

Writing Doctors, Body Work, and Body Texts in the French Revolution

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Abstract: This paper explores the construction of the identities of Philippe Curtius and his protégé Marie Grosholtz, known as Madame Tussaud, as providers of medical and health services, body workers, and entrepreneurs in key works that charted their experiences during the volatile period of the French Revolution. As purveyors of entertainment that derived its attraction from perceived close rendering of the likenesses of noteworthy individuals, modellers in wax required attentive discernment of bodies, or at least the capacity for imaginative descriptive skills, establishing a professional language for body work. Moreover, Tussaud's account explicitly foregrounds complex gender dynamics as a young woman interacting with the bodies of male and female clients. This essay explores how important eighteenth-century gendered conceptualizations of body work are revealed in the body texts produced in this period.

Keywords: anatomy, body, Curtius, exhibition, face, gender, Madame Tussaud, moral judgement, physician, publication, skin, waxworks

'I can boast that the first act of the Revolution began at my house', wrote Sieur Curtius in his 1790 account of his claimed involvement in the first days of the French Revolution.¹ The impresario Curtius, who ran a waxworks exhibition in the heart of Paris, is perhaps better known to us today as the man who trained a young Marie Grosholtz in wax reproductions. Some of his models of pre-Revolutionary celebrities are still on display in the museum that bears her married name, Madame Tussaud. This essay explores the construction of their identities as entrepreneurs and body workers and argues that Tussaud in particular created a new narrative form, body texts, that was both material and written and which articulated particular and exclusive forms of knowledge in and of the body. The aim of this essay is to understand these written works not for the authenticity of the experiences reported, but as constructions that can reveal important eighteenth-century gendered conceptualizations of body work, reflected in the body texts produced in this period. Lynne M. Maxwell has considered how early moderns explored 'the power of wax as a conceptual material', arguing that wax was 'integral to early modern attempts to understand human relationality and what it might mean to be human'.² Lena Graybill has suggested how spatial aspects of waxworks exhibitions sought 'to secure the moral and social legibility of the figures' and explored the role of the guidebooks in supporting the immersive experience that exhibitions offered.³ I argue that Tussaud made her written body texts more than complements to visitor engagement with the physical waxworks. It was there that she established an embodied epistemology for doing body work that operated through her senses, sentiments, sensuality, sexual appeal, and subtle appreciation of the polite conventions of society. The body texts that she produced as a result claimed moral knowledge as legible on and through visible aspects of the body.

1. *Writing Doctors*

It is in the memoirs of the almost eighty-year-old Madame Tussaud, published in 1838, in which we learn her uncle and teacher in waxworks, a man she named as John Christophe Curtius, was ‘a medical man’ who once practised his profession in Berne, Switzerland.⁴ Curtius, her mother’s brother, was already living in Paris when he called his widowed sister and her family, including the six-year-old Marie Grosholtz, to live with him there. The memoirs take care to ‘state some particulars respecting her uncle’, noting that he ‘assumed towards her the character of a father’ and legally adopted her as his child, a situation that explained her later inheritance of the waxworks business.⁵ However, the precise activities of Curtius in Berne that caught the eye of the Prince of Conti are described by the memoirs as ‘some performance by M. Curtius, of portraits and anatomical subjects modelled in wax’.⁶ Wax modelling was a valuable support to contemporary medical education, making the activities in wax of Curtius as a physician, if this is what ‘medical man’ was intended to imply, compatible and logical.⁷ Indeed, another collection of wax and anatomical specimens of diverse and variant bodies gathered by a near-contemporary, the surgeon Guillaume Dupuytren, became Paris’s Musée Dupuytren founded in 1835.⁸ But anatomy appeared combined for Curtius with portraits, and it seems that it was ‘the exquisite delicacy and beauty which those ingenious specimens of art displayed’, which struck Conti, who then offered his patronage and networks were Curtius to take up residence in Paris, promising the prospect of ‘a handsome competence in executing the order he would receive from the Parisian amateurs’.⁹ Curtius, ‘renouncing the medical profession, proceeded to Paris’.¹⁰ In two pages, Curtius’s medical work, which we learn entailed modelling of anatomical subjects, and his renunciation of the profession are concluded. Alongside these bare facts, we also gain the impression that Curtius’s key talents were his entrepreneurial and artistic skills.



1. Philippe Mathé-Curtz (dit Curtius), 18th century, H 75 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, S869. CCØ Paris Musées/Musée Carnavalet — Histoire de Paris

If Curtius was a trained physician, this aspect of his identity was given little weight in his own account of his career in Paris (Fig. 1). Curtius published one work in his lifetime, a record of his experiences during the early days of the French Revolution, including no less than involvement in storming the Bastille, to which were appended a series of testimonies of his service to the nation from his grateful compatriots.¹¹ Curtius located the beginning of the revolution two days before the fateful 14 July, when a crowd had amassed at his showroom to demand his wax busts of the recently dismissed finance minister, Jacques Necker, and Louis Philippe, then the Duke of Orléans¹² (Fig. 2). Curtius, insisting that he had willingly handed over the busts in the spirit of patriotism, also kept one eye on his merchandise, even in his narrative, recording how he begged the crowd not to do his works ill as they paraded them through the streets and later documenting the state in which they had returned to him.¹³ Here, Curtius dealt lightly with the fact that the man who had held aloft the bust of Orléans had sustained injuries and the other holding Necker had been killed, to report in more precise detail how ‘the bust of M. the Duke of Orléans had been returned to me without damage, but that of M. Necker was only returned six days later by a Swiss [guard] from the Palais Royal; the hair had been burned and the face carried the marks of several sabre blows’.¹⁴ Curtius made no report of any medical assistance he had personally rendered in this episode or others that he recorded in this short work.¹⁵ Neither Curtius nor any of these contemporary records printed with his account referred to Curtius as a physician or noted any medical work among his services.¹⁶ Instead, he was variously referred to as ‘sieur Curtius’, ‘former Deputy of the



2. Jean-Baptiste Le Sueur, *Première scène de la Révolution française à Paris, ostentation des bustes du duc d'Orléans et de Necker, le 12 juillet 1789*, 1789–90, H 36 cm, W 53.5 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, D.9055. CC0 Paris Musées/Musée Carnavalet — Histoire de Paris

Academy of Saint Luke', and 'painter and sculptor of the Academy of Saint Luke', the Parisian guild of artists.¹⁷ In the conclusion of his account of his early revolutionary activity, Curtius provided his own description of his identity:

Such were those [services] I rendered to the *Patrie*. I could only prove my zeal by the sacrifice of my time dedicated to my works. It is a loss for an Artist. I had to add to it inevitable and extraordinary expenses. I could no doubt claim pecuniary recompense; but I served my Country disinterestedly.¹⁸

Tussaud's memoirs highlight Curtius's many artistic talents as a modeller and in enamel paintings, although they suggest that his main income may have been from buying and selling paintings of the old masters: 'frequently purchasing originals at a very moderate price, and disposing of them at a rate equal to their real value'.¹⁹

Similarly, medical expertise was not foregrounded in the contemporary documentation of Curtius's working life in Paris. While it is possible that clients sought wax models of body parts as votive offerings related to their health complaints, it seems likely that Curtius worked primarily as a portrait artist in wax. The anatomy that would matter to Curtius as he moved to Paris were the faces of his rich clientele. In an insurance compensation case in which 'sieur Guillaume Curtius' was involved in 1787, when the roof of the building he was renting at the St Laurent Fair collapsed and damaged his showroom of curiosities, one damaged artefact itemized was a wax bust on a pedestal, complete with uniform, noted as a particular commission that could not now be delivered to the client.²⁰ To this, Curtius added a lucrative sideline business, putting his wax modelling skills to work to depict notable individuals of whom the interested public would pay to see a likeness.

Curtius's entrepreneurial success was such that his activities were the subject of regular reports during the 1780s in almanacs that recorded current sites and events in Paris. In his 1782 *Chroniqueur désouuvré, ou l'Espion du boulevard du Temple*, François-Marie Mayeur de Saint-Paul termed Curtius an 'industrious German' and praised his skill for 'heads that, coloured, can make you believe they are alive', heads for which 'he alone was the modeller and painter'.²¹ Mayeur de Saint-Paul made no reference to a medical background; he termed Curtius the painter and sculptor of the Duke of Orléans and suggested that Curtius had learned the art of lifelike wax models from another Parisian practitioner, Sylvestre, over whom he had gained the upper hand in the marketplace because he was economically more adept.²² In addition to his showroom at the St Laurent fair, Curtius was able to maintain a range of premises, perhaps the most famous being that on the Boulevard du Temple. Contemporaries noted that Curtius held several showrooms for his 'kings, great writers, pretty women and famous robbers', one with reputable celebrities and another, the Den of Thieves (*Caverne de Voleurs*), showing individuals of more insalubrious renown.²³ A barker was stationed at the entrance to attract passers-by, and almanacs documented his differentiated pricing structure for visits that started at just 2 *sous* but escalated to allow the wealthier closer proximity to the models on display.²⁴ Curtius evidently displayed a skill for capturing the changing mood of the times and the interests of his public: 'each noteworthy event provides him the means to enrich his cabinet'.²⁵ Indeed, as the revolution took hold, Curtius's ability to toe the fine line of a dynamic and deadly politics brought some to criticize him. The *Almanach général de tous les spectacles de Paris et des provinces pour l'année 1791* complained that Curtius had dishonoured himself in adopting a 'false and dangerous patriotism', by showcasing the latest celebrities of the revolutionary leadership.²⁶ Madame Tussaud's account explains that Curtius joined the Jacobin party because it 'offered some degree of security and protection from suspicion

of belonging to the court, then the obnoxious party', and makes clear that 'for the sake of self-preservation, for that of his family and his property, he adhered, in appearance, to that side which he knew must prevail; although he always declared to Madame Tussaud and her mother, that he was at heart a royalist'.²⁷ While Tussaud's memoirs sought to contextualize Curtius's revolutionary career, she said little about another, lucrative sideline enterprise that Mayeur de Saint-Paul suggested Curtius was running, the 'stream of little gallant and libertine assemblages that he sells to the curious to decorate their bedrooms, [which] is what brings him the most'.²⁸ It is noteworthy that the oldest extant figure in the Tussaud collection, attributed to Curtius, is the 'Sleeping Beauty', understood to have been modelled after Louis XV's mistress Madame du Barry, allowing visitors the titillation of seeming intimacy with her passive, reclining body.²⁹ The Sleeping Beauty work was surely referencing anatomical Venuses, with whose erotically charged, recumbent form Curtius was likely familiar from other contemporary wax anatomical collections.³⁰ That Curtius's entertainments bordered on the edges of propriety was also suggested in an account of religious conversion of a man whose list of former unseemly occupations included being a barker at the door of Curtius's exhibition.³¹ These contemporary accounts suggest that Curtius attempted to skate carefully the edges of respectability as well as revolutionary politics.

A key element of what made Curtius's activities noteworthy for contemporary writers was the apparent realism that he was able to bring to his wax models. A belief in the authenticity of the resemblance was crucial to Curtius's success. But, as Mayeur de Saint-Paul wondered, without viewing the original subject, how could visitors know how skilled Curtius was or how accurate his models? 'I have seen [...] *striking* resemblances to Chinese emperors, a favourite Sultana, two great warriors, Voltaire, Jeannot and Tarare, and even though I have never seen any of them, I could see by the faces of the curious by my sides that I would have been very wrong to argue about similarities against which I could not put the originals'.³² Mayeur de Saint-Paul claimed that when he questioned Curtius's representation of the full face of the Turk Tarare, the protagonist of Antonio Salieri's opera of the same name first staged in Paris in 1787, the bottom of whose face had been blown off with a pistol during his arrest, 'Curtius motioned for me to be silent, and I did so so as not to harm him'.³³ Entertainment prevailed at different levels — Mayeur de Saint-Paul was able to tell his readers that he was in on the joke and 'the good public who no more knows one for another, left most satisfied for their two *sous*, persuaded that they saw yesterday a great man at Curtius' and today that they shuddered at the sight of a scoundrel'.³⁴ If distant luminaries and historical figures were hard to verify, the same was not always true of living individuals, and Curtius took up opportunities to prove his skills. In November 1786, the *Courier lyrique et amusant, ou Passe-temps des toilettes* advised readers that Paul Butterbrodt, a Dutchman who weighed some 476 pounds, was available to be seen for 2 *sous* in the same building where Curtius was charging 2 *sous* to see his likeness in a model that was 'most true to life'. 'After seeing the copy, we were quite astonished to see in the same house and for the same price, the living original walk about his room in front of the curious'.³⁵ A visit in this sequence further blurred the lines between wax and flesh, as Curtius's wax model seemingly sprang into life.

For his contemporaries, resemblance was assured not only by Curtius's acknowledged artistic skills but also by the semblance of individuality that he created through clothing, other bodily effects, and the whole *mise-en-scène* in which the figures were staged.³⁶ As contemporary images show, Curtius's exhibition displayed figures in settings that were conceivable to the visiting public, such as, in the case of the royal family, mirroring what could be observed for the *grant couvert* at Versailles (Fig. 3). Curtius's barker was reported



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

3. The Salon of Curtius, from *Suite de onze planches pour un almanach*, fol. 7, print, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés Fol-QB-201 (123). Source: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions)]

to have called out to passers-by: 'Come in, come in, *messieurs!* Come see the *grand couvert*, it's all just as at Versailles'.³⁷ These were interactive spaces, Graybill observes, cultivating 'an illusion of presence that was reciprocal: personages were shown as though physically present, but the visitor too was made to feel present, as a witness to history'.³⁸ Curtius's 1787 inventory listed effects, military uniforms, and clothing as well as the wax models as items damaged at his St Laurent showroom. Clothing had long been recognized in pre-modern societies as fundamental to construction of identity, as it might be self-fashioned or regulated through sumptuary law.³⁹ Its use as part of the waxworks ensemble required considerable attention to detail and delicacy. When Curtius depicted a recruiter who had been hanged for theft, complaints were made about his being dressed in the uniform of his regiment, which saw the showroom temporarily closed down.⁴⁰ Later, Madame Tussaud would recount that Maximilian Robespierre had proposed that his portrait be placed next to that of Jean-Paul Marat in the Curtius showroom and that 'they should send their own clothes, in which their figures might be dressed, to afford additional accuracy to the resemblances'.⁴¹

Additionally, contemporary commentaries documented other elements of Curtius's display that seemed calculated to capture the imagination. That the wax models could act as

cyphers for their live equivalents was at the heart of why Curtius's busts could be used on parade, just as had in previous times, effigies of monarchs in funeral processions.⁴² Wax-works from the Curtius collection would be integrated into funeral processions in the revolutionary years such as in the Apotheosis of Voltaire (11 July 1791).⁴³ David McCallum argues that in the early revolutionary years, 'psychic states and political realities sometimes become indistinguishable and interchangeable', producing a febrile environment.⁴⁴ Curtius seems to have mined this rich populist ore, deliberately changing over his busts not only frequently but also in the sight of visitors. While the 'invention' of celebrity culture may be too strong a claim, scholars have nonetheless detected new energy and tools for creating celebrity by the later eighteenth century.⁴⁵ Curtius's showroom simultaneously reflected and helped to produce a narrative of celebrity culture, an unsettling reminder of the impermanence of the wax models, if not also their human counterparts.⁴⁶ Contemporary illustration even visualized the changing of the heads as a reflection of evolving political events *and* as an event perceived newsworthy in its own right (Fig. 4).⁴⁷

All in all, Curtius's medical qualifications appeared to have little bearing on his wax modelling work as they were represented in his own writings and those of his contemporaries. The identity by which Curtius presented himself within his Parisian community, and that mattered to his work there, was as an artist. In an earlier 1823 publication for the Tussaud London exhibition, *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches of the Whole Length*



4. 'Changez moi cette tête, tête d'ancien gout', January 1784, print, London, British Museum, 1998, 0712.46. © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Composition Figures and Other Works of Arts, Forming the Unrivalled Exhibition of Madame Tussaud, Curtius was 'M. Courcis, Artist to Louis XVIth, by whom she [Tussaud] was instructed in the fine arts, of which he was an eminent professor'.⁴⁸ Tussaud herself claimed to have lived at Versailles as tutor to the queen's sister-in-law, where she had 'the honour of instructing Madame Elizabeth to draw and model [...] until October, 1789'.⁴⁹ The artistic skills of the master and his pupil were, they claimed, recognized by the royal family who were 'often accustomed to call in at M. Curtius's apartments, and admire his works, and those of his niece'.⁵⁰ Tussaud's 1838 memoirs appear the first occasion that Curtius's medical background was mentioned, a work in which physical bodies came to the fore in the production of her moral knowledge.

2. *Writing Body Work: Senses, Sentiments, Sensuality, and Seduction*

The publications of Curtius and Tussaud worked to establish their significance to both the central events and figures who inspired the revolution. In her memoirs, just as did Curtius, Tussaud too claimed to be at the storming of the Bastille, recounting that she tripped down a staircase and was caught by none other than Robespierre himself, who, readers were told, commented that 'it would have been a great pity that so young and pretty a patriot should have broken her neck in such a horrid place'.⁵¹ The entertainment provided by their showroom was always enhanced by wax modelling's particular requirements for close handling of faces, bodies, and, during the Revolution, eventually disembodied parts. Detailed evaluations of male and female celebrities in these terms established a professional language for body work and functioned as evidence of their proximity to fame and power. The editor of Tussaud's memoirs thus noted that Tussaud's personal descriptions of individuals were 'likely to be far more accurate than those generally given by other authors, Madame Tussaud, from her profession naturally becoming a more accurate observer of physical appearance than others usually are'.⁵² However, resemblance could not be the overarching criteria for visitor satisfaction for Tussaud's revolutionary subjects, most of whom were long dead and few of whom could ever have been seen by her British visitors. A different kind of 'corporeal "truth"', as Beth Kowalski Wallace terms it, was being created in Tussaud's works.⁵³

As purveyors of entertainment that derived its attraction from perceived close rendering of the likenesses of noteworthy individuals, modellers in wax required attentive discernment of bodies, or at least the capacity for imaginative descriptive skills, including the health of skin, hair, height, weight, and physical comportment of clients. Madame Tussaud could thus report about the Duke of Orléans: 'having taken his likeness, and a cast from him, had a better opportunity of judging than most other persons; his features were by no means bad, but his face was disfigured by pimples and red pustules'.⁵⁴ The wax models cast were interpretive, and interpreted, body texts, but they did not function alone. They operated in part through the written narratives with which Tussaud situated them. In her written body texts, Tussaud shared perspectives on corporeal functionality that only she could observe on the living, moving bodies of individual that she encountered. Antoine-Joseph Santerre's 'features were coarse, and harsh in their general expression; his appearance, altogether, being rude and vulgar [...] low bred, and much addicted to swearing'.⁵⁵ Robespierre's 'enunciation was not good; he had not the talent, energy, nor power over his auditors', in contrast with Marat, whose 'discourse and his delivery were not of the common order; [...] his manner was ardent, impassioned, and impressive'.⁵⁶ The conversation of the elegant Madame Roland held 'an additional charm

from the very musical tone of her voice'.⁵⁷ The voice of Marie Antoinette 'even when speaking, was particularly harmonious [...] and, in her mode of expression, there was a simple elegance, which ever imparted an irresistible charm to all her conversation'.⁵⁸ Tussaud's unique observations of living physical bodies enlivened and complemented the static wax body texts her readers could view.

Tussaud's memoirs produced a unique kind of writing about body work, in which her sensory perception and knowledge of polite society were as critical as her modelling skills. It was through her specific body that meaning in wax body texts was produced.⁵⁹ Her interactions with her subjects were embodied encounters as she looked at their bodies, observed their gestures and actions, smelled their body odour, and listened to the tone of their voices as well as the topic of their conversation. Tussaud's experience with her clients echoed anatomical training in the late eighteenth century where students were encouraged to use their senses, touch, and most particularly sight, as an important conduit to information, alongside a patient's own reports.⁶⁰ As Lyle Massey has argued, anatomists were beginning to call for imagery that reflected changing ideas about 'the relationship between representing and knowing' that came from embodied practice.⁶¹ The Scottish surgeon John Bell suggested in his 1794 work *Engravings, Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints* that anatomical images should match what the anatomist actually saw in his own empirical experience with that specific body, critiquing images 'which the student can never compare with the body as it lies before him for dissection; it is a figure suiting more the eye of the painter than the eye of the anatomist'.⁶² Tussaud's body texts, made in wax and words, were likewise assessments of her subject's personal exchanges, their mannerisms, and even their flirtations with their modeller. They were produced of an embodied epistemology. No other body but her own could produce this information, and conveniently for her claims, none could verify it.

Tussaud was by no means the first woman to carry out wax modelling. In an artistic context, wax was understood as an 'amateur medium', well suited to women as easier to work and for which training could be provided in the domestic realm, as Paris Amanda Spies-Gans has observed.⁶³ Women had also contributed to anatomical wax modelling prior to Tussaud, perhaps most famously Anna Morandi Manzolini whose expertise was recognized within the academic community of Bologna.⁶⁴ Tussaud was moreover not the first woman to enter the world of commercial wax modelling. In London alone, her activities followed exhibitions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, by a Mrs Solomon, a Mrs Salmon, Mr and Mrs Sylvester, and Catherine Andras, appointed Modeller in Wax to Queen Charlotte in 1802, who exhibited wax reliefs at the Royal Academy.⁶⁵ However, Tussaud's account tapped into the complex gender dynamics at play, explicitly foregrounding her experiences as a young woman physically manipulating the bodies of (mostly) men of power, no doubt a source of titillation for readers. Tussaud's separation from her clients by only a layer of plaster bespoke the intimate power dynamics of the wax modelling process, the sensuality of which was recalled for readers through the repetition of an erotically charged phrase that France's most influential men 'submitted themselves to her skilful hands'.⁶⁶

whilst still very young, to her was confided the task of taking casts from the heads of Voltaire, Rousseau, Franklin, Mirabeau, and the principal characters of that period, who most patiently submitted themselves to the hands of the fair artist. The cast which she took from the face of Voltaire was only two months before he died [in 1778, when Tussaud would have been 17 or 18].⁶⁷

The combination of Tussaud's skill, her social delicacy, and the intimacy of her body work was expressed similarly in her appointment to teach the King's sister, who, 'from having her young protégée often with her, became so attached to her, that she applied to M. Curtius to permit his niece to reside at the palace of Versailles, Madame Elizabeth desiring to have the constant enjoyment of Madame Tussaud's society'. The royal patron, the memoirs emphasized, even had the young woman sleep in her bedroom.⁶⁸

The foregrounding of Tussaud's physical manipulation of mainly famous men was coupled with extensive anecdotes about her conversations and interactions with them, which were provided first in the catalogue that accompanied her exhibition and then in a more fully developed form in the memoirs. Many biographies of select figures were introduced in the 1823 *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches* with the phrase 'Taken from Life' and the precise date or year.⁶⁹ These stories created verisimilitude, adding to the assemblage of the figures, their clothing and accoutrements, and the settings in which the models were placed. Her description of creating the plaster cast for Napoleon, undertaken at the Tuileries palace in the company of Josephine, with whom Tussaud claimed to have shared a cell in the Conciergerie, established the character of her sitters:

When she was about to put the liquid plaster upon his face, she begged he would not be alarmed, adding an assurance that it would not hurt him. 'Alarmed!' he exclaimed; 'I should not be alarmed if you were to surround my head with loaded pistols'. Josephine begged Madame Tussaud to be very particular, as her husband had consented to undergo the operation to please her, for whom the portrait was intended.⁷⁰

Generally, the anecdotes confirmed impressions that were widely available about the individuals in question but often added startling, and unverifiable, details about just what Tussaud had seen and heard as a young woman. Hence, readers learned that Emperor Joseph II, while in Paris visiting his sister Marie Antoinette, came to view Curtius's exhibition and workroom where he smelled the family's meal of sauerkraut and determined to sit down 'himself at the table, not suffering an individual to rise from it, but joining the group *en famille*, and ate, drank, talked, laughed and joked, with all possible affability, and familiarity, making himself as much at home as if he had been at his palace of Schönbrusen [Schönbrunn]'.⁷¹ Marat, depicted as a glutton, begged Tussaud for a dish of knoutels.⁷² These publications worked in combination with the wax texts to produce meaning for body works.

In keeping with her training, Tussaud recounted not only the preferred fashion of Paris's leading celebrities — Voltaire wearing a wig of the time of Louis XIV, Rousseau dressed like a Quaker, Franklin 'with most perfect simplicity' 'in the old style' — but also their cleanliness.⁷³ Robespierre, 'fond of dress', was 'remarkably clean in his person, very fond of looking in the glass'.⁷⁴ By contrast, Marat had a 'dingy neglected appearance, and seldom cleaned himself',⁷⁵ as 'slovenly in his dress, and even dirty in his person'.⁷⁶ Readers learned that, similarly, his

manner was abrupt, coarse, and rude [...] on one occasion he came up to Madame Tussaud, and gave her a tap upon the shoulder, with such roughness as caused her to shudder.⁷⁷

Something unpleasant was insinuated in Tussaud's recollections with Mirabeau, so 'addicted to inebriety, that, before he quitted the house, he became so disgusting, that her uncle always declared he never would invite him again'.⁷⁸ The memoirs' attention to how these men treated Madame Tussaud specifically, relating their manners and courtesy to her, was clearly important in the work's claims about their individual characters.

This gendered, embodied epistemology necessarily imposed Tussaud's own body in her body texts, both written and wax, and the fact that it was female allowed her to enter into specific kinds of relations with her subjects that were revelatory.

More often, though, rough men were pointedly kind to Tussaud herself. Thus, the manners of the artist Jacques-Louis David were 'quite of the rough republican description, certainly rather disagreeable than otherwise; yet Madame Tussaud found him very good-natured towards herself, always pressing her to come and see his paintings'.⁷⁹ At dinners Curtius hosted, 'it so happened that Robespierre was generally seated next her. He was always extremely polite and attentive, never omitting those little acts of courtesy which are expected from a gentleman when sitting at table next a lady, anticipating her wishes, and taking care that she should never have to ask for anything'.⁸⁰ The memoirs, concerned to place Tussaud on the right side of propriety, even addressed potential reader concerns about Tussaud's extreme youth at this period directly.

Madame Tussaud still well recollects, that when she was but eight or nine, Voltaire used to pat her on the cheek, and tell her what a pretty little dark-eyed girl she was. Children at that period, in France, were brought forward when much younger than they are at present; marriages frequently took place at thirteen, and sometimes at twelve; a child, therefore, of ten years of age, began to exercise its reasoning faculties, acutely forming observations, and from thence deducing its judgments, in the same manner as would a girl of the present day of sixteen.⁸¹

If readers wondered how Madame Tussaud could remember at eighty what she had seen and heard of Voltaire, Rousseau, Franklin, Mirabeau, and La Fayette at eight, the memoirs had an answer:

every circumstance connected with them made a powerful impression upon her mind. But early reminiscences are often the most permanent, and when the *amour propre* is flattered by a personal compliment, it is for ever remembered and appreciated by a female, even in her days of childhood.⁸²

Thus, the casual, seductive exchanges of France's most powerful men and a pretty young woman were, readers were told, precisely those occasions that Tussaud was mostly likely to remember. Similarly, the intensity of her 'affection and gratitude for the numerous kindnesses she had personally experienced from the Princess' Elizabeth was such that 'even at this distant period she cannot speak of her without shedding tears'.⁸³ Be it flirtation, friendship, or fear, heightened emotions, sensory experience, and social intelligence combined in her female body at this heady time of extreme power flux to become central to Tussaud's account of the revolution and of the knowledge she could produce through body texts.

3. Reading Body Texts: Embodied Difference and its Meanings

As Kathryn Woods has argued, '[p]hysical appearances were key to social legibility'.⁸⁴ The physician was one interpreter of physical appearances who, as Susan C. Lawrence observed, used different sources of knowledge in 'the clinical encounter', 'mediated by social, professional and intellectual criteria underlying what could be known'.⁸⁵ Tussaud proposed herself as another interpreter from her own client encounters, in which physical appearance of the health, material, and gestural aspects of bodies conveyed the character of individuals. These interpretations had to make sense for her audience and thus reflected

relations between the mind and body understood in contemporary medical, artistic, and literary discourses.

Humoral medicine had long understood the external body to reflect internal disposition.⁸⁶ In reverse, intense passions might manifest on the body as poor health. 'Any violent affectation of the mind is more hurtful to health than any violent motion of the body', wrote James Mackenzie in 1759, especially noting the deleterious effects of fear, grief, envy, hatred, malice, revenge, and despair.⁸⁷ Physician James Parson considered whether passions shaped the muscles of the face in his 1747 *Human Physiognomy Explain'd* or, as Antoine-Joseph Pernety speculated, produced its furrows and lines over time.⁸⁸ As to the 'ferocious' Marat, Tussaud saw: 'his complexion was sallow, of a greenish hue; his eyes dark and piercing; his hair wild, and raven black; his countenance had a fierce aspect'.⁸⁹ Physiognomy, however disdained by elites such as Denis Diderot in his 1765 *Encyclopédie* entry, still held an influential role across popular and elite discourses.⁹⁰ The physician and surgeon Jean-Joseph Sue the younger published handbooks to assist artists and sculptors to study anatomy so as to understand 'all parts of the body, both internal and external, that compete [concur] to form the subject'.⁹¹ Perhaps the eighteenth century's best-known advocate for physiognomy, Johann Caspar Lavater, argued that

Rank, condition, habit, estate, dress, all concur to the modification of Man, every one is a several veil spread over him. But to pierce through all these coverings into his real character [...] This appears extremely difficult, if not impossible.⁹²

Tussaud leaned confidently into what material, gestural, and physical aspects of the body might tell her. Despite being polite and attentive to Tussaud therefore, Robespierre was revealed by being 'marked with the small pox, and wore green spectacles, for the purpose of hiding, perhaps, his eyes, which were particularly ugly, the white being of a yellow cast'.⁹³

Moral judgement was a key feature of Tussaud's body texts, in wax and words. Medical, artistic, and literary knowledge of the period filtered into her assessments of the health and beauty of highly individuated bodies as signs of moral character. Thus, her discussions of facial beauty were, as David M. Turner has observed more generally for the period, 'comparative and evaluative'.⁹⁴ Of the 'sanguinary monster' Antoine-Quentin Fouquier-Tinville, 'Madame Tussaud remembers, well, the first time he came to dine at her uncle's house, that they all remarked how very ugly he was, and how repulsive was the expression of his countenance. He was rather tall, his complexion sallow; he was pitted with the small pox'.⁹⁵ Ugliness and sinfulness were deeply connected for contemporaries, often connected to class and racial identities that sanctioned continued treatment as inferiors.⁹⁶ The countenance of David, whom the memoirs labelled among 'other monsters', was described 'as being most repulsive; he had a large wen on one side of his face, which contributed to render his mouth crooked'.⁹⁷

Similarly, physical deformity and functional impairment both signalled negative moral qualities in Tussaud's work, inherently privileging able-bodiedness to produce what Elizabeth Bearden termed a 'norming effect'.⁹⁸ Disability may have been medicalized by the inventions of the eighteenth century, but it remained no less moralized.⁹⁹ Tussaud's account revealed that most of those who stoked the most violent flames of the Revolution bore visible marks of affliction on their skin. The complexions of Mirabeau and Robespierre were marred by smallpox, while Marat's was sallow. As scholars of disability have begun to explore, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature contained a rich and diverse range of characters living with disabilities, but Tussaud's correlation between bodily and moral impairment was unsophisticated.¹⁰⁰ The physical bodies of men in

various states of underdevelopment and putrefaction bore witness to their moral decay. Emperor Paul I of Russia, who also visited the Paris showroom, was

a very ugly little man, rough and abrupt in his manners, and by no means agreeable in his address and general demeanour [who] was afflicted with the evil, and wore a very high cravat, coming quite over the jaw-bone, to conceal the effects of the malady; but still they were visible: in fact, his exterior was as disagreeable as was his character.¹⁰¹

Emily Cock has explored the cultural context of shame in Britain associated with the visible marks of syphilis that Tussaud's account embraced.¹⁰² For Tussaud, disability likewise marred the bodies of the Revolution's villains. Robespierre had a 'feeble body, delicate health, and weak lungs'.¹⁰³ Marat was 'very short, and not, as stated in a recent work on the Revolution, of middle height, with very small arms, one of which was feeble from some natural defect, and appeared lame'.¹⁰⁴ Georges Couthon's violent disposition may have been hidden by his 'placid expression, which might have deceived many', but he was 'a smiling monster', 'totally decrepit and, Madame Tussaud states, was always obliged to have a servant to carry him and even place him in his chair'.¹⁰⁵ Essaka Joshua has suggested that in eighteenth-century culture, deformity was 'more often associated with bad character than function impairment, and deformities are more often described as generating fear, self-dissatisfaction, ruthless ambition, and ridicule'.¹⁰⁶ Tussaud's characterizations made little distinction between these categories and did nothing to challenge these associations, instead tapping into a rich vein of prejudice already flourishing in contemporary culture.

Accordingly, the Revolution's heroes, in the eyes of Tussaud or at least her readers, were generally blessed with healthy bodies, represented by larger than average height, fine features, and unblemished, translucent skin, as well as, typically, elegant manners and dress. Gender and class distinctions especially influenced how the health, material, and gestural features of the bodies of women and men marked their moral disposition.¹⁰⁷ Tussaud's aristocratic heroes were favoured, such as La Fayette, 'a tall, handsome young man [...] elegant in his manners, full of vivacity and extremely enthusiastic' while Paul Barras was 'a remarkably elegant man, of a commanding figure, being much above the middle height, and having a handsome countenance, with very fine dark eyes'.¹⁰⁸ Marie Antoinette was notably 'above the middle height' and had an 'extremely fair' complexion, but so too did Charlotte Corday, whom Tussaud claimed to have visited in the Conciergerie prison: 'tall and finely formed [...] her manners extremely pleasing, and her deportment particularly graceful'.¹⁰⁹ Her complexion appeared a cypher for her clear conscience: 'she had a beautiful colour, and her complexion was remarkably clear'.¹¹⁰ Skin was the most easily accessible organ of the human body, available for all to use as a diagnostic tool and for which, by the eighteenth century, a wide variety of health manuals catered and contemporary novels articulated in moral terms.¹¹¹ Combining both professions, the Irish physician and playwright Oliver Goldsmith opined in 1774 that 'a fair complexion seems [...] as a transparent covering to the soul; all the variations of the passions, even expressions of joy or sorrow, flows through the cheek, and, without language, marks the mind'.¹¹² On the scaffold, Madame Desmoulins, 'possessing grace and beauty to an uncommon degree', 'had dressed herself with much taste [...] giving transparence to the brightness of her complexion'.¹¹³ For Madame Tussaud, character was legible in and on bodies read through gender and class (and implicitly race), in beauty, health, and gestural and sartorial elegance. That the precise exterior presentations and physical forms of individuals were in some sense causative of their character and actions was suggested by one man, Jean-Baptiste Carrier, who confounded the expectations established

across Tussaud's body texts. It was 'extraordinary, that so cruel a being as Carrier should have in his exterior aught of the "human form divine"', recorded the memoirs. Yet 'Madame Tussaud describes him as a good-looking man, tall, rather a fine figure, very gentlemanly in his appearance and manners, always dressed extremely well, and was agreeable in conversation'. All in all, he 'appeared well constituted for the purposes of society'.¹¹⁴ The scale of violence Carrier inflicted for the revolutionary cause at Nantes ultimately led to his own execution, 'and Madame Tussaud, shortly after he was executed, took a cast from his head, which she still retains'.¹¹⁵ Tussaud's written body text provided the fitting conclusion that his own physical form, exceptionally, did not.

In Tussaud's body texts, morality was visible on the body. Tussaud's intersectional construction of beauty, grace, health, gender, and class was simplistic, and it operated with unchallenged tropes familiar to her audience from literary, medical, and artistic realms.

4. Conclusions

Anatomical wax modelling appears to have formed the basis for the expertise that Curtius and his young protégé so skilfully stage-managed for entrepreneurial gain. However, the value of Curtius's professional medical identity held rather different meanings for each. Curtius's writing and practice seemingly effaced any past life as a physician, instead embracing a self-fashioned identity as a talented artist patronized by France's elite. By contrast, for Madame Tussaud, reclaiming the medical heritage of her training in her memoirs afforded respectability to her body work. This held significant value, for Tussaud foregrounded knowledge in and of the body, especially male bodies, that only her proximate body and its intimate experiences could attain. It was a practice that would create new meanings for body texts as both wax models in the showroom assemblage and their written accompaniment, in which visible health, gestural, and material aspects of bodies constituted moral judgement.

NOTES

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1. *Services du Sieur Curtius, vainqueur de la Bastille, depuis le 12 Juillet jusqu'au 6 October 1789* (Paris, 1790), p. 7: 'Ainsi je puis me glorifier que le premier acte de la revolution a commencé chez moi'.

2. Lynne M. Mitchell, *Wax Impressions, Figures and Forms in Early Modern Literature: Wax Works* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2019), p. 4.

3. Lela Graybill, 'A Proximate Violence: Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 9.2 (2010), 6 <<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn10/a-proximate-violence>> [accessed 31 January 2022].

4. Among the other mysteries surrounding Curtius is the question of his given names, which vary widely within the extant sources, as will be reflected in the essay. *Madame Tussaud's Memoirs and Reminiscences of France, Forming an Abridged History of the French Revolution*, ed. by Francis Hervé (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), p. 5.

5. Hervé, p. 5.
6. Hervé, p. 5.
7. David McCallam, 'Waxing Revolutionary: Reflections on a Raid on a Waxworks at the Outbreak of the French Revolution', *French History*, 16.2 (2002), 153–73 (pp. 155–56).
8. Now attached to the Sorbonne University. The collection's past and future have been recently analysed in terms of epistemological and ethical considerations in Claire Crignon, 'Collecter et autopsier: quelle utilité contemporaine pour une collection d'anatomie pathologique?', in *Conserver le vivant. Les biobanques face au défi de la médecine personnalisée*, ed. by Emanuele Clarizio and others (Paris: Éditions Matériologiques, 2022), pp. 61–83. A collection, *La collection Dupuytren, entre art et science*, is forthcoming from the project led by Crignon, at the Sorbonne Université <<https://humanites-biomedicales.sorbonne-universite.fr/la-recherche-ihb/projet-pare-sur-la-collecion-dupuytren>> [accessed 30 September 2022]. On Dupuytren, see Paul Wylock, *The Life and Times of Guillaume Dupuytren 1777-1835* (Brussels: Brussels University Press, 2010). Elizabeth Hallam considers the role of wax in Chapter 7 of her book: Elizabeth Hallam, *The Anatomy Museum: Death and the Body Displayed* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016).
9. Hervé, p. 6.
10. Hervé, p. 6.
11. *Services*.
12. This event is mentioned in many contemporary accounts and explored by McCallam in 'Waxing Revolutionary'.
13. *Services*, p. 6: 'Je les confiai avec empressement, suppliant la multitude de n'en faire aucun mauvais usage'. An account of the same events is provided in Tussaud's memoirs (pp. 85–90), including that Curtius had first ordered that the gate of a railing be closed to prevent the crowd from entering the museum (p. 88) and that the busts were 'totally destroyed' with only some pieces of the head of Necker returned (p. 90). *Principaux événements de la révolution, et notamment de la semaine mémorable, représentés par douze figures en taille-douce* (Paris, 1793) reproduces a claimed conversation with Curtius that day (pp. 45–46).
14. *Services*, pp. 6–7: 'Le buste de M. le Duc d'Orléans me fut rapporté sans dommage: mais celui de M. Necker ne me fut remis que six jours après par un Suisse du Palais-Royal; les cheveux étoient brûlés, & le visage portoit l'empreinte de plusieurs coups de sabre'.
15. However, Curtius did claim that that troops under his command accompanied several injured prisoners from the Bastille to the Hotel de Ville (*Services*, p. 8) and, warming the hearts of historians, that he had personally ensured that books and papers from the Bastille were deposited in the archives of Les Petits-Pères-Nazareth (p. 9).
16. *Procédure criminelle, instruite au Chatelet de Paris: sur la dénonciation des faits arrivés à Versailles dans la journée du 6 octobre 1789* (Paris: Baudouin, Imprimeur de l'Assemblée Nationale, 1790), p. 150: 'Guillaume Curtius, âgé de quarante-cinq ans, peintre de l'Académie de S.-Luc, demeurant à Paris, boulevard du Temple, paroisse S. Laurent'.
17. *Services*, no. V: Hotel de Ville de Paris; Commission de la Bastille, 19 October 1789, p. 20: 'ancien Deputé de l'Académie de Saint-Luc'; no. IX: Hotel de Ville de Paris; Commission de la Bastille, 5 September 1789, p. 23: 'Peintre et Sculpteur de l'Académie de Saint-Luc'.
18. *Services*, p. 12: 'Tels sont ceux que j'ai rendus à la Patrie. Je n'ai pu lui prouver mon zèle que par le sacrifice du temps consacrée à mes travaux. C'est une perte pour un Artiste. J'y dois ajouter des dépenses inévitables & extraordinaires'. On the 21 April 1790, he was recognized as a 'Vanquisher of the Bastille'.
19. Hervé, p. 17.
20. Archives nationales Z/j/1169/A, fols 161^r–170^r: 'Visite d'objets contentieux et estat de degradations faits en une salle scituée a la foire S^t Laurent à la req^{te} du s^r Curtius, ancien locataire', 6 avril 1787.

21. François-Marie Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Le Chroniqueur désouuvré, ou l'Espion du boulevard du Temple* (London and [Paris?]: [n. pub.], 1782), pp. 135, 136: 'Cet allemande industrieux', 'des têtes, qui colorisées, font douter si elles sont vivantes', 'Il en est, lui seul, le modeleur & le peintre'.
22. François-Marie Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Tableau du nouveau Palais Royal, Partie I* (Maradan: [London], 1788), pp. 97, 98.
23. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, 11 vols (Amsterdam: [n. pub.], 1782), III, 42: 'il a modelé les rois, les grands écrivains, les jolies femmes, & les fameux voleurs'.
24. Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Tableau*, p. 98; McCallam, p. 155.
25. Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Le Chroniqueur désouuvré*, p. 136: 'Chaque occasion remarquable lui fournit les moyens d'enrichir son cabinet'.
26. [par une société de gens de lettres et d'artistes] *Almanach général de tous les spectacles de Paris et des provinces pour l'année 1791* (Paris: chez Froullé, 1791), p. 307: 'un patriotism faux et dangereux'. Curtius's money-making on the change of revolutionary fortunes by selling a two-faced figure was reported outside Paris, noted in Supplément of Paris, 20 septembre 1791, *Journal de Correspondance de Paris à Nantes*, tome 10, première partie (Nantes: Augustin-Jean Malassis, 1791), p. 490.
27. Hervé, pp. 153, 155.
28. Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Le Chroniqueur désouuvré*, p. 136: 'Mais le debit des petits groupes gaillards & libertins qu'il vend aux curieux pour orner leurs boudoirs, est ce qui le rapporte le plus'. Tussaud does note, however, that Emperor Joseph II of Austria purchased 'two figures of Venus, modelled in wax' from Curtius (pp. 126–27.)
29. *Sleeping Beauty*, 1765, Philippe Curtius, Madame Tussauds 1794, 1989, after 1765 original <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/736081>> [accessed 31 January 2022].
30. See, for example, works by Clemente Susini and his workshop from the 1770s and 1780s, for La Specola collection in Florence and the *Museo di Palazzo Poggi*, Bologna, discussed in Corinna Wagner, 'Replicating Venus: Art, Anatomy, Wax Models and Automata', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2017, no. 24 <<https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.783>> [accessed 30 September 2022]. See also Kara Reilly, 'Two Venuses: Historicizing the Anatomical Female Body', *Performance Research*, 19.4 (2014), 111–21; Elizabeth Stephens, 'Venus in the Archive', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 25.64 (2010), 133–45; Joanna Ebenstein, *The Anatomical Venus* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2016); and for a slightly later period, Kathryn A. Hoffman, 'Sleeping Beauties in the Fairground', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 4.2 (2006), 139–59. On the contemporary, popular wax anatomy collection and display of 'La Specola' and the Josephinum in Vienna, see Anna Maerker, *Model Experts: Wax Anatomies and Enlightenment in Florence and Vienna, 1775–1815* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
31. Eugène de Monglave and Louis Guyon, *Histoire des missionnaires dans le midi de la France: lettres d'un marin à un huissard* (Paris: Plancher, 1819), p. 27.
32. Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Tableau*, pp. 100–01: 'J'ai vu avec plaisir à celui du Palais-Royal, les ressemblances frappantes des Empereurs Chinois, d'une Sultane favorite, de deux grands guerriers, de Voltaire, de Jeannot & de Tarare; & quoique je ne les aie jamais vus, j'ai cru remarquer sur la figure des curieux qui étoient à mes côtés, que j'aurois eu grand tort de disputer sur des ressemblances contre lesquelles je ne pouvois mettre les originaux'.
33. Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Tableau*, p. 102: 'Curtius me fit signe de me taire, & je le fis pour ne pas lui faire tort'.
34. Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Tableau*, p. 100: 'le bon Public qui ne connoît pas plus l'un que l'autre, s'en va très-satisfait pour ses deux sous, bien persuadé qu'il a vu hier un grand homme chez Curtius, & qu'aujourd'hui il a frêmi à la vue d'un scélerat'.
35. *Courier lyrique et amusant, ou Passe-temps des toilettes* (Paris: Knapen et fils, 1 November 1786), p. 81, 'fort ressemblante'; pp. 81–82, 'Desorte qu'après avoir vu la copie, on étoit tout

étonné de voir dans la même maison, & pour le même prix l'original vivant, se promener dans sa chambre devant les curieux'.

36. Graybill, p. 5.

37. Mercier, p. 42: 'entrez, entrez, messieurs, venez voir le grand couvert, entrez, c'est tout comme à Versailles'. The Salon of Curtius and its barker are used as a model in a contemporary satire: *Supplement au Nouveau dictionnaire françois, ou les bustes vivans du Sieur Curtius, distribué en appartemens* (Paris: Motier, 1790).

38. Graybill, p. 13. For modern analyses of how the waxworks function, see Uta Kornmeier, 'Almost Alive: The Spectacle of Verisimilitude in Madame Tussaud's Waxworks', in *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. by Whitney Davis and others (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008), pp. 67–82.

39. Terence S. Turner, 'The Social Skin', in *Not Work Alone: A Cross-Cultural View of Activities Superfluous to Survival*, ed. by Jeremy Cherfas and Roger Lewin (London: Temple Smith, 1980), pp. 112–40; Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Berg, 2002); E. Claire Cage, 'The Sartorial Self: Neoclassical Fashion and Gender Identity in France, 1797–1804', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42.2 (2009), 193–215; Lynn Festa, 'Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 29.2 (2005), 47–90.

40. Mayeur de Saint-Paul, *Tableau*, p. 99.

41. Hervé, p. 425.

42. Helen E. Hinman, 'Jacques-Louis David and Madame Tussaud', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 38.6 (1965), 331–38 (pp. 333–34).

43. Hinman, p. 333.

44. McCallam, pp. 172–73.

45. See studies by Elizabeth Barry, 'From Epitaph to Obituary: Death and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century British Culture', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 11.3 (2008), 259–75; Antoine Lilti, *Figures publiques. L'invention de la célébrité, 1750–1850* (Paris: Fayard, 2014); Cheryl Wanko, 'Celebrity Studies in the Long Eighteenth Century: An Interdisciplinary Overview', *Literature Compass*, 8.6 (2011), 351–62; Jessica Goodman, 'Between Celebrity and Glory? Textual After-Image in Late Eighteenth-Century France', *Celebrity Studies*, 7.4 (2016), 545–60.

46. On the frequent change over, see *Le provincial à Paris ou Etat actuel de Paris, Seconde Partie* (Paris: Watin, 1787), p. 36.

47. Graybill, p. 7.

48. *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches of the Whole Length Composition Figures and Other Works of Arts, Forming the Unrivalled Exhibition of Madame Tussaud* (Bristol: Bennett, 1823), p. 31.

49. *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches*, p. 31.

50. *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches*, p. 21.

51. Hervé, p. 96.

52. Hervé, preface, p. v.

53. Beth Kowaleski Wallace, 'Representing Corporeal "Truth" in the Work of Anna Morandi Manzolini and Madame Tussaud', *Women and the Material Culture of Death*, ed. by Beth Fowkes Tobin (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 283–309.

54. Hervé, p. 106.

55. Hervé, p. 161.

56. Hervé, pp. 248–49.

57. Hervé, p. 185.

58. Hervé, p. 38.

59. Considering embodiment in a different way, Laura Engel explores how Tussaud's self-portraits capture a sense of the embodied: Laura Engel, *Women, Performance and the Material of Memory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2019), pp. 107–29 (p. 108).

60. Susan C. Lawrence, 'Educating the Senses: Students, Teachers and Medical Rhetoric in Eighteenth-Century London', in *Medicine and the Five Senses*, ed. by W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 154–78 (pp. 156, 170).

61. Lyle Massey, 'Against the "Statue Anatomized": The "Art" of Eighteenth-Century Anatomy on Trial', *Art History*, 40.1 (2017), 68–103 (pp. 69, 68).

62. John Bell, *Engravings, Explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints* (Edinburgh: John Paterson, 1794), p. ix.

63. Paris Amanda Spies-Gans, "'The Fullest Imitation of Life": Reconsidering Marie Tussaud, Artist-Historian of the French Revolution', *Journal 18*, 2017, no. 3 Lifelike <<http://www.journal18.org/1438>> [accessed 31 January 2022]. A different investigation of women's body work as artistic pursuit is Beth Fowkes Tobin, 'Women, Decorative Arts and Taxidermy', in *Women and the Material Culture of Death*, ed. by Tobin, pp. 311–30.

64. For analyses exploring women's waxworks in relation to anatomy, see Rebecca Messbarger, *The Lady Anatomist: The Life and Work of Anna Morandi Manzolini* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); and Kowaleski Wallace, 'Representing Corporeal "Truth"'. I have also found valuable insights in Kowaleski Wallace's literary and new materialist analyses of how eighteenth-century body parts and body forms reflect contemporary concepts of subjectivity and embodiment in Beth Kowaleski Wallace, "'Character Resolved in Clay": The Toby Jug, Eighteenth-Century English Ceramics, and the Rise of Consumer Culture', *Eighteenth Century Fiction*, 31.1 (2018), 19–44; Beth Kowaleski Wallace, 'The Things Things Don't Say: The Rape of the Lock, Vitalism, and New Materialism', *The Eighteenth Century*, 59.1 (2018), 105–22.

65. Spies-Gans, 'The Fullest Imitation of Life'; Anita Guerrini, 'Anatomists and Entrepreneurs in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 59 (2004), 219–39; Billie Melman, *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past 1800–1953* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 33–35 (on Mrs Solomons); *At Mrs Salmon's Royal Wax-work, in Fleet-Street, 1st Room* ([London], 1763).

66. Royal hands with spiritual and healing properties would have been familiar in French and British society; see the classic study of Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch, Sacred Monarchy and Miracles in France and England* (London: Routledge, 1961; repr. 2015).

67. Hervé, p. 17.

68. Hervé, pp. 21, 22.

69. Napoleon Bonaparte, 1815, Josephine Bonaparte, 1796, those of Louis XIV, Marie Antoinette and the Dauphin Louis Charles preceded (p. 19) by the comment 'The three following Models were taken from Life, in 1790, and were exhibited for some time in Le Petit Trianon, at Versailles'.

70. Hervé, p. 500.

71. Hervé, p. 125–26.

72. Hervé, p. 196.

73. Hervé, p. 12–13.

74. Hervé, p. 251.

75. Hervé, p. 196.

76. Hervé, p. 194.

77. Hervé, pp. 194–95.

78. Hervé, p. 15.

79. Hervé, p. 278. See also Hinman, pp. 331–38.

80. Hervé, p. 248.

81. Hervé, p. 8.
82. Hervé, p. 8.
83. Hervé, p. 23.
84. Kathryn Woods, "'Facing" Identity in a "Faceless" Society: Physiognomy, Facial Appearance and Identity Perception in Eighteenth-Century London', *Cultural and Social History*, 14.2 (2017), 137–53 (p. 138); Laura Gowing, 'Marked Bodies and Social Meanings', in *A Cultural History of the Body in the Enlightenment*, ed. by Carole Reeves (Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 133–53.
85. Lawrence, pp. 156, 176.
86. Kathryn Woods, 'The "Fair Sex": Skin Colour, Gender and Narratives of Embodied Identity in Eighteenth-Century British Non-Fiction', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 40.1 (2017), 49–66 (p. 52).
87. James Mackenzie, *The History of Health, and the Art of Preserving It, Etc.* (Dublin: Ewing, 1759) p. 180.
88. London, p. ii, cited in Woods, "'Facing" Identity', p. 142; Antoine-Joseph Pernety, *Discours sur la physiognomie, et les avantages de connoissances physiognomiques* (Berlin: Decker, 1769), pp. 52–53, cited in Mechthild Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1650–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 80.
89. Hervé, p. 194.
90. Fend, p. 80; Woods, "'Facing" Identity', pp. 139–43; Melissa Percival, *The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in Eighteenth-Century France* (Leeds: Maney, 1999).
91. Jean-Joseph Sue, *Elémens d'anatomie, à l'usage des peintres, des sculpteurs et des amateurs* (Paris: Méquignon l'aîné, 1788), p. 2, cited in Fend, p. 193.
92. Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy* (London, 1789), p. 25, cited in Woods, "'Facing" Identity', p. 143.
93. Hervé, p. 251. On smallpox disfigurement, see David Shuttleton, 'A Culture of Disfigurement: Imagining Smallpox in the Long Eighteenth Century', in *Framing and Imagining Disease in Cultural History*, ed. by George Sebastian Rousseau (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 68–91.
94. David M. Turner, 'The Body Beautiful', in *A Cultural History of the Body*, ed. by Reeves, p. 124, cited Woods, "'Facing" Identity', p. 145.
95. Hervé, p. 354.
96. Woods, "'Facing" Identity', pp. 147–48.
97. Hervé, p. 278.
98. As discussed in Allison P. Hobgood and David Houston Wood, 'Early Modern Literature and Disability Studies', in *Recovering Disability in Early Modern England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2013), p. 34; Elizabeth B. Bearden, 'Before Normal, There Was Natural: John Bulwer, Disability, and Natural Signing in Early Modern England and Beyond', *PMLA*, 132.1 (2017), 33–50.
99. David M. Turner and Alun Withey, 'Technologies of the Body: Polite Consumption and the Correction of Deformity in Eighteenth-Century England', *History*, 99.338 (2014), 775–96; David M. Turner, *Disability in Eighteenth-Century England: Imagining Physical Impairment* (London: Routledge, 2012), Chapter 2.
100. Martha Stoddard Holmes, 'Embodying Affliction in Nineteenth-Century Fiction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and Disability*, ed. by Clare Barker and Stuart Murray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 62–73; Jason S. Farr, *Novel Bodies: Disability and Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century British Literature* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2019).
101. Hervé, p. 127.
102. Emily Cock, *Rhinoplasty and the Nose in Early Modern British Medicine and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), especially Chapter 1.
103. Hervé, p. 257.

104. Hervé, p. 194.

105. Hervé, p. 357.

106. Hervé, p. 58.

107. On racial hierarchies, see Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Angela Rosenthal, 'Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture', *Art History*, 27 (2004), 563–92; Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, 'Visible Bodies: Power, Subordination and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World', *Journal of Social History*, 39 (2005), 39–64; Sharon Block, *Colonial Complexions: Race and Bodies in Eighteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). On skin diseases and the immoral poor, see Kevin Siena, 'The Moral Biology of "the Itch" in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *A Medical History of Skin: Scratching the Surface*, ed. by Jonathan Reinartz and Kevin Siena (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 71–84.

108. Hervé, pp. 13, 460.

109. On the changing colour of Corday's hair and its meanings, see Nina Rattner Gelbart, 'The Blonding of Charlotte Corday', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38.1 (2004), 201–21. Tussaud was writing at a time when 'the ideal of "natural" English beauty was constructed in contra-distinction to the alleged artificiality of the French', Caroline Palmer, 'Brazen Cheek: Face Painters in Late Eighteenth-Century England', *Oxford Art Journal*, 31 (2008), 195–213 (p. 198). See also Morag Martin, 'Beauty: Painting Artifice-Cosmetic Fashions and Portraiture in Late Eighteenth-Century France and England', in *Fashion and Art*, ed. by Adam Geczy and Vicki Karaminas (London: Berg, 2012), pp. 87–97.

110. Hervé, p. 38.

111. Juliet McMaster, 'Sir Charles Grandison: Richardson on Body and Character', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 1.2 (1989), 83–102; Juliet McMaster, 'The Body Inside the Skin: The Medical Model of Character in the Eighteenth-Century Novel', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 4.4 (1992), 277–300; Sara Crouch, 'Surface Tensions: Representations of Skin in the Long Eighteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sydney, 2018). On how people absorbed a variety of these changing discourses about the body, see Karen Harvey, 'Epochs of Embodiment: Men, Women and the Material Body', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42.4 (2019), 455–69.

112. Oliver Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth, and Animate Nature*, 8 vols (London: Nourse, 1774), II, 232, cited in Woods, 'The "Fair Sex"', p. 53.

113. Hervé, p. 391.

114. Hervé, p. 407.

115. Hervé, p. 408.

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