The remark concerning Monsieur Duplan's creation, the *coiffure à la Titus*, refers to its placement in fashion and no other modes of signification attached to the haircut. Monsieur Duplan, the "grand coiffeur de l'époque," had originally styled the short cut in 1791 with the purpose of recreating the visual presence of Ancient Roman emperors to an admiring French Revolutionary audience.⁶ The identity of the wearers of the *Titus* was, at least initially, tantamount to Republican pride. What Monsieur Duplan had not anticipated the appropriation of the style by women. Even for men, the *Titus* was short for standards of the time. For critics of the *Titus*—and there were many—the feminizing of the masculine style was a clear indicator of the innate desire among women to contest masculine authority. For opponents of the Revolution, the female *Titus* was a cultural byproduct of regicide. Why would the same people who executed a divinely ordained king be expected to control their women or, furthermore, to conform to the natural order? The consequence of the female *Titus* was a detachment from Republican connections. The women's use of the *Titus* to signify an allegiance to the Republic—one that had largely failed to grant them any new rights—was short lived at best. After all, it can hardly be said that women profited from the Revolution. From the beginning of women's adoption of the style around 1794 to about 1810, when it passed out of fashion, the *Titus* oscillated between its political and cross-dressing associations. By 1810, the *Titus* was transformed into a far more refined, feminized iteration of the style. Although the male *Titus* never seemed to lose its Republican connotations, the feminine styling drifted toward "a capricious whim" that increasingly resembled less a Roman ruler and more a classical Roman

⁵ Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion in the French Revolution*, (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1988), 96-97.

⁶ Sophie Gay, *Salons célèbres*, (Ghent University, 1837), 276.

goddess (**Figure 5**). Around 1800, for example, women began to accessorize the *Titus* with flowers and ribbons reminiscent of ancient mythology and able to frame the *Titus* within an accepted archetype of feminine representation (**Figure 6**). In response to the criticism it had garnered from a largely male audience, this was a concession that even the most scandalous *Titus*-wearers seemed willing to make. By 1810 the *coiffure à la Titus* had fallen out of fashion. Women began to favor highly decorated hair, as had been the case during the *ancien régime* (**Figure 7**).

The roots of the original male version of the *coiffure à la Titus* are not nearly as mysterious as those of the feminine translation of the style. It is well substantiated by contemporary documents that Monsieur Duplan created the *Titus* for the actor Talma's role in a 1791 production of Voltaire's *Brutus* (and I shall return to this point).⁷ The style was popular with many in the new Republican government; Madame Tussaud wrote that she had observed the revolutionary politician Philippe-Egalité in 1792 coiffed *à la Titus*.⁸ The men who continued to wear the *Titus* into the Directory period did not escape the style's Republican reputation. As reported by a Parisian newspaper on June 13, 1798, "many who once wore [the *coiffure à la Titus*] as a signal of their patriotism now wear it in opposition. They claim that it is seen as a rallying point."⁹ The article also notes, in a critical vein, that police and surveillance were known to profile men still wearing their hair *à la Titus*. The dramatist Antoine-Vincent Arnault echoed a similar judgment of this profiling. In his 1833 memoir, *Souvenirs d'un sexagénaire*, he defended the *Titus* and suggested that those wearing powdered wigs were to blame for the

⁷ Philippe de Carbonnières, *Gouaches révolutionnaires : collections du musée Carnavalet*, (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 2005), 230.

⁸ Marie Tussaud, *Memoirs and Reminiscences of the French Revolution, Volume 1*, (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1839), 177.

⁹ François-Alphonse Aulard, *Paris pendant la réaction thermidorienne et sous le Directoire*, (Paris: 1900), 718-719.

excesses of the Revolution and, more damning still, for monarchical restoration.¹⁰ According to Arnault, the *Titus* was most popular with artists, men of letters, and youth in favor of the Revolution's enthusiasm for antiquity.¹¹ The involvement of women with the hairstyle goes unmentioned. Not surprisingly, a portrait of Arnault by Louis-Léopold Boilly (**Figure 8**), most likely executed between 1805 and 1810, suggests that Arnault's hair is cut *à la Titus*.¹²

It's hardly surprising, then, that another Boilly portrait from approximately the same time depicts Arnault's sister wearing a *coiffure à la Titus* (**Figure 9**).¹³ In spite of the Republican former associations notwithstanding, it is entirely unclear why bourgeois women would wear such a hairstyle. There is very little to indicate what catalyst sparked in bourgeois women a desire for such an unconventional fashion. The earliest images of women cut *à la Titus* come from 1794. Pierre-Narcisse Guérin's 1794 study *Jeune fille en buste* (**Figure 10**) is one of the earliest artistic works to show a woman with such a short style. In stark contrast to the neatly curled and pomaded look that the *Titus* would later take on, the hair on Guérin's model is rough and tussled. Nothing is known about this sitter, though Guérin was still a student working under Jean-Baptiste Regnault at the time of its creation. Some things can, however, a plausible context can be construed based on what is known about the atmosphere of the painter's studios of the 1790s. The inclusion of women in the studio was emblematic of the contentious debate during the Revolutionary period over what a woman's presence in a Republican society meant. Predictably Rousseauian, the argument questioned the effect on the social order if women were

¹⁰ This excerpt from Arnault is somewhat problematic considering he does not seem to maintain a steady political allegiance throughout his life. Historian Richard Wrigley contends that, at least in 1792, Arnault was an unwavering royalist, going as far as to order clothing embroidered with the *fleur de lys*. [Richard Wrigley, *The politics of appearances : representations of dress in revolutionary France*, (New York: Berg Publishers, 2002), 244.]

¹¹ A.-V. Arnault, *A.V. Arnault, Souvenirs d'un sexagénaire*, (1888), 211-214.

¹² This portrait is undated; this estimation is based on comparative portraits and fashion trends as well as the apparent age of the sitter.

¹³ As with the Boilly painting of her brother, this painting is also undated but appears to have been done in the first five years of the 19th Century.

allowed to cohabit with male artists. This was a morally questionable act considering male artists developed their skills through nude male life drawing and anatomical dissection.¹⁴ More scandalous yet would have been a bourgeois woman not just painting a nude model but actually sitting in as the nude model. Nude female models were banned by the Academy under the *ancien régime* and any life painting of these women had to be done in personal—and unregulated—studios. This once private practice had spread by the time of the Directory period, as did the worries of upper-class moralists.¹⁵ In spite of many conservative perceptions of French decency, women's modesty did not lose its magnitude during the Revolution. It seems unlikely that Guérin's model would have belonged to the economic status that the *coiffure à la Titus* typically attracted. She was likely lower-class, which prompts us to wonder about her motivation for wearing the *Titus*. Considering that the Guérin painting was created in 1794, an early year in the chronology of the *Titus*, this model could have potentially adopted the style out of economic necessity. Lower-class women often resorted to selling their hair to wigmakers; wig culture began to make a resurgence after the 1794 fall of Robespierre, albeit in favor of a much more natural and simplistic wig style than the towering aristocratic creations of the Versailles court. Although, according to an account from a German who had visited Paris during the Revolution, wig makers preferred to use the hair of the guillotined; since the victims did not die of natural causes their hair tended to be healthier.¹⁶ Whether Guérin's model wore the haircut out of fashionable inclination or need, the confusion relays an important point critics of the *Titus* did not fail to raise. Hair shearing, poignantly on women, had long been a signifier of

¹⁴ Margaret A. Oppenheimer, "The Charming Spectacle of the Cadaver: Anatomical and Life Study by Women Artists in Paris, 1775-1815," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* (2007), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring07/142-qthe-charming-spectacle-of-a-cadaverq-anatomical-and-life-study-by-women-artists-in-paris-17751815> (accessed April 19, 2013).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Nicole Pellegrin, *Les Vêtements de la Liberté*, (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1989), 47.

punishment meant to target an essential characteristic of femininity.¹⁷ The model's vulnerable and highly sexual posturing could have encouraged these associations in the minds of *Titus* detractors.¹⁸

By 1796, two years after the Guérin portrait and the fall of the Jacobins, the *Titus* style seems to have found a foothold in established fashion. Thérèse Cabarrus, a woman regarded in many later assessments of the period as the “reine de la mode,” was arguably the greatest popularizer of the *Titus* for women. Her hair, “a glossy black,” the Duchess remarked, “was short and frizzed all round her head, in the fashion then called *à la Titus*.”¹⁹ Cabarrus appears to have worn the *Titus* until sometime in the first five years of the nineteenth century, though a date is difficult to pinpoint. A portrait by François Gérard (**Figure 11**) is seemingly the last image to show her with the style. Estimated by the Musée Carnavalet to have been completed around 1804, the portrait shows Thérèse Cabarrus still wearing the *Titus*.²⁰ Cabarrus's commitment to the style lasted longer than many other women of the time, but this was likely precipitated by her enormous wig collection. It was rumored that, as of 1796, Cabarrus would change wigs multiple times a day.²¹ The advent of *Titus* popularity with women coincides with the reemergence of wigs, the ease of which facilitated the wearing of the *Titus*. Justifying use of such vestiges of the *ancien régime* with Rousseau's own preference for natural and unpowdered wigs, even men

¹⁷ Carol Rifelj, *Coiffures: Hair in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010), 35.

¹⁸ It should be noted that the Louvre describes the model as wearing a *coiffure à la Titus*.

¹⁹ Laure Junot Abrantés, *Memoirs of the Duchess D' Abrantés (Madame Junot)*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 145.

²⁰ The Musée Carnavalet exhibition dossier for the 2005 exhibition *Au Temps des Merveilleuses et les Incroyables* gives this information. The portrait could have been done as early as 1802, however; the presence of a wedding ring on Cabarrus leads the museum to believe that it was done sometime around her marriage to the Count of Caraman in 1805.

²¹ Gabriel d'Éze, *Gabriel d'Éze Histoire de la coiffure des femmes en France*, (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 1886), 227.

who had been loyal to Republicanism adopted simple wigs once more.²² Traditionally, as historian Angela Rosenthal elaborates, there had been a gendered dichotomy between the perceptions of wigs worn by women and men. While masculine wigs were historically a signifier of “professional or social identities,” feminine wig consumption reflected excess and frivolous luxury.²³ By the Directory period, little had changed in this regard, though the visual approach taken was very different. As evidenced by wig culture at Versailles, the precedent of hair as social and political statement was already in place by the advent of the *coiffure à la Titus*. The wigs of the Versailles nobility served the purpose of courtly competition; if the wigs were large and ostentatious enough then a certain claim was being made about one’s place at court.²⁴ Marie-Antoinette, with her hairdresser Monsieur Léonard, further pushed for a more concise and readable expression through these hair constructions. The queen’s wigs functioned doubly as political statements and perpetuators of her iconic image as an innovator in fashion. An example of one of these political announcements through hair, and one of her more callous expressions through fashion, used small figurines in her wig to depict the violent suppression by the National Guard of peasants who had revolted in demand for flour.²⁵ Possibly her most imitated wig was one that celebrated French involvement in the American War for Independence (**Figure 12**). The structural antithesis of the *Titus*, these wigs hardly disguised the political leanings of their wearers. The reproach that Marie-Antoinette’s fashion was met with was by no means confined, however, to the political. Derisive satires of the queen centered on her clothing and wigs, with the implication being that her sex and corruption were interwoven and perpetuated with these loud sartorial declarations. One caricature of the queen illustrated her wig

²² Michael Kwass, "Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France," *The American Historical Review*, 111, no. 3 (2006): 631

²³ Angela Rosenthal, "Raising Hair," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38, no. 1 (2004): 10

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Caroline Weber, *Queen of Fashion*, (United Kingdom: Picador, 2007), 114.

being so momentous that the scaffolding of the Versailles ceiling had to be reconstructed to accommodate such a *pouf*.²⁶ Needless to say, the architecture of Versailles was never altered in regards to the queen's hair, but the idea that this haughty Austrian woman would dare to change Versailles—the symbol of the French power—was continually reiterated in the clandestine press.

The initial enthusiasm for the queen's flamboyant wigs was observed by some critics as an impending threat to the bank accounts of the average Frenchman, whose wives would soon be spending their savings on similar hairstyles.²⁷ More threatening yet was the fear that young women were spending their dowries on these hairpieces. When questioned about such thoughtless extravagances these women responded that they, as quoted by the writer Sébastien Mercier, "were just as happy [buying] *poufs* as [getting] a husband."²⁸ The idea that hair could signify, and cause, the moral decay of women was evidently not a new concept by the advent of the *coiffure à la Titus*. Those who found fault with the *Titus* sought to combat its rising popularity with a variety of salacious accusations, generally pointed at either the perceived ridiculousness of its masculinity or the practical disadvantages of the style. A common, and apparently unsubstantiated, claim charged that the shortness of the *Titus* could result in poor hygiene. Teeth were of particular concern, with one critic from 1798 lamenting the effects of "Titufication" on women, who had nothing to "prevent them from biting their teeth often."²⁹ Charles Henrion, an extensive social commentator from the Revolutionary period, published his thoughts on the *Titus* in 1800.³⁰ Although Henrion did not denounce the hairstyle in regards to

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Desmond Hosford, "The Queen's Hair: Marie-Antoinette, Politics, and DNA," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38, no. 1 (2004): 190

²⁸ Weber, 124

²⁹ *Journal des dames et des modes*, from Brumaire of year VII [1798], p. 144.

³⁰ Henrion's, somewhat passive, support for the *Titus* came with the condition that as long as motherhood was not interfered with, women could dress any way they chose. Henrion was not by any stretch of the imagination a progressive thinker, however; another chapter in his *Encore un tableau de Paris* is a treatise on why husbands were justified in the beating of their wives.

its appearance, he noted that those women who had recently cropped their hair in such a way felt pain in their teeth. Henrion's contention that this physical reaction owed something to the absence of wearing hair powder was an opinion shared by many.³¹ Speculation that frequent hair washing somehow damaged the teeth was also common; one of the advantages to the *Titus* was that it could be washed daily, a fairly new concept. Conversely, the often insect and parasite infested wigs were also believed to cause teeth and ear pain.³² If the short length of the *Titus* was to be maintained, however, frequent visits to the hairdresser were required. In both the cases of proponents and opponents of the *Titus*, ulterior motives are suspected. A good number of the tracts on the *Titus* were composed by people (generally men) employed as either hairstylists or wigmakers. Some who had, in the past, profited from powder sales could have been hostile toward the natural and powder-free *Titus* while wigmakers benefited from women who regretted their head shearing and employed a *perruquier* to cover up their folly.³³

The professions of hairdressing and wig-making became more accessible to a wider public in post-Thermidor France; the demand for these vocations had been rising since the birth of mass produced fashion periodicals in the 1770s. Not incidentally, the number of women trying to enter hairstyling professions had risen as well. The male dominated guild system retained control over the work and training of potential stylists and wigmakers, though six hundred female hairstylists were allowed entrance to the previously all-male guild of Master Barbers and Wigmakers in September of 1777. The guild's explanation for their change of opinion stated, "...the coiffure of the [female] sex has become so important that we must

³¹ Charles Henrion, *Encore un tableau de Paris*, (Paris: André Favre, 1800), 8.

³² Martin Monestier, *Les poils : histoires et bizarreries, des cheveux, des toisons, des coiffeurs, des moustaches, des barbes, des chauves, des rasés, des albinos, des hirsutes, des velus et autres poilants trichosés*, (Paris: Cherche-Midi, 2002), 47.

³³ Rifelj, 37

absolutely multiply the artists who build its gallant edifices.”³⁴ Certainly, the increased involvement of women in the fashion industry allowed for the added ability to forge out independent territory. For the nobility, the gender tide had already been turning as early as the reign of Louis XIV.³⁵ Female *coiffeuses* had apparently been employed under the infamously big-wigged monarch.³⁶ Regardless of the influx of women to the industry, the top names in hairstyling during the Revolutionary and Empire periods remained those of men. It was, after all, the role of men like Monsieur Duplan to create fashions with the purpose of shaping a Republican aesthetic; a small wonder that such a position would be offered sparingly to women. A telling print from 1789 (**Figure 13**), depicting male wigmakers servicing representative members of the three estates, bears the caption, “The Patriotic Wigmaker: m heart is so interested in the fat of my country that they let me do it, it is no longer a debate, I shave the clergy, I comb the nobility, I accommodate the third estate.” The value of the hairstylists and wigmakers to politics diverged between the sexes as the Revolution progressed; predictably, the masculine *Titus* lost the controversial edge it had had after the fall of Robespierre in 1794 and was, with few exceptions, the norm under Napoleon. For men, a more poignant statement would instead be to *not* crop the hair, an indication that the wearer was still holding out hope for a return to the monarchy.³⁷ The hairstyling and wig market for women was emphatically more commercial, and this was heavily mirrored in fashion periodicals from around 1797 to 1810. The trajectory of women’s *Titus* can be well traced through these widely circulated pictorial representations, and an evident transformation is visible during the transition to the Consulate period and into Napoleon’s Empire. While fashion plates from the last five years of the

³⁴ Weber 322.

³⁵ Reign from 1643-1715.

³⁶ de la Mésangère Pierre, *Dictionnaire du Luxe*, (Bibliothèque Municipal, Rouen: 1803), 221-227.

³⁷ Monestier 48.

eighteenth century show a markedly rougher *Titus*, characterized by a short and spiky look, the modified form gives the impression of bending under the pressure to feminize. Flowers crown the short style, along with soft and pomaded curls (**Figure 14**). A later part of this thesis will discuss the implications of these curls and flowers to the semiotics of contemporary feminine paradigms. Female hair styles were transitioning away from Roman citizen toward Roman goddess.

Although the women wearing the *coiffure à la Titus* began to conform to accepted conventions of female dress, the popularity of the *Titus* continued; the *Journal de Paris* reported in 1802 that more than half of fashionable and wealthy women either had their hair cropped or wore a wig *à la Titus*.³⁸ In 1807 *La Belle Assemblée*, a British women's fashion magazine, evaluated the perceived rush by many women to shear off their hair as a brash competition for originality. The writer parodied women who were left with the "horrible fashion" of the *Titus* as immediately regretting the decision and having to purchase wigs to hide their shorn heads.³⁹ It might be of interest to note that the cover of *La Belle Assemblée* always bore the inscription: "Addressed Particularly to the Ladies"; the publication was, nevertheless, closely controlled by its editor John Bell. A market was cornered specifically with the intent of covering these short hairstyles with hairpieces and bonnets called *cache-folies* (**Figure 15**), literally meaning "Hide-Folly." The term "Folly" described the way the *Titus* was perceived by many.⁴⁰ One play from 1797, titled *Les Têtes à la Titus* mocked an aristocratic woman whose choice to wear the *Titus* was not met with enthusiasm from her high-society inner circle. The woman's shocked friends gossip amongst themselves, asking one another the best way to inform her that her new hairstyle made her appear mentally unstable, or whether they should simply buy her a blonde wig as a gift

³⁸ Rifelj 35.

³⁹ Ibid. 143.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 35.

and hope that she took the hint.⁴¹ Not all opinions of the *Titus* were negative, however. In 1810 the hairdresser J.N. Palette came to its defense, calling it “the prettiest, the most agreeable, the most flirtatious style that has appeared since the beginning of the world.”⁴² His motivations were professional though; his *Eloge de la coiffure à la Titus* was intended for fellow hairstylists, who promoted the short haircut while pocketing the revenue. The *Titus* required more care, styling, and frequent trims and the women who wore it would generally purchase their *cache-folies* from their hairdressers.⁴³

It is unclear whether criticisms of the *coiffure à la Titus*—which, in spite of the addition of curls and flowers, never relented—were the style’s final demise or if the limited versatility of such short hair left women bored and ready for a new fashion. By 1820, women’s fashion magazines were filled with images of elaborate updos suggestive of those from the court of Versailles. The Republican and Antique significations by the first *Titus*-wearers had all but vanished.

⁴¹ Vincent Lombard de Langres, *Les têtes à la Titus: vaudeville en un acte*, (Paris: Barba, 1797), 47.

⁴² Rifelj 35.

⁴³ Ibid.

CHAPTER II

9 Thermidor of Year II: Maximilian Robespierre's was dragged, barely conscience, to the guillotine in the Place de la Révolution -- the same square that had seen the execution of Louis XVI the previous year in 1793. Just as the king's execution was considered a necessary step to end the tyranny of French monarchism, Robespierre's death was considered a necessary step to end to the Reign of Terror. Prior to the coup that ousted him from power, Robespierre seemed to be fully aware of this inevitability and which he related to the need to situate the Revolution within a historical narrative; he said he had, in his own words, "failed to seize a moment that the history of men had marked for the founding of Liberty."⁴⁴ Robespierre's execution, and consequentially the end of Jacobin power, created a problematic break in the historical narrative that visual representation of the Revolution had tried to establish. Was visual rhetoric expected to return to the state it had been in prior to the Revolution? Had the appropriation of classical styles by the Jacobins ensured that these modes were no longer valid? Furthermore, the Jacobins' dissatisfaction with merely using Antiquity as an aesthetic device for propaganda had permeated much further, informing the fabric of everyday life; the recently rewritten symbolic order could not be effaced with a regime change.

Particularly for a woman, the decision to shear one's hair into this hairstyle could carry a sense of exhibitionism and performance. The initial purpose of the *coiffure à la Titus* by its male originators was to replicate Antique style in everyday usage, specifically "in the manner of [Emperor] Titus" (*à la Titus*). The very nature of something as personal yet accessible as a haircut allowed for the Republican version of Antiquity to be made into an everyday reenactment of Ancient Rome and Greece. Doubtless, the entirety of the Revolution's propaganda was reliant

⁴⁴ Caroline Weber, "Freedom's Missed Moment," *Yale French Studies*, 101 (2001): 1-2,

on the performance of social and political rituals to construct and maintain it; one may simply point to the artificial landscapes of the *fêtes* and to the Christological interpretations of the guillotine as examples of this fabricated symbolism.⁴⁵ It is thus no surprise that the origins of the *Titus* haircut are from the theatre. Male enthusiasm for the *Titus* began in 1791 after Talma, a popular Parisian and Republican actor, wore the haircut for his role as Emperor Titus in a production of Voltaire's play *Brutus* (**Figure 16**). Reportedly, all of the young men of Paris had cut their hair in the same manner within a week after the production began.⁴⁶ The new style paid tribute to a popular actor, but more importantly to Antiquity. Brutus is credited with the founding of the Roman Republic and, particularly apt for the revolutionaries, the overthrow of its previous monarchy.⁴⁷ A bust of Brutus symbolically presided over the trial of Louis XVI and during the same production of Voltaire's play, the painter Jacques-Louis David placed a bust of Brutus on the stage. The actor playing the ruler exclaimed "O honored bust of Brutus, of a great man, Brought to Paris, you have not left Rome."⁴⁸ David had already set a visual precedent for Brutus as archetype for a just and shrewd leader in his 1789 painting *The Lictors Bring to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons* (**Figure 17**), an ultimately misguided commission from Louis XVI meant to instill feelings of loyalty to a royal state.⁴⁹ It is not out of the question that Brutus's haircut informed the *Titus*; there are references to a *coiffure à la Brutus* in both France and England in the first decade of the nineteenth century which could very possibly have been similar in style to the original male *Titus* cut.⁵⁰ The political intentions of a haircut *à la Brutus* seemed, like the *Titus*, to lose relevance by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century. George Thomas,

⁴⁵ Richard D.E. Burton, *Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789-1945*, (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2001), 41-72.

⁴⁶ Ribiero 68.

⁴⁷ Robert L. Herbert, *David: Brutus (Art in Context)*, (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1972), 50-51.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁴⁹ David would later, in 1793, vote for the death of his former benefactor. Robert L. Herbert had argued that in 1789 David's *Brutus* was likely interpreted as reactionary just as much as it was considered revolutionary.

⁵⁰ The *Titus* was known to go by other names, like the *Porc-Épic* or the *Caracalla*.

the Earl of Albemarle, recorded in his memoirs that by 1812 male fashion in London had shifted: “The *coiffure à la Guillotine*⁵¹ had given place to the *coiffure à la Brutus*. This consisted in having the hair curled on one side only.”⁵² Thomas proceeds to describe attempts by his mother’s maid to style his hair *à la Brutus*, a curious thing to do to an aristocratic English child had the haircut still carried revolutionary connotations. This could possibly be read as an indicator that the *Brutus* did not still carry political connotations, at least not in England by 1812.

The excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum had only begun in the mid eighteenth century and had led to an enthusiasm for the values and culture of ancient Greece and Rome. The rediscovery of these ancient ruins and their importance to the revolutionaries presents a paradox. It had been, after all, under Louis XVI that decorative and artistic manners departed from the frivolous Rococo style of Louis XV in favor of neo-classicism.⁵³ Like *The Lictors Bring to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons*, David’s *Oath of the Horatii* had been ill-fatedly commissioned by Louis XVI (**Figure 18**). The Antique aesthetic was treaded upon lightly by the Revolutionaries, who had realized by 1794 that political associations could be precarious, since the Roman Empire could be perceived as “[decadent] and corrupt”; consequentially Greece became the new political and also visual paradigm.⁵⁴ Greek culture struck a balance in signification that was seen as less violently masculine than Sparta or Rome, yet one with highly regulated gender distinctions in sartorial matters. In contrast to the *Titus*, “natural” hair and dress on women became a necessity of femininity. Although wigs were still common, they were expected to be longer and curled, not powdered or toweringly high like those worn at Versailles. The

⁵¹ The *Coiffure à la Titus* was commonly (and slanderously) called the *Coiffure à la Guillotine* in England; I will return to this later.

⁵² George Thomas, *Fifty Years of My Life*, (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, LLC , 2010), 332.

⁵³ Walter A. Dyer, "The French Decorative Styles: III. Louis XVI," *The Art World*, 3, no. 5 (1918): 431-433.

⁵⁴ E. Claire Cage, "The Sartorial Self: Neoclassical Fashion and Gender Identity in France 1797-1804," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42, no. 2 (2009), 196.

excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii in 1738 and 1748 had opened up the ancient world to the general public, an interest to which was still vibrant during the Directory period. An issue of the *Journal des dames et des modes* from 1798 states:

We have done research in the monuments of Herculaneum and Pompeii, but the lava and ash still covered tables and designs that could give us one that, by giving more power to our [?] charming Gallo-Grecians, to multiply their triumphs. We believe that the most skilled fisherman, is also one that makes the best use of its nets. To women, this [style] is their happiest invention. These useful adornments designed by women deserve a favorable welcome.⁵⁵

This quote from the *Journal des dames et des modes* elegantly implies through its fishing metaphor that the female sex's greatest invention is its fashion. The distinction between Roman and Greek feminine dress is difficult to determine. According to E. Claire Cage, the idea that Greek clothing was inherently more "natural" than Roman dress is primarily substantiated by Revolutionary cultural interpretations of Greek women as the model for motherhood. Greek clothing was considered "liberating for the maternal body and breast," standing in contrast to the constricting clothing and corsets of the French court.⁵⁶ In accordance with the "natural," any visual ambiguity in gender translated to "unnatural." Sheer neo-classical muslins were praised in fashion journals for revealing the essential "vérité" of the female body; in Charles Henrion's *Encore un tableau de Paris*, published in 1800, he wrote,

Let women dress like Aspasia, or, to say it better, let them undress like Graces. So long as they remain faithful wives, tender mothers, sincere friends, they will always be decent. But she who lacks those feelings will be the immoral one in my eyes, even if she has all the scarves in the world around her neck.⁵⁷

Revolutionary-era writer and social critic Sébastien Mercier stated, "the clothing of a woman must have a sex; and this costume must contrast with [that of men's]. A woman must be a

⁵⁵ *Journal des dames et des modes*, from 30 Thermidor an VI [1798] p. 8.

⁵⁶ Cage 196-197.

⁵⁷ Henrion 9-10.

woman from her head to her toes.”⁵⁸ The subtext of the *Journal des dames et des modes* passage cited above is that femininity and the illusion of “nature” can be constructed through one’s apparel. The transparent robes that Henrion approvingly discusses left little room for any accusations of masculine leanings. When a woman’s sex is thrown into confusion, as it was by the *coiffure à la Titus*, the natural world is out of balance.

At least within the spectrum of Greco-Roman fantasy, life made an attempt to imitate art. The style of the *coiffure à la Titus* takes on several important roles in this regard. Women’s adoption of the hairstyle marks a conscience female decision to participate in the recreated Antique space that Republicanism had forged, further complicated by the fact that their usurpation of a formerly masculine hairstyle made men the unwilling participants in their radical restyling of the *Titus*. As for both the female and male usage, it represents a transition of political imagery into the everyday fashion vernacular. The *Titus* is a testament to the Revolution’s ability to politicize the personal and move beyond typical barriers between public and private space. Women in Paris during the Directory period adopted long robes *à la grecque* so thin and much more suitable to a Greek climate that physicians advised against them out of fear of the wearer catching pneumonia.⁵⁹ The Council of the 500 donned uniforms designed after those worn by the Roman Senate. Jacques-Louis David even pushed to make clothing *à l’antique* a requirement for all citizens of France during the Jacobin Republic.⁶⁰ Male adoption of the *Titus* was a clear play on Jacobin hopes of creating a modern Rome, altering their appearances to physically become the Romans they had been representing. Propaganda reached beyond mere mobilization to actually trying to effectuate a performative transformation from what was being represented to the represented idea itself. The anti-clericism of the Jacobin

⁵⁸ Cage 213.

⁵⁹ Cage 201.

⁶⁰ Ribiero 119.

Republic deposed both the privileges of the clergy and their monopoly, held jointly with the monarchy, on the monopoly of symbolic language. Allegories of abstract concepts such as Liberty and Reason were created; these were arguably impossible to represent. They alluded both to ancient gods of antiquity while forging a distinctly French and Republican semiotic language. The two most notorious large-scale manifestations of this were the Festival of the Supreme Being on June 8, 1794 and the Festival of Reason on November 10, 1793. Though they were in opposition to one another, each festival sought to fill the symbolic and visual void created by the suppression of Christianity. These elaborate *fêtes* breached the boundaries between traditional forms of representation and living, interacting figures, as though the Republican Revolution had become a modern Pygmalion, capable of bringing to life ideals that had been abstract concepts under the French monarchy. The “live Mariannes”⁶¹ of the 1790s’ *fêtes* were women chosen to personify the allegories of reason and liberty, who sat at the top of a man-made mountain of papier-mâché, bearing all of the signs that would presumably signify “Liberty” to the audience, such as robes *à la grecque*, laurel branches, and the red Phrygian cap, an ancient Roman headwear once used to signify a freed slave which had appropriated the Revolutionaries.⁶² These living statues were incorporated into attempts to eliminate the tradition of the Catholic Church in France. The cathedral of Notre-Dame became a “Temple to Reason,” in which the pulpit was replaced with mounds of dirt, these “live Mariannes” on top of which stood as replacements for religious icons.

The Revolution placed such an importance on a person’s ability outwardly to manifest their allegiances that their social status and politics were always legible on the surface of their sartorial choices. This emphasis on structuring an entire society around Antiquity, reflected

⁶¹ Marianne was the new female allegory representing Liberty chosen during the Revolution.

⁶² Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*, (London and New York : Cambridge University Press, 1979), 28.

Saint-Just's desire for the collective *peuple* performatively to become the figure of Brutus and, thereby to become actors in history, a modern history that revived the past reincarnated. In an address to assembled legislators on November 13, 1793, Saint-Just warned that "the most deadly [act] would be the one that would make us temporize with the king," a commitment to define the law in temporally irrelative terms.⁶³ Insofar as the moral and legal structure of the new Republic could replicate the ancient world, so too the creation of individual identity attempted to follow in forcing the transition from "subjects to citizens."⁶⁴ There is little mystery as to how the Jacobin Republic wished for its citizens to view themselves. What Lynn Hunt refers to as a "crisis of representation"⁶⁵ was more a problem of symbolic transmittance to an already fractioned public than that which unfolded in the aftermath of the deposition of the king. On one hand, the revolutionaries could secure a certain amount of stability through the use of imagery from ancient Rome and Greece, which already possessed well-rooted and widely understood imagery for "liberty" and "freedom;" on the other hand, the revolutionaries had to contend with the fact that France was *not* Rome or Greece and that the traditional symbols of the nation had been effaced when the king's head was cut off. To what degree were newly made citizens expected to conform their lives to the ideals and outward signs of Antiquity yet still live under the auspices of the French patriotism?

One example of an effort to bring the experience of antiquity home to modern Parisians in aesthetic terms was David's use of mirrors in his exhibition of his momentous history painting *Intervention of the Sabine Women* at the Louvre in 1799 (**Figure 19**). In addition to charging 1.80 francs for admission, David's intention was to create a participatory space, one where the

⁶³ Weber, "Freedom's Missed Moment" 15-16.

⁶⁴ Amy Freund, "The Citoyenne Tallien: Women, Politics, and Portraiture during the French Revolution," *The Art Bulletin*, 93, no. 3 (2011), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/885435476> (accessed April 20, 2013).

⁶⁵ Lynn Hunt, "Hercules and the Radical Image in the French Revolution," *Representations*, 2 (1983): 95.

viewers were at once patron and subject of the work through his placement of a large-scale mirror opposite of the painting. This “truly republican art enabled the viewer to take part in the work rather than being merely surrounded by it.”⁶⁶ In effect, those visiting the Louvre exhibition would be able to view themselves in an Antique context like that intended by the visual architects of the Jacobin Republic and, furthermore, to imagine themselves as actors within a historical moment. The potential to fulfill Robespierre’s desire to attach the Revolution to the memory of history was evidently still being pursued during the Directory Period. The importance of the mirror installation partially lies in its indication of an increased inseparability of the identified “self” with one’s clothing and body. This is further complicated by the fact that the Revolution, or at least the Jacobin’s revolution, was over. To the extent that the “crisis of representation” extends to personal visual presentation, the crisis was also one of individual identity. This contrast between the highly connotative neo-classicism of the *Intervention of the Sabine Women* (not to mention of David’s own political past) with the “psyche” mirror, a luxury item that was certainly not associated with the *sans-culottes*, further complicates the positioning of the individual within the state: was the use of neo-classical rhetoric a signal that the Directory Period was a further extension of the Revolution? Was the intent to convey that the Directory Period was the ideals of the Revolution in action? There is little coherence in the signals, making the legibility of Antique clothing in relation to the “self” increasingly problematic.

The five years of David’s Louvre exhibition coincide with the height of the *coiffure à la Titus*’s popularity among women. The question of how attendees of the *Sabines* exhibit viewed themselves when being projected imaginatively into David’s ancient Roman setting is encumbered by the problem of female participation. T.J. Clark makes the argument that in (at

⁶⁶ Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "David's Sabine Women: Body, Gender and Republican Culture Under the Directory," *Art History*, 14, no. 3 (1991): 406-407.

least male) assessments of the “self” in connection with the body, Rousseau’s precepts were unavoidable. He writes “we have to imagine a culture, and it will be no mean feat, in which the mind-body problem was thought to be of general interest.”⁶⁷ Later he rhetorically asks, “Where else did many eighteenth-century readers first come across the mind-body problem but in the first part of the *Profession de Foi*?”⁶⁸ The mind-body dilemma was magnified by a new visual and sartorial symbolism that revolved around making the body legible as the “self.” If Rousseau is to be largely credited with defining or at least raising the question of the individual’s “self” as corporeal, women’s attempts to define their own identity or, more daringly, to declare some type of independence through revolutionary Antique clothing were at cross purposes with prevailing beliefs about what form women’s visibility in society should take. Rousseau made his beliefs on the place of women explicit; simply put, his view of their position in society was narrow. He wrote in *Emile*, “The needle and the sword must never be carried by the same hand. If I were sovereign, I would permit the dressmaking and needle trades only to women.”⁶⁹ In Rousseau’s terms, female dress would conform to the expectations of maternal roles, emphasizing loose draping of the breasts in keeping with social and political movements to discourage the practice of wet-nursing. The biological signs of femininity had to be clear on the surface of the body; unsurprisingly, pants became illegal for women to wear in 1800, implying, of course, that women *had* been wearing pants.⁷⁰ The “natural” state of womanhood rejects impulses toward consumer goods, as also articulated in *Emile* when Rousseau states,

“Give to a young girl of taste who despises *la mode* some ribbons, some gauze, some muslin, and some flowers; without diamonds, pompoms or lace she will make herself an

⁶⁷ T.J. Clark, “Gross David with the Swoln Cheek: An Essay on Self-Portraiture” in *Rediscovering History: Culture, Politics, and the Psyche*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 251.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 255.

⁶⁹ Jennifer M. Jones, “Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France,” *French Historical Studies*, 18, no. 4 (1994): 945.

⁷⁰ Cage 200.

outfit which will make her a hundred times more charming than all the brilliant rags of Duchapt [a celebrated hatmaker].”⁷¹

As “undressed” as the *coiffure à la Titus* was, the hairstyle certainly did not encourage thoughts of idyllic gender harmony. The definition of femininity that the Greco-Roman revival had tried to impress upon women was turned on its head by the female replication of a haircut fashioned after a powerful male Roman leader.

⁷¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER III

The habitually brazen sartorial language of the French Revolution found few enthusiasts among reactionary conservatives; this animosity would later lead to critical interpretations of the Revolution symbolizing the period as one coterminous with the guillotine. For conservatives, the abomination of radical politics was only matched by the unsavory nature of the fashion coming out of Paris at the end of the eighteenth century, which was perceived by many in France and abroad as correspondingly dangerous. In the century following the Revolution these fashions became representative of the depravity that reactionaries associated with the Reign of Terror. Sensational distortions of fashion trends were widely published in periodicals and memoirs, with little basis in the reality of the Directory period, at least not as reported in the press of that time. The *coiffure à la Titus* certainly did not escape these manipulations; the once highly political hairstyle gained new attention in the mid to late nineteenth century from reactionary social commentators who were apparently nostalgic for the *ancien régime*. By the beginning of the Belle Époque the *Titus* was synonymous with the not altogether true legends of Thermidorian Paris, where fashion and culture were said to be dominated by references to the mayhem of the guillotine. No documents from the time that the *Titus* was actually in vogue, however, seem to indicate that the *coiffure à la victime*, which did mean to recreate the same haircut done before one went to the guillotine, and the *coiffure à la Titus* arose from the same beginnings. In fact, memoirs and fashion periodicals more so indicate that the two styles' original intended purposes were in conflict with one another. One conservative New York publication from 1888 described the hysterical Thermidorian culture as one still obsessed with bloodshed,

The ladies instituted the *coiffure à la victime* – shaving the hair at the nape of the neck, as the executioner Samson did to the poor creatures handed over to him by

the Revolutionary Tribunal; and this fashion soon spread all over France under the name *coiffure à la Titus*, or *à la Caracalla*...A few even carried their love of realism and horror so far as to fasten round their necks a small red collar which imitated most ravishingly the section of the chopper!⁷²

As an historical record, these sensational pieces that emerged in the decades after the Bourbon Restoration can hardly be considered accurate. Mass publications were notoriously irresponsible in their fact checking, which resulted in highly apocryphal understandings of Revolutionary culture. The strange shortness of the *Titus* was an easy target for those searching for signs of a morally loose culture, and the image of women publicly cross-dressing made for a perfect example. Largely fabricated accounts were particularly aggressive in their accusations of female guilt for the chaos of the Directory period, charging women with signifying their trauma through fashion.

Regardless of the veracity of the legends, by the end of the nineteenth century the culture of the Directory period had become associated with hysteria and moral excess. This was due in part to accounts of the *bals des victimes*, an often cited phenomenon of dubious origin. The *bals des victimes*, or “Victim’s Balls,” were exclusive dances said to be held in Thermidorian Paris.⁷³ Most sources claim that these events were only open to those who had lost family members to the guillotine. In some accounts, however, the claim is made that women were required to provide proof that they had lost a close relation to the guillotine before gaining entrance.⁷⁴ According to the famously conservative Goncourt brothers, these events were characterized by dancing, as if all of France were “dancing between the sons and daughters of the guillotine.”⁷⁵

⁷² "The Frenchwoman of the Century." *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art, Volumes 47-110*, January 1888, 97.

⁷³ Ronald Schechter, "Gothic Thermidor: The *Bals des victimes*, the Fantastic, and the Production of Historical Knowledge in Post-Terror France," *Representations*, 61 (1998): 78.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Edmond de Goncourt, and Jules de Goncourt, *Histoire de la Société Française Pendant Le Directoire*, (Paris: E. Dentu, 1854), 140.

Accounts of the *bals des victimes* are injected with a sense of ritual or ceremony that presumes a method to the madness. Despite their inconsistencies, these accounts always reference the fashion of the “victimes.” Some descriptions contend that the *coiffure à la victime*, referring potentially to the *Titus*, began as part of the costumes of the female dancers hired to perform at the *bals des victimes*.⁷⁶ Within the broader sartorial myth surrounding the *bals des victimes*, attire for these festivities also included “red shawls in remembrance of the shawl the executioner threw over the shoulders of Charlotte Corday as she mounted the scaffold...[A]t first, mourning appears to have been worn at these balls, but it was soon abandoned for the warmest and richest colors.”⁷⁷ Thin red ribbons were also rumored to have been tied around the neck to imitate a cut.⁷⁸ Participants were said to gleefully to exchange a *salut à la victime* wherein two people would greet each other with a jerk of the head, intended to resemble the way in which one’s neck would jolt when the guillotine blade struck. The list of macabre festivities that were said to have accompanied the *bals des victimes* included, in late nineteenth century accounts, even more bizarre and questionable details.

The “memories” of these celebrations are ill-defined. Though no solid evidence seems to exist from the Directory period to verify their existence, they became commonplace anecdotes in later memoirs and historical works by writers like the Goncourt brothers. Despite intricately remembered details, no invitations for these balls remain, no mention can be found in recovered publications, and no popular prints depicting these scenes survive. The memoirs written by those who claimed to have attended these events are riddled with contradictions and historical inaccuracies. Furthermore, the painfully scrupulous reports from police spies during the

⁷⁶ Schechter 80.

⁷⁷ “The Frenchwoman of the Century.” *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art, Volumes 47-110*, January 1888, 97.

⁷⁸ Albert Robida, *Mesdames nos Aïeules. Dix siècles d’élégances*, (Paris: La Librairie Illustrée, 1891), 192.

Directory period make no mention of any *bals des victimes*, a curious omission considering their attention to the smallest hints of oppositional activities.⁷⁹ If these balls were invented by their authors, the question of motivation needs to be asked. Historian Ronald Schechter argued that political motives cannot be discounted in attempting to find an answer. Most of the “remembrances” of the *bals des victimes* are from after 1830 and were principally written by aristocrats with a vested interest in either discounting the Revolutionary period as the “apathy of fashionable Parisians in the face of a bad republican government” or, in the cases of republican Michelet and socialist Louis Blanc, scandalizing the aristocrats who would have been the balls’ main attendees.⁸⁰ Many of the later retellings of the *bals des victimes* originated abroad, generally in countries opposed to the Revolution. Take, for example, an article written in *The Illustrated London Magazine* from 1855. Though prefaced with a disclaimer that the author was not present during the Terror, he resolutely claims in a long list of outrageous “Facts” about the French:

It is a Fact, that there are “*coiffures à la guillotine*,” and there are cakes, and dishes, and boots “*à la guillotine*,”...It is a Fact, that dogs come in droves to lap the blood that flows from the scaffold, and are not driven away; that ladies come in their carriages (such ladies and such carriages that are left in this woeful Terror) to see the executions.⁸¹

The author seems to be using the definition of “Fact” loosely. The sensationalized nature of these later accounts blurs the line between fiction and reality.

Despite the ambiguities, stories of Thermidorian culture that were retold and that centered on the *bals des victimes* have the common characteristic of feminizing these manic displays of grief, most conspicuously through fashion. That the *coiffure à la Titus* alludes to

⁷⁹ Schechter 79.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 81.

⁸¹ George Augustus, Sala. "The Shadow of the Reign of Terror." *The Illustrated London Magazine, Volume III*, 1855, 162.

antiquity is clear. But the idea that women were the dominant players in Thermidorian anarchy is magnified by the discrepancies between the origins of the *coiffure à la Titus* given through its association with these balls and the more credible allusion to Antiquity that is reinforced by contemporary sources. Schechter proposed that this confusion could have stemmed from the gender reversal popularized by the *Titus*.⁸² Upper-class young men called the *jeunesse dorée*, angry at the losses that their families incurred under the Jacobins, almost certainly wore a hairstyle either *à la victime* or one closely resembling such a style. The hairstyle of the *jeunesse dorée* was most marked by long “spaniel ears” in the front and a long wrapped or braided ponytail pinned to the top of the head (**Figure 20**). An evocation of the guillotine was almost certainly purposeful and this hairstyle would have been worn alongside other accoutrements of the scaffold not totally unique to the *jeunesse dorée*. Fashion periodicals from the 1790s featured plates of women wearing robes with *croisures à la victime*, meant to indicate an “x marks the spot” for where the blade would strike (**Figure 21**).⁸³ Earrings shaped like guillotines were also popular for women (**Figure 22**).⁸⁴ Georges Duval, a former member of the *jeunesse dorée*, wrote in his memoirs that those still loyal to the Revolution would attack the *jeunesse dorée* and forcibly shear their hair into the *Titus*.⁸⁵ The association between the *Titus* and the guillotine is further reinforced by a passage in the memoirs of the celebrated actor Talma: “The *jeunesse dorée* had adopted the *coiffure à la victime*, it has been said, with long hair to the sides, but also cut short in the back as if the scissors of the executioner had just passed”⁸⁶ Considering

⁸² Schechter 84.

⁸³ Ribiero 124.

⁸⁴ Rousseau-Lagarde, Valérie; Arasse, Daniel, *La Guillotine dans la Révolution: exposition*, Musée de la Révolution française, Chateau de Vizille, 27 mars-24 mai 1987, exh. cat. (Florence:Polistampa, 1987), 130.

⁸⁵ Georges Duval, *Souvenirs Thermidoriens* Vol. 1, p. 298-299

⁸⁶ François-Joseph Talma, *Memoires de J.-F. Talma, écrits par lui-même et recueillis et mis en ordre sur les papiers de sa famille*, (Paris: H. Souverain, 1849-1850), 325. Talma’s memoirs are suspicious as well, however. Firstly, because he mentions the *bals des victimes* and, secondly, because they were published 50 years after his death. There is speculation that they were not entirely written by Talma.

that Talma is credited by many contemporary sources with the popularization of the *Titus* amongst male republicans in the early 1790s, it seems unlikely that he would give it any other attribution. Only when women's adoption of the *Titus* is discussed, do the accounts from later in the nineteenth-century ignore its early connections with Republican *imagerie à l'antique*.

The centrality of women's participation in the *bals des victimes* myth is a common thread throughout nearly every memoir or popular publication from the latter half of the nineteenth century. Though men are certainly not ignored, women are the ones primarily disparaged and shamed as inappropriate for acting out their grief publicly. An 1888 article in *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art*, published in New York City, bemoaned the impact of the Revolution on the women of France and attributed the *bals des victimes* to a uniquely feminine inability to cope in the aftermath of Jacobin power:

The effect of the Revolution on the Frenchwoman of the period was in many ways lamentable and disastrous. All French spirit, grace, and finesse seemed to have been submerged in the bloody deliriums of the crowd. Women's natural influence – that indefinite and indefinable authority conveniently termed her empire of man – had been sadly impaired.⁸⁷

This perspective, which laid blame for the perceived chaos of the Directory period on women, seems to have been quite common by the middle to late nineteenth-century. English critics of the Revolution were possibly the most severe, though they were not an exception. The reactionary French writer Octave Uzanne, who was evidently influenced by the Goncourt brothers, wrote in his 1886 work *The Frenchwomen of the Century* that the Directory period had made the female sex “the mad queen of a society, panting, feverish, agitated...[T]he woman of the Directory seems to have materialized her spirit and ‘animalized’ her heart.”⁸⁸ It should be noted that this book was originally published for an English audience and it is difficult to assess

⁸⁷ *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science and the Arts* 98.

⁸⁸ Octave Uzanne, *The Frenchwoman of the century: fashions-manners-usages*, (London: Routledge, 1886), 6-7.

the extent to which Uzanne would have tailored his criticisms to those foreign readers. Uzanne, too, said that the creation of the *coiffure à la Titus* was synonymous with the *coiffure à la victime*, a style he admonished as “heartrending buffoonery.”⁸⁹

From nearly the onset of the Revolution there had been a place in royalist caricaturing for the monstrous *sans-culottes* woman, one whose destructive beliefs became manifest through her physical appearance (**Figure 23**).⁹⁰ Most worrisome to those afraid of the Revolution was the gender conflation that these caricatured women presented through their vestimentary reversal. The fish market women who had originally marched on Versailles in 1789, known collectively as the *poissardes*, became a reviled group associated not just with attempts by women to appropriate male clothing, but also more seriously, a challenge to masculinity through a male embracing of lower-class female dress. One widely circulated rumor held that it had not, in fact, been women who had marched on Versailles but men dressed as *poissardes*; the implications being that these revolutionary men were “unnatural” and that the monarchy was not so weak as to have been overthrown by women.⁹¹ One English print from 1793 depicted Robespierre *en poissarde*; along the same lines a royalist accusation stated that the Duc d’Aiguillon was seen at Versailles dressed similarly.⁹² Worries over cross-dressing, long standing in Western culture, signaled that male authority could be overtaken simply by a woman’s supposition that she was not confined to feminine clothing. Criticism of cross-dressing followed in the same tradition as *le monde renversé*, a common theme created in sixteenth century popular prints meant to illustrate basic societal norms and morals through a carnivalesque inversion of hierarchies

⁸⁹ Uzanne 13.

⁹⁰ Conversely, historian Ouzi Elyada notes that early pro-Revolutionary pamphlets often used female *sans-culottes* figures as embodying support for uprising. See Ouzi Elyada, “La représentation de l’opinion publique populaire dans la presse parisienne révolutionnaire,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 303, no. 303 (1996),

⁹¹ Wrigley 246-249.

⁹² *Ibid.*

(**Figure 24**). In his analysis of Rabelais, Bakhtin wrote, “All were considered equal during carnival”; even for most revolutionaries, a commitment to *égalité* did not include women.⁹³ A frequently reprinted image from *le monde renversé* illustrations featured a woman setting off for a hunt while her husband remained at home with the children. *Le monde renversé* publications did not generally show cross-dressing; instead the emphasis was on the reversal of one’s role in society. Gendered social code was made highly readable through appearance and costume by the time of the French Revolution.⁹⁴ Anxieties over cross-dressing were not only a preoccupation of conservatives, however. Jacobin police reports from 1793 exhibit a deep suspicion that returning *émigrés* bent on infiltrating the republican government were disguising themselves in Paris by cross-dressing.⁹⁵ Criticisms of the monarchy in the illegal press frequently centered on the body and sexuality of Marie-Antoinette, an association she had somewhat encouraged through portraits shockingly similar to those of Louis XIV hunting (**Figure 25**). An equestrian portrait done by Louis-Auguste Brun showed the then Dauphine wearing riding breeches without the typical covering of a petticoat. Even her unconventional mother, the Empress Maria-Theresa of Austria, warned her against such presumptuous posturing,

If you are riding like a man, dressed as a man, as I suspect you are, I have to tell you that I find it dangerous as well as bad for bearing children -- and that is what you have been called upon to do; that will be the measure of your success. If you were riding like a woman, dressed as a woman, then I would have less cause for concern.⁹⁶

The future queen’s role at court was to be a mother and the wearing of masculine dress was seen as causing a biological hindrance to this process. Marie-Antoinette’s popularizing of the

⁹³ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 10.

⁹⁴ Joseph Harris, *Hidden Agencies: Cross Dressing in 17th Century France*, (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2005), 82-83.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Weber, *Queen of Fashion* 85.

redingote, originally a men's riding outfit from England, caused controversy at Versailles as well; the already hostile court hardly appreciated such atypical dress from *l'Autrichienne*.⁹⁷ The idea that a foreigner was reworking standard conventions for royal dress did Marie-Antoinette no favors; that she would do so in a masculine way was unthinkable. A print from 1791 (**Figure 26**) of the king combing out the queen's hair bears clear thematic influence from *le monde renversé*. It not only presents Louis XVI as a servant to Marie-Antoinette and a pawn in her own political strategies, but also suggests her hair had become equal to and interchangeable with the crown; this was indicated by the caption "*Coeffure pour Couronne*." Regarding the verdict for Marie-Antoinette's guilt, historian Lynn Hunt wrote "the revelation of the Queen's true motives and feelings came [above all] from the ability of the people to 'read' her body."⁹⁸ At least, there was a widespread belief that her body could be read.

In 1804 the author of the *Toilette des dames ou Encyclopédie de la beauté* railed against the *coiffure à la Titus*. Why, he wondered, would women forsake what was universally regarded as their most beautiful feature, their hair? Shorn heads were something typically associated with punishment or shame.⁹⁹ Women's decision to sacrifice an accepted sign of femininity was an affront to basic societal conventions, proof that the French Revolution refused to confine itself to politics. The Revolution meant to uproot everything. *The Illustrated London Magazine* from 1855 decried the relinquishing of feminine code in the kind of statement that had been echoed repeatedly since the 1790s: "Never has the female sex been so completely unsexed as during this Terror."¹⁰⁰ Whether the *Titus* was created as a reminder of the guillotine or, more likely, an

⁹⁷ Ribeiro 130.

⁹⁸ Lynn Hunt, "*The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette*" in *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of the Queen*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 120.

⁹⁹ Rifej 35.

¹⁰⁰ *Illustrated London Magazine* 163.

originally masculine signifier of Republicanism, it is difficult to disagree with the basic sentiment of such a statement, at least in regards to traditional paradigms of femininity.

CHAPTER IV

Sadly, no information exists to indicate the specific motivations that prompted the first female wearers of the *coiffure à la Titus* to shear their hair. It seems to be well supported that those who began to adopt the style around 1800, once the fashion was well established among the bourgeoisie, were not women looking to make a statement about gender or politics. Although the *Titus* was strongly criticized until it fell out of fashion in around 1810, shearing one's hair in such a way was more or less a safe move. Envisioning a praising response when women initially began to crop their hair in around 1795 is difficult, particularly considering the inseparability of the *Titus* from the self-presentation of male Republicans. Presumably, the adaptation of a politically significant style by women would not have come without the expectation of backlash. Whether the women who originally supplanted the *Titus* into women's fashion were social libertines or simply looking for the next trend in *la mode*, it seems doubtful that they would have made such a statement brashly. In spite of the hostility directed at the *coiffure à la Titus* throughout the period of its popularity, the style thrived in a time marked by a high turnover rate in fashion. Antoine-Vincent Arnault's claim that the *Titus* was most popular with artists, men of letters, and youth sympathetic to Republicanism can also be taken as a potential indicator of the women who chose to take on the style in the mid 1790s.¹⁰¹ While most women represented in portraiture wearing the *Titus* remain little more than names, a good deal of information is known about several famous *Titus*-wearers who fashioned themselves through their sartorial conventions. This chapter focuses on the various avenues taken by three well-known women from the era who experienced differing levels of success in cultivating their own public identities: Thérèse Cabarrus, Julie Candaille, and Constance de Salm.

¹⁰¹ Arnault 211-214.

The socialite Thérésa Cabarrus (**Figure 27**) was undoubtedly the popularizer of the *Titus*, as stated previously, although no information indicates that she was the first to wear the style.¹⁰² Arsène Houssaye, who published one of the definitive—if idealizing—biographies of Cabarrus in 1867, declared that as she had her hair fashioned into the *Titus*, the women of the Directory followed suit. Likewise, when Cabarrus later adopted a *cache-folie*, so too did the women of France.¹⁰³ In a reflection of the times that defined her, Napoleon remarked of her that she was “branded with horror and infamy.”¹⁰⁴ Her marriage to a leading Jacobin, in addition to the fact that she lived with and had children by men she was not married to, did not sit well with the Emperor. Although Napoleon found little agreeable about the woman deemed *Notre-Dame de Thermidor* (against the protestations of her close friend Joséphine de Beauharnais, he would later bar her from attending his court), one would not expect him to approve of such an unconventional and self-directed woman.¹⁰⁵ Cabarrus was a woman who continually proved that she could get away with more by virtue of her ability to manipulate her reception in the public mind. Paradoxically, she possessed both the reputation of a Madonna-like figure to counterrevolutionaries and an exotic succubus to those trying to create a stable political atmosphere separate from the legacy of the Jacobins. Regardless of the veracity of the legend that secured Cabarrus’s position as a savior of the Revolution, the effect of the myth ensured her fame and relevance in the public mind. As the story goes, Cabarrus had been imprisoned first in

¹⁰² I refer to her as Thérésa Cabarrus throughout my thesis, but she was known by many names. After her marriage to Jean-Lambert Tallien in 1796 she became commonly referred to as “Madame Tallien.” She married several times and later became the Princess of Chimay. I have chosen to call her Thérésa Cabarrus in order to both not confuse the reader when referencing Jean-Lambert Tallien and for accuracy’s sake when discussing her life prior to and after her marriage to Tallien. However, she is often referred to as Madame Tallien in the sources I cite and the images I reproduce.

¹⁰³ Arsène Houssaye, *Notre-Dame de Thermidor: histoire de Madame Tallien*, (Paris: Henri Plon, 1867), 436.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 7.

¹⁰⁵ Napoleon’s politics were never favorable to women; the Napoleonic Code legally returned women to the power of their husbands and fathers. See Jacqueline Letzter, *Intellectual tacking : questions of education in the works of Isabelle de Charrière*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), 121.

Bordeaux in 1793 for suspicions leveled against her due to her previous husband's aristocratic status; she herself came from a wealthy banking family in Spain.¹⁰⁶ Her dowry secured her marriage into Parisian high society; she was married at the age of fourteen, which was not unusual for the time. While in Bordeaux she met Jean-Lambert Tallien, a Jacobin leader sent from Paris to purge the Girondins. Tallien was known for his brutal method of "fear and flour," whereby he exploited the desperation for bread and guillotined suspects with little discrimination.¹⁰⁷ Through Cabarrus's persuasive interventions, the use of the guillotine was reduced dramatically. She then accompanied Tallien back to Paris, where she was promptly imprisoned in the La Force on Robespierre's orders. The account of her incarceration was largely retold and circulated by Cabarrus herself, with carefully chosen embellishments that seemed only to enhance her popularity.¹⁰⁸ According to what is probably the earliest account of the legend, written in letters from 1796 by explorer Charles de Constant, Cabarrus was kept alone in a dark cell, virtuously refusing to betray her. Her jailors took pity on her and paper was smuggled to her through a lettuce head; supposedly she used her own blood to write letters to Tallien. Aware that her death warrant was sitting on Robespierre's desk, she urged Tallien to intervene, citing a dream she had had of his overthrowing the Jacobins and saving her. Declaring that he would either secure her release or die on the guillotine with her, he led the coup d'état against Robespierre the following day, ending the Reign of Terror.¹⁰⁹ Three days later, on Cabarrus's twenty-first birthday, Jean-Lambert Tallien arrived at La Force in a carriage, wearing

¹⁰⁶ Cabarrus took advantage of one of the few advantages given to women during the Revolution, the legalization of divorce, and initiated divorce proceedings in 1793. See Amy Freund.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Munthe Brace, "The Problem of Bread and the French Revolution at Bordeaux," *The American Historical Review*, 51, no. 4 (1946).

¹⁰⁸ Freund

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

“his most becoming clothes, bound a huge, new silk tricolour sash about his waist.”¹¹⁰ Crowds were gathered to see the woman whose persuasion had ended a dictatorship, with shouts of “*Vive Notre-Dame de Thermidor!*”¹¹¹

The romantic appeal of her story was enough to cement her reputation within the French memory as a woman whose charisma and beauty was something to be admired. Of course, what the story conveniently leaves out are the many political intricacies that led to the Thermidorian Reaction and the desires of the Jacobin leaders to save their own necks. Also not mentioned are the private problems between Cabarrus and Jean-Lambert Tallien, with the latter losing interest in her quickly until his realization that associating with her softened the harsh public opinion of him. Undoubtedly, they were both clever opportunists. The romantic legend was, in any case, instilled in the public’s mind, and Cabarrus recognized that her relevance was dependent upon maintaining it. As a *ci-devant* woman with a politically murky past, Cabarrus’s agency beyond her looks and charm was limited and precarious. *Notre-Dame de Thermidor* was not about to risk losing the momentum of her fame. In 1796, two years after her release from La Force, she commissioned a portrait by Jean-Louis Laneuville (**Figure 28**).¹¹² Laneuville was a portrait painter who had been a student of David and, like his mentor, was highly political. Laneuville’s portraits conform to a similar format: the sitter is presented alone in his or her setting; several objects are present which indicate the sitter’s reason for prominence; and the sitter confidently meets the viewer’s gaze (**Figure 29**).¹¹³ Cabarrus seems to have been the only woman to commission a portrait from Laneuville.¹¹⁴ The choice of a political artist like Laneuville seems

¹¹⁰ L. Gastine, *Madame Tallien, notre dame de Thermidor, from the last days of the French revolution until her death as Princess de Chimay in 1835*, (London: John Lane Co., 1913), 281.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 99

¹¹² Amy Freund attributes the year of the portrait’s commission to 1796, but acknowledges that it could potentially have been commissioned earlier. It was, though, Cabarrus who sought out Laneuville for the portrait.

¹¹³ Freund.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

an odd choice for a woman known for her beauty and fashion; the commission speaks to a certain confidence in the figuring of her self-representation. In her delving examination of this portrait, art historian Amy Freund points out that, had Cabarrus truly wished for a painting which highlighted her feminine and patriotic virtue, she would not have had to look far. There were a number of portraitists who were particularly popular with women seeking sophisticated renderings, as well as thirteen female artists who had been exhibited in the Salon of 1795.¹¹⁵ Instead, Thérèse Cabarrus opted for a portraitist whose clientele had almost exclusively been radical Jacobin men. Cabarrus's commission of this portrait, titled *The Citoyenne Tallien in a Prison Cell at La Force, Holding Her Hair Which Has Just Been Cut*, was scandalous and assertive enough solely for the fact that it depicted a woman inserting herself into the patriarchal narrative of the Revolution. Doubly unseemly was the nature of the prison portrait, a genre considered so shocking in the years following the Reign of Terror that the portrait had to be removed from the Salon of 1796 due to the hysteria it apparently provoked.¹¹⁶ The focal point of the painting is the shorn hair; a condemned citizen's hair was a lasting reminder of the Terror. Following in the same tradition as Catholic saint relics, the hair of those guillotined was often preserved in mourning jewelry or embroideries, when it was not, less sentimentally, sold to hairdressers and wigmakers. The tress Cabarrus clutches served not only as a signifier of the feminine corporeality that had made her famous, but also as a recollection of her impending execution—the audience could fill in the rest of the story themselves.

The Salon of 1796 coincided with the first accounts of Cabarrus wearing the *coiffure à la Titus*, along with more revealing dresses.¹¹⁷ Opprobrious and gossipy pamphlets circulated around Paris, asserting a believed connection between the risqué fashion of Cabarrus and what

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

was perceived as the moral decay of France following the Thermidorian Reaction.¹¹⁸ Her self-professed claims to have been a factor in the overthrow of Robespierre did not win her any points with loyal Republicans, although she was similarly accused of extreme Jacobinism from the right.¹¹⁹ In reality, Cabarrus's political convictions were never too radical on either end of the spectrum. As the Laneville portrait demonstrates, elevating her visibility was more important to Cabarrus than adhering to a political agenda. No specific political message is conveyed in her prison portrait, though an anti-Robespierre statement is clear enough. In Directory France, declaring oneself in opposition to the politics of Robespierre was not a risky move after Thermidor. Paralleling this noncommittal—yet pronounced—approach, Cabarrus had composed several public addresses in 1794 while in Bordeaux. In a public speech, then in two letters she addressed to the Committee for Public Safety and the National Convention, she had asked for more inclusion of women in the affairs of the Republic.¹²⁰ This position was safe, and certainly not radical enough to have her sent to the guillotine like Olympe de Gouges.¹²¹ Rather, Cabarrus's speech was a public announcement of her Republican beliefs, just in case she should ever be accused otherwise. The Laneville painting echoes the same middle-of-the-road approach. Both the public address and the prison portrait could only have been considered “radical” by those who opposed any political expressions from women regardless of the content, of whom there were many.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Olympe de Gouges was guillotined in 1793 after writing the “Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Female Citizen.” Along with Marie-Antoinette and Madame Roland (all three of whom were guillotined within one month of each other), her execution was regarded as a warning to other outspoken women. These executions occurred precisely at the time when the Jacobins were cracking down on women's clubs and, by the end of autumn 1793, all political activity by women was outlawed. See Letzter, *Intellectual Tracking: Questions of Education in the Works of Isabelle de Charrière*, 120.

The Duchess D’Abrantés, remembering Cabarrus’s appearance in 1794 at l’Eglise des Récollets in Bordeaux, described her appearance as: “Upon her beautiful black hair, which was cut *à la Titus*, and clustered in graceful curls around her face, she wore, a little on one side, a cap of scarlet velvet trimmed with fur; in this costume her beauty was really dazzling.”¹²² It was generally indecorous for women to speak in public, so Cabarrus’s wearing of the *Titus* to an event which she had intended to speak at undoubtedly made for a curious statement. D’Abrantés writes that on this specific occasion, Cabarrus had been nervous to deliver an address herself and had one Monsieur Julien recite it in her stead. Cabarrus did, however, read the address in the same church ten days later. What is not provided by D’Abrantés is the topic of the address, which D’Abrantés only describes as “some abstract subject, which was intended to be read by way of a sermon.”¹²³ Also not mentioned is Cabarrus’s costume during her subsequent oral recitation. Whether she covered her *coiffure à la Titus* to satisfy the status quo or to present herself as less of a political force, is unclear. Her appetite for wigs was well known, as was her ability to shrewdly manipulate her public image.¹²⁴

Cabarrus’s effort to situate herself as a political player appears to have missed the mark, however. The popular press in France and abroad largely wrote her off as either a gaudy and power-hungry manipulator or merely an accessory to the crimes of Jean-Lambert Tallien.¹²⁵ The English caricaturist James Gillray published several cartoons of Cabarrus, as well as of other

¹²² D’Abrantés 203-204. A few notes about this passage from D’Abrantés: firstly, the reliability of the Duchess is in doubt. Certain dates given are suspicious or verifiably incorrect and D’Abrantés retells accounts of the *bals des victimes* which, as discussed in the previous chapter, are apocryphal (and her memoirs were not published until the 1830s). Secondly, because the accuracy of dates in these memoirs is questionable I do not include this passage as evidence of an early *Titus* in my first chapter. As stated previously in this thesis, the advent of women’s use of the style seems to be 1794. It is entirely likely that Thérèse Cabarrus was wearing the style as early as 1794, and for my own purposes I will concede to this possibility in this chapter; but since this account was not written in the 1790s I am not using it as concrete evidence when trying to place a date for the origins of the *coiffure à la Titus* on women.

¹²³ Ibid. 203.

¹²⁴ Gabriel d’Èze, *Histoire De La Coiffure Des Femmes En France*, (P. Ollendorff, 1886), 227.

¹²⁵ Freund.

prominent mistresses of French politicians. One print from 1805 (**Figure 30**) pictured Cabarrus and Empress Josephine dancing naked for Directory leader Paul Barras, with whom Cabarrus had an affair in 1797. The written caption beneath the etching insinuates that Napoleon traded Cabarrus to Barras in exchange for Josephine.¹²⁶ The denigration of Cabarrus in the popular press equated the socialite with immorality and accused her of distracting the French people from serious economic and political problems with her sexually suggestive fashions.¹²⁷ Not all commentary was so hostile; a number of contemporary journals and mid-to-late nineteenth-century biographies, many of which were surprisingly from England, return to Cabarrus's romantic legend. They envisioned her as a virtuous and charitable woman trapped in a loveless marriage to her monstrous Republican husband.¹²⁸

Whether she was seen as a depraved upstart or an innocent victim, Cabarrus was never the central figure behind the political actions she was said to influence. Although Cabarrus never managed to maintain a coherent political belief (she seems to have changed sides as often as Jacques-Louis David), she still presented the threat of being a woman highly visible in the social and political circles of post-Thermidor France. As Freund commented, “[Laneuville's portrait of Cabarrus] was disturbing because it depicted a woman who had seized the slim personal and political opportunities offered to her sex by the Revolution and made the most of them.”¹²⁹ Such a prison portrait, and the idea of a woman who actively controlled her own public persona, was considered far too reminiscent of Marie-Antoinette (**Figure 31**). Thérésa Cabarrus had already been labeled as a new form of the Austrian-born queen by radical Jacobin Gracchus Babeuf in

¹²⁶ John Ashton, *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1888), 31-32.

¹²⁷ Freund.

¹²⁸ Bell, John. *La Belle Assemblée or, Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine, Volume 3*, September 1807.

¹²⁹ Freund.

1794, who charged her with being a “lady legislator” in the same vein as powerful mistresses like Madame Pompadour.¹³⁰

The women who wore the controversial *Titus* would not otherwise be described as licentiously as Thérèse Cabarrus, or characterized as “loose women.” Although they did not escape accusations of deviating from femininity’s inherent traits, many women who wore the *Titus* did so without the reputation of being sexually manipulative or corrupting. Consider Constance Pipelet, better known by her married name Constance de Salm, for example. De Salm was a well known writer and a committed wearer of the *Titus*. She composed some of the most performed operas of the early nineteenth century, along with her friend and fellow *Titus*-wearer Julie Candeille. Unlike Cabarrus, Constance de Salm made no bones about her criticisms on the state of women’s rights. Her 1797 work *Épître aux femmes* spells out a feminist platform with no mincing of words: “If nature has made the two sexes different, she has changed the form and not the elements.”¹³¹ Constance de Salm was also acutely aware of how to visually present oneself in relation to her gender. Jean-Baptiste François Desoria painted Constance de Salm in 1797 (**Figure 32**), one year after Cabarrus’s prison portrait caused so much controversy at the Salon of 1796. De Salm’s portrait was exhibited at the Salon of 1798 under the title *Portrait de la citoyenne Pipelet*.¹³² She is shown holding a book, the symbol of her trade. X-ray evidence shows that originally the neckline had been much higher and was lowered later by Desoria. It is not certain how much direction de Salm was giving him though it is entirely likely that she had a

¹³⁰ Françoise Kermina, *Madame Tallien : 1773-1835*, (Paris: Perrin, 2008), 161-162.

¹³¹ Constance de Salm, *Épître aux femmes*, (Paris: chez Desenne, 1797)<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k42666v> (accessed April 20, 2013), 8.

¹³² Margaret A. Oppenheimer, *The French portrait: Revolution to Restoration, September 30-December 11, 2005*, exh. cat. (Northampton: Smith College Museum of Art, 2005).

hand in this adjustment.¹³³ She comments on her femininity through the ribbon tied in her *Titus*, a strange indulgence considering her choice to adopt a formerly masculine hairstyle in tandem with her progressive feminism.

Historian Elizabeth Colwill claims that de Salm's "'forceful claims to a public voice'" stand in opposition to the difficulties that continually arise when attempting to discern prominent women's opinions during the Revolutionary era.¹³⁴ In spite of the intense legal restrictions meant to prevent the organization of women's political groups and overall elimination of the few rights gained in 1789, women were given some leverage within the arts. Constance de Salm and Julie Candeille were in the unnatural positions of working within a profession—they were librettists—which was both immensely popular in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries and also visible in the public space. Between the years of 1770 and 1820 there were five times as many women librettists than there had been in the 125 years combined since opera had been introduced to France.¹³⁵ Women involved in opera, in large part due to their diverse backgrounds, were able to forge a more independent space.¹³⁶ Considering that gender dynamics were often suspended or loosened to accommodate certain roles, there is significant academic debate as to the sartorial freedoms and limits that the theatre allowed. On the one hand, women were able to relinquish, albeit temporarily, certain gender codes while pursuing success outside of the home. On the other hand, a woman wearing pants would have exhibited the actress's legs far more than any clothing considered acceptable outside of their stage role; this was a revealing spectacle for the eighteenth century and actresses were further opening themselves up to the male

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Jacqueline Letzter, and Robert Adelson, "French Women Opera Composers and the Aesthetics of Rousseau," *Feminist Studies*, 26, no. 1 (2000): 88.

¹³⁵ Jacqueline Letzter, "'Making a Spectacle of Oneself: French Revolutionary Opera by Women,'" *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 11, no. 3 (1999): 215.

¹³⁶ Ibid. 88-91.

“gaze.” In her examination of “breeches parts,” Gill Perry noted the anxiety expressed by eighteenth century critics concerning such staged sexual ambiguity; the belief was commonly expressed that, “...the more women strain their limbs to imitate men, the more likely they are to do serious damage to their femininity.”¹³⁷ As with the *coiffure à la Titus*, there was significant unease amongst men who worried that, once gender distinctions were no longer visible, femininity would neither be desired by women nor managed by men.¹³⁸

With relevance to both Constance de Salm and Julie Candeille, the subject of distinct gender divisions and the *coiffure à la Titus* is illuminated by the two writers’ relationships with the painter Anne-Louis Girodet. Girodet himself is an interesting study in gender indistinction; while many neo-classical painters were visualizing their mythic male nudes as virile masculine heroes, Girodet androgynized his subjects (**Figure 33**). What Girodet accomplished, as contended by art historian James Smalls, was an intersection between homoerotic imagery and politics, which could not be separated within his works.¹³⁹ This was conditional, however, on sexuality being confined to male-male relations. Girodet had tried to keep his homosexual relationships private, although there is little doubt that they did occur and were more or less public knowledge.¹⁴⁰ For everyone except Candeille, that is, who professed her love for the painter on more than one occasion. Her proposition of marriage to Girodet was met with his

¹³⁷ Gill Perry, "Staging Gender and 'Hairy Signs'," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38, no. 1 (2004): 147.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 147-148.

¹³⁹ James Smalls, "Making Trouble for Art History: The Queer Case of Girodet," *Art Journal*, 55, no. 4 (1996): 22. I do not mean to imply, of course, that Girodet was the first or only neo-classical painter to sexualize, or even feminize, the male nude. This is evidenced by, for instance, David’s unfinished painting *The Death of Joseph Bara* (1793). See also David’s response to criticism of his use of the male nude in “Note on the Nudity of My Heroes,” reprinted Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *From the Classicists to the Impressionist: Art and Architecture in the Nineteenth-Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 11-12.

¹⁴⁰ Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities : painting empire in post-revolutionary France*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 125-126.

claiming “impotence.”¹⁴¹ Candeille is considered to have been Girodet’s closest female friend, yet her unrequited affection for the painter led to a rift in their relationship after her unintentional discovery of one of his male model’s “frequent visits” to Girodet’s studio.¹⁴² The subsequent letter sent from Candeille to Girodet, distressfully written at two in the morning, euphemistically dodges the subject of his homosexuality but deplorably refers to his “character”; she pleads with him to instead lead a fulfilling life with her, a “decent woman.”¹⁴³ Girodet responded visually and, in keeping with his character, androgynously. His “double portrait” was given to her in 1807 and depicted himself and Candeille in overlapping side-views (**Figure 34**). Candeille is pictured with her hair cut *à la Titus* and Girodet’s hair is styled almost identically. Their facial features are nearly indistinguishable. Their clothing, however, is very traditionally gendered; Girodet is shown dressed in a high collar and a neck cravat while Candeille is draped in a simple robe covering her shoulders. Whether Candeille is masculinized or if Girodet has feminized himself is uncertain. Girodet’s intentions for this double portrait are difficult to discern. He could, potentially, have meant for the portrait to force a pictorial similarity between their two sexes in the hopes that Candeille would equate her own heterosexual desires to his homosexual actions once the visual performance of gender was stripped away. Alternatively, Girodet might have been attempting to console Candeille by representing her as more masculine; with the *coiffure à la Titus* and comparable features she was almost, visually at least, the sex he preferred¹⁴⁴ Julie Candeille was, after all, known for her androgyny. Even before Girodet’s

¹⁴¹Thomas Crow, *Emulation : David, Drouais, and Girodet in the art of revolutionary France*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 305. The exact nature of Girodet’s sexuality remains in debate. That Girodet engaged in same-sex relations seems well established by many historians through the use of letters and personal accounts (though Girodet’s first biographer and close acquaintance P.-A. Coupin claimed to have burned all incriminating letters following the artist’s death). It is conjectured, however, that Girodet visited female prostitutes and wrote at least one letter containing erotic desires for its female recipient.

¹⁴² Grigsby 126.

¹⁴³ Ibid. 126-127.

¹⁴⁴Ibid. 128

creation of the double portrait, their close association had been used to encourage rumors questioning his sexuality.¹⁴⁵ Candeille's *coiffure à la Titus* is, undoubtedly, the most prominent indicator of Girodet's objective in the double portrait because it is the only signifier of gender that is blatantly out of place. The clothing is conventional and the facial features are neutralized as being neither categorically feminine nor masculine; Candeille's short hair is the only element that imbalances the portrait's androgyny to the side of the male gender.

Constance de Salm's relationship with Anne-Louis Girodet was not nearly as tumultuous as his with Candeille.¹⁴⁶ Their close friendship was one of mutual admiration and idea exchange. Art historian Heather Belnap Jensen argues that, while Candeille was considered as more of a muse by Girodet than an intellectual equal, his correspondence with de Salm demonstrates a true academic compatibility.¹⁴⁷ In a letter from 1813, Girodet writes to de Salm,

Dear friend, I have finished the full-length portrait of the Emperor. Would you be so kind as to find a moment to come with Monsieur Martini and give it a look? You know that your opinion is for me the most essential (*primordial*); you will be the first to judge...¹⁴⁸

Girodet's consideration of de Salm's artistic sensibilities is not entirely surprising; she was well respected in both male and female literary circles and she intimately corresponded with many male figures often. Upon receiving word of Girodet's death in 1824, de Salm penned a remembrance poem for the artist she had shared a lovingly friendship with for thirty years; in her preface to the poem she wrote, "I say of Girodet that I think, and have always thought, that his

¹⁴⁵ Crow 305.

¹⁴⁶ In spite of Julie Candeille's warm reception of the double portrait, of which she wrote admiring poetry, her friendship with Girodet never fully recovered; they became estranged and she was excluded from his funeral (Crow 273). See also, Madeleine Lassère and Julie Candeille, *Le portrait double: Julie Candeille et Girodet* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005)

¹⁴⁷ She does note that at the time she was writing, 2007, scholarship on the relationship between Candeille and Girodet was growing significantly and it is likely the consensus that Candeille functioned primarily as a muse would be called into question. See Heather Belnap Jensen, *Portraitistes à la Plume: Women Art Critics in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France*, (Ann Arbor: ProQuest, 2007), 256.

¹⁴⁸ Jensen 256. M. Martini composed the music for some of de Salm's operas.

friendship and justice inspires me.”¹⁴⁹ Historian Elizabeth Colwill speculates that some of the success de Salm experienced from her scholarly interactions with influential men like Girodet was due to the perceived lack of competition between the genders. Even an exceedingly talented and thriving woman like de Salm was not allowed into the male literary pantheon; when her close friend, the writer Jean-Baptiste de Pongerville, was awarded a seat to the Académie Française he acknowledged the unreasonable gender barrier: “Nature accorded you the talent,” he admitted to de Salm, “but we have reserved the crowns for ourselves.”¹⁵⁰ In specific application to the relationship between de Salm and Girodet, there are indications that their friendship did not purely revolve around a fear of competition. Firstly, the two did not work within the same profession. Although Girodet aspired to be a poet, he never found any success in the field. Secondly, Constance de Salm’s sexuality was never clearly defined. She married several times, but her most tender relationship was likely with her longtime companion, the Princess of Tour et Taxis.¹⁵¹ As in the letters between Girodet and Candaille, the authors are careful not to overtly state any revealing details (presuming that there were, indeed, details to reveal). Their partnership lasted for around fifteen years, only to split after the ascension of Louis-Philippe to the throne. The politically liberal Constance de Salm was unable to reconcile Taxis’s support for Charles X, and severed their ties in 1833. In de Salm’s own words, she could not exist in her “natural state” while the “humiliating yoke” of the Bourbon monarchy still reigned.¹⁵² De Salm likened such monarchal rule to a repeat of the subjugation women felt under the *ancien régime*.

¹⁴⁹ Constance de Salm, *Sur Girodet*, (Paris: F. Didot, 1825)<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k55506279>

¹⁵⁰ Eliz Colwill, "Epistolary Passions: Friendship and the Literary Public of Constance de Salm, 1767-1845," *Journal of Women's History*, 12, no. 3 (2000): 45.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 47-59.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 58.

An engraving of Constance de Salm, whose hair is cropped *à la Titus*, bears Girodet's signature along with the year of 1814 (**Figure 35**).¹⁵³ No substantial information regarding the print can be found, but the nature of the lithograph suggests some possibilities. The *coiffure à la Titus* that de Salm is pictured with is short and curly and not adorned with any other accoutrements, like flowers or diamonds. This particular mode of styling the *Titus* was popular toward the very end of the first decade of the eighteenth century. Compared to several similar Boilly portraits, this print appears to be contemporaneous (**Figure 36**). It is feasible that the engraving was made after an earlier, now lost, painting of the writer. Another possibility is that, despite the fact that by 1814 the *coiffure à la Titus* would no longer have been in vogue, Constance de Salm's commitment to early feminism would have motivated her to retain the liberating haircut.

When trying to translate the varied reactions to these renowned women into a decisive opinion of the *coiffure à la Titus*, one wholly representative of the general public attitude toward changing gender dynamics, several problems are presented. The most conspicuous issue posed is the sharp contrast between the critical responses to a socialite like Thérèse Cabarrus and those directed at the writers Constance de Salm and Julie Candaille. After all, some of the most vitriolic accusations leveled against Cabarrus claimed that she had actively sought to influence the politics of Revolutionary France. The Parisian journal *L'Abréviateur universel* published an

¹⁵³ It is not entirely certain that this engraving was done by Girodet. In my research, the copy of the print that I have found most commonly reproduced is the one inscribed with Girodet's name and the year 1814; however, the collection at the Château de Versailles contains the same lithograph except Girodet's name is not present and the engravers Grégoire and Deneux are attributed. Grégoire and Deneux were not active until the mid-nineteenth century, so it is also likely that they could have made their print from an existing one. Although very unspecific, an inventory of Girodet's works that was created after his death notes a *portrait au crayon* of Constance de Salm, and then engraved by one M. Roger; no date is given. I postulate that, regardless of who created the original image, it was done from life of Constance de Salm. Even though it was well known that women like Thérèse Cabarrus and Constance de Salm wore the *coiffure à la Titus*, rarely do posthumous portraits of these women depict them with their short hair. For the posthumously assembled inventory, see, Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson and Pierre Alexandre Coupin, *Oeuvres posthumes de Girodet-Trioson, peintre d'histoire* (Paris: J. Renouard, 1829).

article in January of 1795 which complained, with twinges of sarcasm, that Cabarrus's beauty and charms had allowed her to exert far too much command over the French at a time of political and economic crisis:

... the beautiful *citoyenne* Cabarrus, wife of Tallien, that's what occupies people here, far more than subsistence and our fourteen armies. ... Is she arriving? People applaud enthusiastically, as if having a Roman or Spanish face, superb skin, beautiful eyes, noble bearing, a smile in which amiability tempers influence, a Grecian dress and naked arms was to save the republic...¹⁵⁴

Cabarrus could be said to have encouraged this finger pointing, though; it would be naïve to assume she was unaware of the longstanding perception which stressed that if women allowed themselves to participate politically, they could not be trusted to adhere to other established gender roles.¹⁵⁵ Her suggestive fashion choices were observed as symptomatic of something more sinister and her careless luxury effectuated a loss of “republican morals.”¹⁵⁶ Similar indictments of de Salm and Candeille are by and large absent, which is curious since the two female writers were arguably far more successful at gaining political agency than Thérèse Cabarrus. Arguably, the two librettists thrived in a political atmosphere controlled by male politicians who aggressively sought to extirpate even the most remote influence that women like Oympe de Gouges and Théroigne de Méricourt clung to desperately. Between the years of 1793 and 1795, also the time span in which the Jacobins most forcefully barred women from political involvement, Candeille's *Catherine, ou la belle fermière* and de Salm's *Sapho* were ranked in the ten most performed dramatic acts in Paris.¹⁵⁷ Unlike Cabarrus's position as a political chameleon, de Salm and Candeille continually expressed strong—although not always consistent—political stances through widely circulated pamphlets and, in de Salm's case, a long

¹⁵⁴ Freund.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Letzter, “Making a Spectacle of Oneself: French Revolutionary Opera by Women,” 215.

record of epistolary exchange with politicians.¹⁵⁸ The question must be posed: why did women like de Salm and Candeille not engender the same ire as Cabarrus? Should not they, too, have been acknowledged as even more contentious “lady legislators”? To be sure, the two women were roundly criticized for both their oeuvres and, to a lesser extent, their personal lives; Napoleon refused to grant Candeille a pension for her writing because the emperor did not want to support “a woman who could get along without a husband.”¹⁵⁹

Many factors could account for this incongruity, including chances of circumstance that would not have been controllable by Thérésa Cabarrus.¹⁶⁰ The essential nature of the three women’s discrepant roles within the public space is a necessary consideration as well; despite the controversies they provoked, de Salm and Candeille remained respected literary figures throughout their lives while Cabarrus was satirically and libelously targeted in the press. By the time she had married for the final time in 1805, the woman once praised as *Notre-Dame de Thermidor* was barred from Napoleon’s court and was later refused entrance to the royal court of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands.¹⁶¹ Her constant petitions to members of the court fell on deaf ears and Cabarrus was, in effect, confined to the small town of Chimay until her death.¹⁶² Cabarrus’s legacy as the prime promoter of the *coiffure à la Titus* is indicative of the strange approach taken in managing her self-representation. As opposed to the strict control that de Salm and Candeille exerted over their public images, Cabarrus seems to have either been unconcerned about the attacks against her in the press or simply ineffective in stopping them. As

¹⁵⁸ They both remain convinced liberals throughout their lives, though the degrees to this support oscillated frequently, particularly for de Salm.

¹⁵⁹ Letzter, “French Women Opera Composers and the Aesthetics of Rousseau,” 91.

¹⁶⁰ Letzter, “Making a Spectacle of Oneself,” 217. For example, all three women being discussed were adroitly positioned into their professions (or, in Thérésa Cabarrus’s case, strategic marriage to an aristocrat) by their successful families; at the outset of the Revolution, Cabarrus likely found herself in a far more precarious situation than de Salm or Candeille, a position that required dramatic action if she wanted to avoid the guillotine.

¹⁶¹ Freund.

¹⁶² Gastine 305-333.

previously discussed, the commission of Laneuville's prison portrait evidenced a desire on Cabarrus's part to author the narrative of her role in the Thermidorian Reaction. The limited success of the painting might have discouraged her from attempting similar statements later; her next major commission was the full-length portrait by Gérard in 1805. This commission was made at a time when Cabarrus was desperately in need of repairing her public image. Her marriage to François-Joseph de Caraman, the Prince of Chimay, was a surprisingly respectable match for Cabarrus, although his family did not agree.¹⁶³ Gérard's portrait shows Cabarrus as highly feminine and Flora-like; her once frizzled *Titus* was now neatly curled and crowned with flowers. This endeavor to rein in her out-of-control public persona is easily comparable with visual representations of Cabarrus that she did not wield any control over. The caricaturist James Gillray produced a print in February of 1796 of Cabarrus titled "La belle Espagnole,—ou—la doublure de Madame Tallien" (**Figure 37**). Gillray seized upon Cabarrus's Spanish heritage to create an image of her that is highly racialized, akin to contemporary criticisms of Josephine de Beauharnais's Creole roots. Curiously, Gillray likely used descriptions of Cabarrus's *coiffure à la Titus* to do this; the caricature was published the same year that Cabarrus was described as wearing a frizzled, black *Titus* by D'Abrantés, as well as the red shawl and gold bangles shown in the print. Art historian Angela Rosenthal notes that the phrase "frizzled black hair" carried pronounced racial connotations in English society.¹⁶⁴ It is doubtful that Gillray ever met Cabarrus but instead created his print after descriptions that had been retold in London. If Cabarrus had initially hoped to construct a more serious—possibly political—identity through her adoption of the *coiffure à la Titus*, she appears to have, again, missed the mark.

¹⁶³ Gastine 254.

¹⁶⁴ Rosenthal 4.

Conclusion

As articulated in this thesis, the legacy of the *coiffure à la Titus* is complicated. In the short period directly following its loss of popularity, from around 1810 to 1830, seemingly no mentions of the once highly controversial haircut exist in either fashion periodicals or personal accounts. This is curious considering how much attention the shockingly masculine women's hairstyle had once garnered. Silence on the *Titus* coincided with the end of the Napoleonic era and the transition back into an absolutist monarchy. France was once more under Bourbon rule and, for many, the vigorous hopes that had initially directed the Revolution were dead. However, the Revolution had dissipated the dreams of women quite early. It wasn't until the 1830s that mentions of the *coiffure à la Titus* began to resurface, maybe not by coincidence that the July Revolution of 1830 had awoken Republican sentiments. The perceptions of the *coiffure à la Titus* from later sources often miscategorized the style as one reflective of female hysteria in the aftermath of the guillotine's dominance. Whether this continually reiterated falsehood was a purposeful slander or merely the result of a mutated rumor, the women who had actually worn the *Titus* were, as with when the style was in fashion, misrepresented.

The *coiffure à la Titus* is an interesting representation to examine for many reasons, not in the least because the style existed for awhile as a negotiation between women's desires for the unconventional cut and men's extreme distaste for the same irregular conventions. I am persuaded to think that, after 1810, it was men's sensibilities that ultimately won out. Regardless, the women who had originally worn the *Titus* midway through the 1790s had still accomplished the act of instating a very liberating haircut into the discourse of fashion; all the more poignant considering it was only in the previous few years that outspoken feminists were being carted to the guillotine for their beliefs. Women's steadfast commitment to the style, against constant

defamation, was unparalleled in any other contemporary fashions. This is the true legacy of the *coiffure à la Titus*.

Bibliography

Agulhon, Maurice. *Marianne into Battle*. London and New York : Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Freund, Amy. "The Citoyenne Tallien: Women, Politics, and Portraiture during the French Revolution." *The Art Bulletin*. no. 3 (2011). <http://search.proquest.com/docview/885435476> (accessed April 20, 2013).

Arnault, A.-V. A.V. Arnault, *Souvenirs d'un sexagénaire* . 1888.

Aulard, François-Alphonse. *Paris pendant la réaction thermidorienne et sous le Directoire*. Paris: 1900.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and his World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Bell, John. *La Belle Assemblée or, Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine, Volume 3*, September 1807.

Burton, Richard D.E. *Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789-1945*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Brace, Richard Munthe. "The Problem of Bread and the French Revolution at Bordeaux." *The American Historical Review*. no. 4 (1946).

Cage, E. Claire. "The Sartorial Self: Neoclassical Fashion and Gender Identity in France 1797-1804." *Eighteenth-Century Studies*. no. 2 (2009). 196 (accessed April 19, 2013).

Clark, T.J. "Gross David with the Swoln Cheek: An Essay on Self-Portraiture" in *Rediscovering History: Culture, Politics, and the Psyche*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Colwill, Eliz. "Epistolary Passions: Friendship and the Literary Public of Constance de Salm, 1767-1845." *Journal of Women's History*. no. 3 (2000): 45.

Critique de la Coiffure à la Titus pour les Femmes . Paris: Imprimerie de Fain, c. 1800.

Crow, Thomas. *Emulation : David, Drouais, and Girodet in the art of revolutionary France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

de Carbonnières, Philippe. *gouaches révolutionnaires : collections du musée Carnavalet*. Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 2005.

d'Èze, Gabriel. *Histoire De La Coiffure Des Femmes En France*. P. Ollendorff, 1886.

- de Goncourt, Edmond, and Jules de Goncourt. *Histoire de la Société Française Pendant Le Directoire*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1854.
- de Langres, Vincent Lombard. *Les têtes à la Titus: vaudeville en un acte*. Paris: Barba, 1797.
- de Salm, Constance. *Épître aux femmes*. Paris: chez Desenne, 1797.
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k42666v> (accessed April 20, 2013).
- de Salm, Constance. *Sur Girodet*. Paris: F. Didot, 1825.
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k55506279>
- Dyer, Walter A.. "The French Decorative Styles: III. Louis XVI." *The Art World*. no. 5 (1918): 431-433.
- Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *From the Classicists to the Impressionist: Art and Architecture in the Nineteenth-Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 11-12.
- Esquirol, Etienne. *Des maladies mentales considérées sous les rapports médical, hygiénique et médico-légal, Volume 1*. Bruxelles: Meline, Cans, et Cie, 1838.
- Elyada, Ouzi. "La représentation de l'opinion publique populaire dans la presse parisienne révolutionnaire." *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*. no. 303 (1996).
- François-Joseph Talma, *Memoires de J.-F. Talma, écrits par lui-même et recueillis et mis en ordre sur les papiers de sa famille*, (Paris: H. Souverain, 1849-1850), 325.
- "The Frenchwoman of the Century." *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art, Volumes 47-110*, January 1888, 97.
- Gastine, L. *Madame Tallien, notre dame de Thermidor, from the last days of the French revolution until her death as Princess de Chimay in 1835*. London: John Lane Co., 1913.
- Gay, Sophie. *Salons célèbres*. Ghent University, 1837.
- Sala, George Augustus. "The Shadow of the Reign of Terror." *The Illustrated London Magazine, Volume III*, 1855, 162.
- Gill Perry, "Staging Gender and 'Hairy Signs'," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38, no. 1 (2004): 147.
- Grigsby, Darcy Grimaldo. *Extremities : painting empire in post-revolutionary France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002
- Harris, Joseph. *Hidden Agencies: Cross Dressing in 17th Century France*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2005.

- Henrion, Charles. *Encore un tableau de Paris*. Paris: André Favre, 1800.
- Hunt, Lynn. "Hercules and the Radical Image in the French Revolution." *Representations*. (1983): 95.
- Hunt, Lynn. "*The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette*" in *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of the Queen*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003.
- Journal des dames et des modes*, from 30 Thermidor an VI [1798] p. 8
- John Ashton, *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1888), 31-32.
- Jones, Jennifer M.. "Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France." *French Historical Studies*. no. 4 (1994): 945.
- James Smalls, "Making Trouble for Art History: The Queer Case of Girodet," *Art Journal*, 55, no. 4 (1996): 22.
- Kermina, Françoise. *Madame Tallien : 1773-1835*. Paris: Perrin, 2008.
- Kromm, Jane. *Art of Frenzy: Public Madness in the Visual Culture of Europe, 1500-1850*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2003.
- Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa. "David's Sabine Women: Body, Gender and Republican Culture Under the Directory." *Art History*. no. 3 (1991): 406-407.
- Letzter, Jacqueline. *Intellectual tacking : questions of education in the works of Isabelle de Charrière* . Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998.
- Letzter , Jacqueline , and Robert Adelson. "French Women Opera Composers and the Aesthetics of Rousseau." *Feminist Studies*. no. 1 (2000): 88.
- Michael, Kwass. "Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France." *The American Historical Review*. no. 3 (2006): 631.
- Margaret A. Oppenheimer, *The French portrait: Revolution to Restoration, September 30-December 11, 2005*, exh. cat. (Northhampton: Smith College Museum of Art, 2005).
- Oppenheimer, Margaret A. . "The Charming Spectacle a the Cadaver: Anatomical and Life Study by Women Artists in Paris, 1775-1815." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*. (2007). <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring07/142-qthe-charming-spectacle-of-a-cadaverq-anatomical-and-life-study-by-women-artists-in-paris-17751815> (accessed April 19, 2013).
- Pellegrin, Nicole. *Les Vêtements de la Liberté*. Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1989.

- Pierre, de la Mésangère. *Dictionnaire du Luxe*. Bibliothèque Municipal, Rouen: 1803.
- Ribeiro , Aileen. *Fashion in the French Revolution*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1988.
- Rifelj, Carol. *Coiffures: Hair in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010.
- Robida, Albert. *Mesdames nos Aïeules. Dix siècles d'élégances*. Paris: La Librairie Illustrée, 1891.
- Rosenthal, Angela. "Raising Hair." *Eighteenth-Century Studies*. no. 1 (2004): 10.
- Rousseau-Lagarde, Valérie; Arasse, Daniel, *La Guillotine dans la Révolution: exposition*, Musée de la Révolution française, Château de Vizille, 27 mars-24 mai 1987, exh. cat. (Florence:Polistampa, 1987), 130.
- Thomas, George. *Fifty Years of My Life*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, LLC , 2010.
- Weber, Caroline. "Freedom's Missed Moment." *Yale French Studies*. (2001): 1-2.
- Weber, Caroline. *Queen of Fashion*. United Kingdom: Picador, 2007.
- Tussaud, Marie. *Memoirs and Reminiscences of the French Revolution, Volume 1*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1839.
- Uzanne, Octave. *The Frenchwoman of the century: fashions-manners-usages*. London: Routledge, 1886.

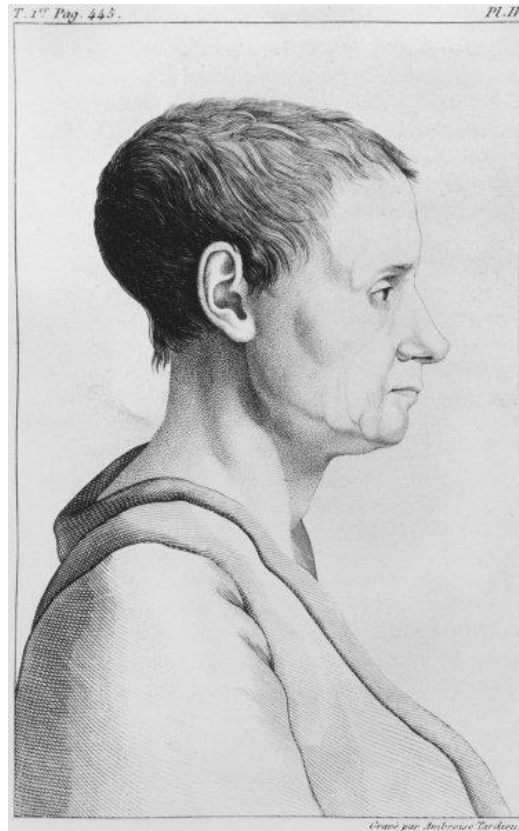


Figure 1: Ambroise Tardieu, *Théroigne de Méricourt*, from *Des maladies mentales*. Print. 1838.
National Library of Medicine.



Figure 2: “Cheveux à la Titus. Tunique à la Mameluck.” *Costume Parisien*, 393, *An 10*. Print. 1803.



Figure 3: Fashion Plate from the *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 14 Ventôse An VI . Print. March 4, 1798.



Figure 4: James Gillray, “The Progress of the Toilet... Dress Completed.” Hand colored etching. February 25, 1810. From the British Museum.



Figure 5: “Chevelure à la Titus, Parsemée de Fleurs. Collier d’Ambre. Garniture de Robe Drapée.” *Costume Parisien*. Print. 1808.

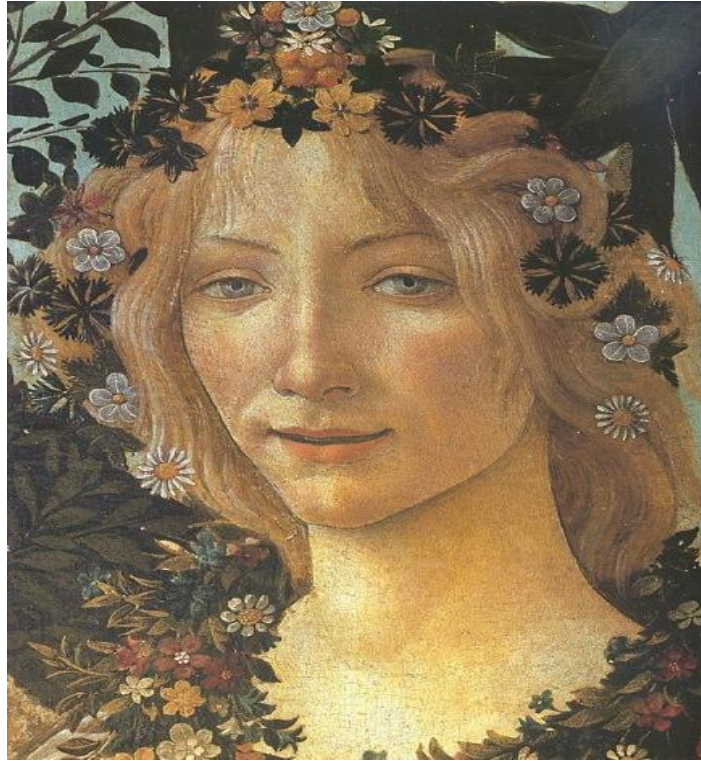


Figure 6: Sandro Botticelli, *Primavera* (detail). Tempera on Panel. c. 1482. Uffizi Gallery.



Figure 7: “Giraffe Hairdos by Croisart, January No. 710,” *Petit Courrier des Dames*. Print. 1830.



Figure 8: Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Antoine-Vincent Arnault*. Oil on canvas. c. 1805. Musée du Louvre.



Figure 9: Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Madame Arnault de Gorse*. Oil on canvas. c. 1805. Musée du Louvre.



Figure 10: Pierre-Narcisse Guérin, *Jeune Fille en Buste*. Oil on Canvas. 1794. Musée Louvre.



Figure 11: François Gérard , *Portrait of Madame Tallien* (detail of her *Titus*). Oil on Canvas. 1805. Musée Carnavalet.



Figure 12: *Coiffure à l'Indépendance* or the Triumph of Liberty. Print . c. 1778. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 13: "Le Perruquier patriote." Print. 1789. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Figure 14: Philibert-Louis Debucourt, Louis Leopold Boilly, *Madame St. Aubin*. Aquatint on Paper. 1803. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute



Figure 15: Georges-Jacques Gatine. "Les Titus et les Cache-folie, le Bon Genre No. 39," *La Mésangère*. Print. 1810. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

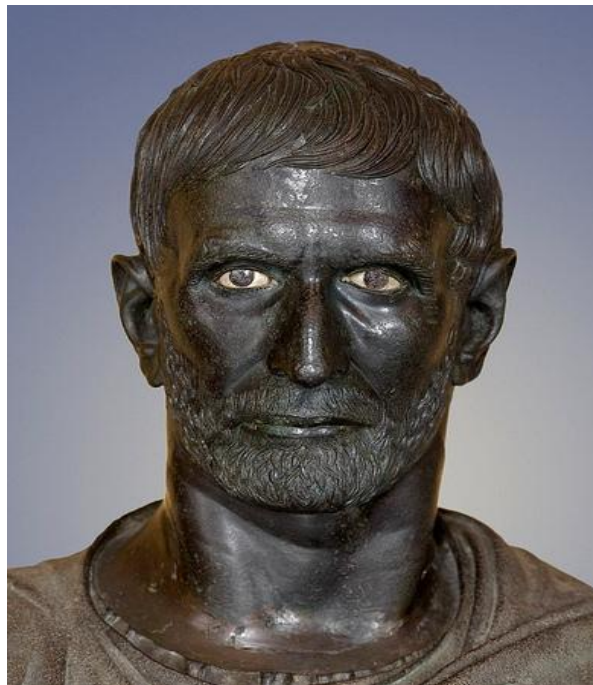


Figure 16: *Capitoline Brutus*. Bronze. c. 300 BC. Capitoline Museums.



Figure 17: Jacques-Louis David, *The Lictors Bring to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons*. Oil on canvas. 1789. Musée du Louvre.



Figure 18: Jacques-Louis David, *Oat of the Horatii*. Oil on canvas. 1784. Musée du Louvre.



Figure 19: Jacques-Louis David, *Intervention of the Sabine Women*. Oil on canvas. 1799. Musée du Louvre.



Figure 20: Carle Vernet, *Les Incroyables* (detail). Print. 1797.



Figure 21: “Croisures à la victime” from *le Journal des Dames et des Modes*. Print. 1798.
Bibliothèque Nationale.

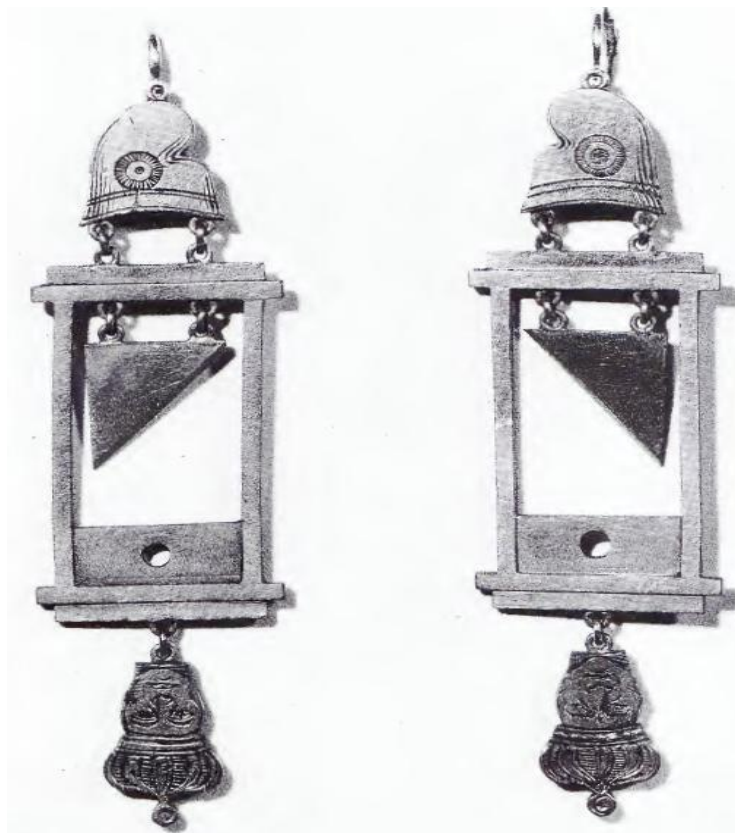


Figure 22: Guillotine Earrings. Metal and Gold. Uncertain date, but most likely from the Directoire Period. Musée Carnavalet.



Figure 23: George Cruikshank, “A Republican Belle.” Print. March 10, 1794. The British Museum.



Figure 24: Published by la Fabrique de Pellerin in Epinal, *Le Monde Renversé* (IVe planche). Wood block Print in Color. 1829. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Figure 25: Louis-August Brun, *Marie-Antoinette on Horseback*. Oil on canvas. 1781-1782.
Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

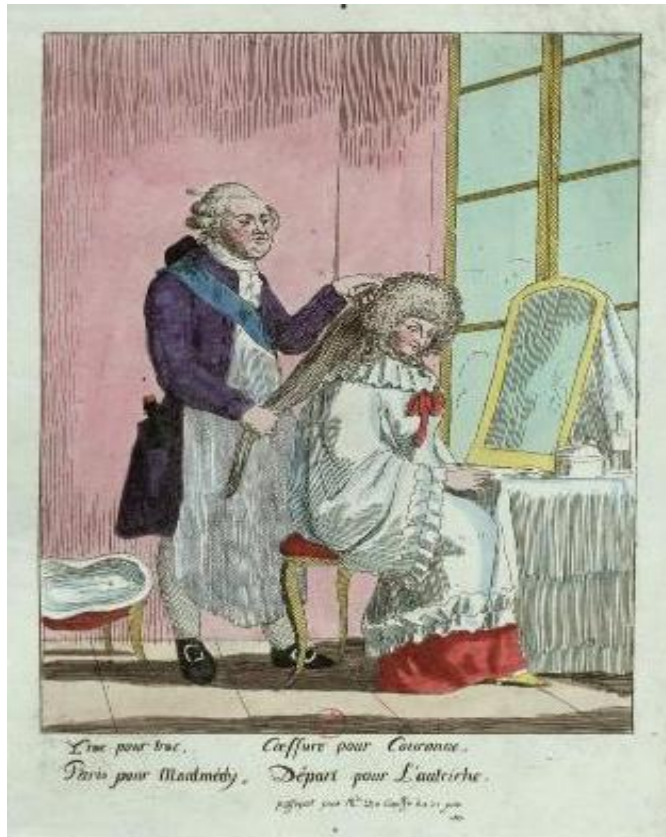


Figure 26: “Troc pour Troc, Coiffure pour Couronne, Paris pour Montmédy, Départ pour l’Autriche.” Print. 1791. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Figure 27: Bond. W. *Madame Tallien*. Print. 1803. Musée Carnavalet. Probably done from an earlier painting.



Figure 28: Jean-Louis Laneuville, *The Citoyenne Tallien in a Prison Cell at La Force, Holding Her Hair Which Has Just Been Cut*. Oil on canvas. 1796.



Figure 29: Jean-Louis Laneuville, *Portrait of Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac*. Oil on canvas. 1793-1794. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

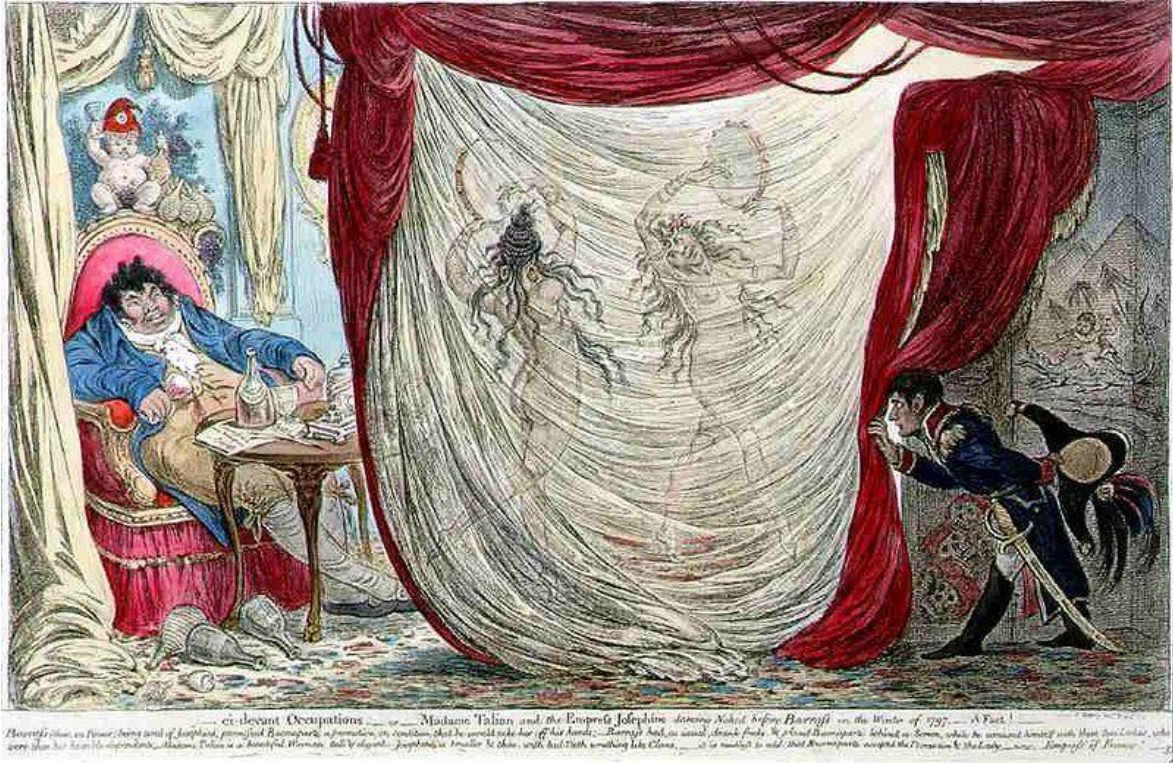


Figure 30: James Gillray, *The Occupations of Madame Tallien and Empress Josephine*. Print. c. 1805. The British Museum.



Figure 31: Anne Flore Millet, *Marie-Antoinette of Austria, Queen of France*. Engraving. 1795. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Figure 32: Jean-Baptiste-François Desoria, *Portrait de la Citoyenne Pipelet*. Oil on canvas. 1797.
Art Institute of Chicago.



Figure 33: Anne-Louis Girodet, *Sleep of Endymion*. Oil on canvas. 1791. Musée du Louvre.



Figure 34: Anne-Louis Girodet, *Self-portrait with Julie Candelle* (the “Double Portrait”).
Lithograph by E. Louis Tanty after a lost drawing. 1807. Musée de Girodet.



Figure 35: Anne-Louis Girodet, *Constance de Salm*. Print. 1814.



Figure 36: Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Madame Fouler, Comtesse de Relingue*. Oil on Canvas. 1810.
Fondation Napoléon.



Figure 37: James Gillray, “La Belle Espagnole—or—la Doublure de Madame Tallien.” Print. 1796. The British Museum.