



Fig.1 Portrait bust of François Michel le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois (1639-1691) engraved by Nicolas de Larmessin and published by Pierre Bertrand circa 1675. British Museum, London (Acc. No. O,1.112). Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

THE FIREARMS OF A MINISTER OF STATE UNDER LOUIS XIV AND AN ARISTOCRATIC DILETTANTE IN THE COURT OF LOUIS XV

by Herb Houze

Sometimes seemingly uninteresting documents offer glimpses into the past that far outweigh their actual content. For example, historical letters and diaries discussing long forgotten events often reveal new aspects of those incidents which provide a clearer view of what actually occurred. Even estate inventories are useful in this respect since they graphically demonstrate what people owned and used at particular points in time, thus replacing conjectures with facts that add to our knowledge of the past.

For arms collectors, inventories of aristocratic armories and gun rooms have long been a source of concrete information concerning the firearms used in previous centuries. Depending upon the familiarity of their authors with arms, they illustrate in varying degrees of completeness what was in use when they were compiled. As a result, they frequently reveal what types of arms were popular and if makers' names are cited, whose work was sought after or fashionable. Consequently, the publication of these inventories in whole or in part adds immeasurably to the basic understanding of the gunmakers' art.

While numerous accounts and sale records documenting English and German collections dating from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries have survived,¹ few exist concerning the "cabinets d'armes" assembled in France during the same period. Thus, the following two inventories are of more than passing importance both for their content and the disparate character of their original owners: a highly respected minister of state and a self-indulgent aristocrat.

The Firearms Collection of the Marquis de Louvois

Though first published some one hundred and ten years ago,² the inventory prepared in 1688 of the Marquis de Louvois' gun room at his Paris residence on the rue Richelieu (Fig. 2) has received little attention since from arms historians. This is unfortunate as it provides a clear indication of the arms owned by a senior member of the court of Louis XV of France.

From a quite different perspective the inventory is of

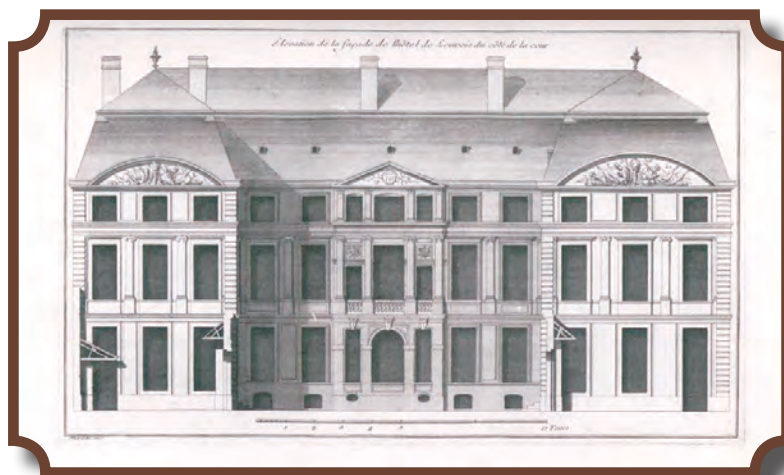


Fig. 2 View of François Michel le Tellier, the Marquis de Louvois' Paris home from its court yard that was published in Jean Mariette, *L'Architecture Française, ou Recueil des Plans, élévations, coupes et profils des églises, palais, hôtels & maisons particulières des Paris, Tome I* (Mariette; Paris: 1727). Private Collection.

broader significance due to the phraseology used by its compiler in identifying the makers of specific pieces. While the majority of the makers' names are prefaced simply by the adverb "de" or "by," some are referenced with the phrases "*de façon*" and "*façon de*" meaning in the manner of.³ While this terminology is commonly encountered in descriptions of paintings or sculptures (e.g., an unsigned portrait may be said to have been done in the manner of Gainsborough or Sargent), its presence in the Louvois inventory indicates that the construction and decoration of some arms were of a style that could be readily attributed to a specific maker. This not only reveals that the compiler was well aware of the work of those gunmakers, but also their stylistic idiosyncrasies. Though a seemingly small point, it is in fact quite the opposite. It conclusively proves that in the late seventeenth century arms produced by some gunmakers were appreciated as objects of art – something that does not appear to have been previously documented.

Born in 1639,⁴ the Marquis de Louvois, François Michel le Tellier, was groomed to a life in public service by his father, Michel le Tellier (1603-1685), who served successively as Louis XIV's Minister of State for War, Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals. In 1655, de Louvois was granted permission to assume his father's office by inheritance⁵ and on February 24, 1662, he was formally allowed to use the title Secretary of State.⁶ Less than a month later on March 19, he married one of the wealthiest heiresses in France, Anne de Souvré, the only child of the Marquis de Courtenvaux.⁷ While de Louvois was appointed Secretary

of State for War in 1666, he worked jointly with his father in that position until 1677.⁸ A skillful politician and strategist, de Louvois mounted several military campaigns that cemented Louis XIV's position within Europe.⁹

During his tenure as Minister of State for War, de Louvois instituted a series of far-reaching reforms that not only modernized the French armed forces, but also brought them under the total control of the royal court.¹⁰ Following the death of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the Controller-General of Finances, de Louvois was given the additional responsibility of overseeing France's arts, royal buildings, and manufactures.¹¹ Though extremely capable, de Louvois had a stubborn disposition and after an apparently heated argument with Louis XIV on July 16, 1691, he died of a heart attack at Versailles.¹²

To say that de Louvois was wealthy would be a gross understatement. He was rich beyond modern comprehension. His numerous estates and art collections were renowned in his day and he exemplified the power behind the French throne.¹³ The inventory of his "*cabinet d'armes*" therefore, provides unparalleled insights regarding what types of arms a senior French courtier owned during the third and fourth quarters of the seventeenth century.

As would be expected, the inventory drawn up in 1688 indicates that de Louvois patronized some of the most prominent gunmakers of his age. Of the seventy-seven individually described arms, ten were made by Thuraine, eight by Pierre Hervin, seven by or in the manner of Ber-

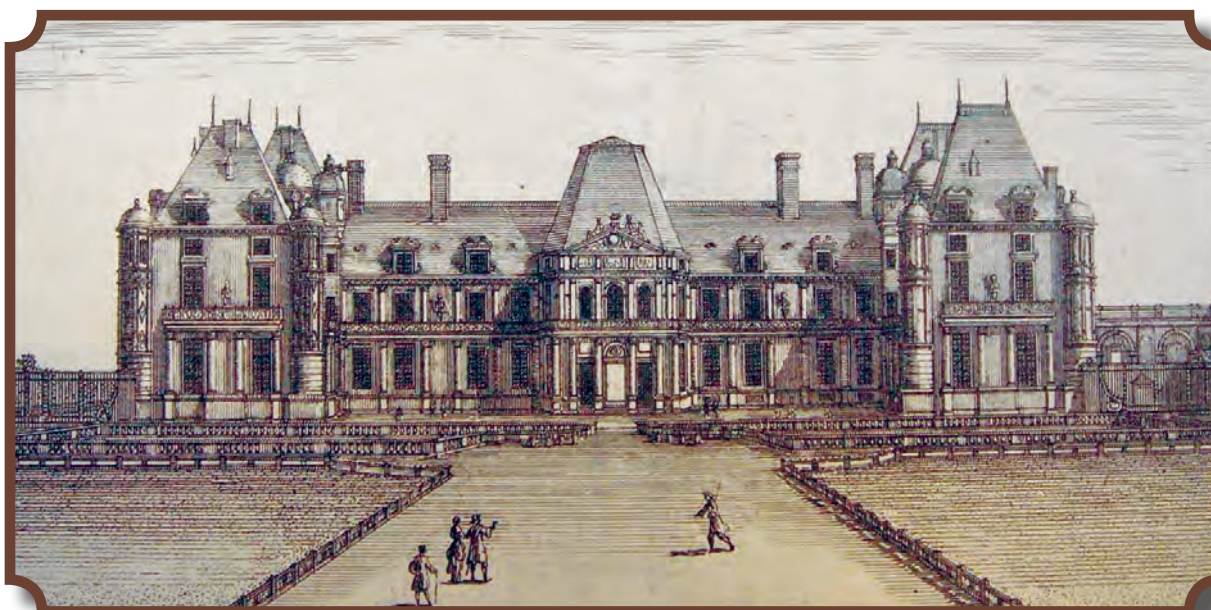


Fig. 3 Engraving of the front prospect of the Chateau de Meudon, circa 1690. Private Collection.



Fig. 4 Three-quarter length engraved portrait of Jean-Balthazar Keller (1638-1702) published by Pierre Drevet after an oil painting completed in 1693 by Hyacinthe Rigaud. While Keller's right hand rests on a cannon barrel, he is shown pointing with his left hand toward the monumental equestrian statue of Louis XIV that he cast in bronze. British Museum, London (Acc. No. R,7.22). Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

trand Piraube and another six by Hervin while he was in partnership with Antoine Berthault. In addition, he also owned pieces by Jean Casin, Des Granges, Mathieu De Foulois and Francois Mascon who are all known from C. Jacquinet's series of engraving patterns published in 1660.¹⁴ It is therefore, somewhat of a surprise to find the names of makers who must also have been recognized for the quality of their work but who are now unknown save for their being mentioned in the inventory (e.g., Basin, Hervier, Jacquemin and Muray).

While the majority of the arms listed are typical sporting arms sufficient in number to equip a medium-sized hunting party at one of de Louvois' estates (such as Meudon [Fig. 3]),¹⁵ others are less easily categorized. For example, one of the unsigned pieces appears to have been a superimposed load combination flint/match lock gun (Inv. No. 21) and another, the carbine by the unrecorded maker, Joseph Muray (Inv. No. 61), was notable for the fact that it had a silver inlaid stock, as well as a barrel set with a purple stone as its front sight.

Without question, however, the most intriguing arms are the two pairs of pistols having silver barrels that are described as having been made in the manner of Bertand Piraube (Inv. No.'s 33 and 35). Belonging to a small, but well-documented group of similarly constructed pistols,¹⁶ these pieces would have been exceptionally costly to make. From a technical standpoint, the use of silver for the barrels would also have been challenging given its relatively weak tensile strength in comparison to steel. In this regard, it is worth noting that the donor of the sporting gun Inventory Number 19 was a master cannon founder who is known to have cast silver barrels for Hervin & Berthault.¹⁷ It is quite possible, therefore, that the barrels used by Piraube were also made by the same individual, Jean-Balthazar Keller (Fig. 4).¹⁸ Whoever the barrel smith, these pistols would have represented the epitome of the gunmaker's craft and would have stood testament to de Louvois' social position.

With respect to the inventory itself, its sequencing has been rearranged for the purposes of this article so that the entries are alphabetical by maker. This change in format will allow readers the opportunity of quickly appreciating not only the types of arms made by the listed makers, but also their numbers.

The 1688 Inventory of the *Cabinet d'armes* of François le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois

Adam

Une paire [de pistolets] *d'Adam, lesquels sont fourrés.*
Inv. No. 30

-A pair of pistols by Adam which are in storage sleeves.

The maker of these pistols may have been either François Adam who is described as an "arquebusier du roi" in a lease dated April 21, 1700 (Archives Nationales de France, Minutes et Répertoires du notaire Pierre Cadot, Etude V, Minutes 1700 mars – 1700 avril, MC/ET/V/255), or, Jacques Adam of Faux in the Dordogne region of the Aquitaine (Livrustkammaren, LRK 4663).

Basin

Une paire [de pistolets] *de Basin.* Inv. No. 27

-A pair of pistols by Basin.

No information has been located concerning this maker.

Berger

*Un fusil*¹⁹ *de Berger à quatre canons.* Inv. No. 10

-A four-barrel flintlock sporting gun by Berger.

The maker of this sporting gun was almost certainly Pierre Bergier, gun and watch maker to Louis XIV, who specialized in the production of novel or unusual arms. While Bergier is the most commonly encountered spelling of this maker's name, it also appears as "Berger" in some contemporary documents (e.g., Archives Nationales de France, Minutes et Répertoires du notaire Jean Levasseur, Etude XLV, Minutes 1664, MC/ET/XLV/196 [debt due from Jacques Cailotte to Pierre Berger "horloger et armurier ordianre (sic) du Roi rue des Petits-Champs, paroisse Saint-Eustache" dated September 25, 1654]). He is perhaps best known for the series of enclosed wheellock arms made for King Louis XIII of France (Jean-Pierre Reverseau, *Armes et armures de la Couronne au Musée de l'Armée* [Editions Faton; Dijon: 2004], pp. 100-105, and; Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Antique Firearms from the collection of the late William Goodwin Renwick [European, Part X]*, June 17, 1975, Lot P2, pp. 6-9). For an account of his life before moving to Paris see: Jean-Baptiste Giraud, *Notes sur l'Horlogerie, antérieurement au XVIIIe siècle. I. – Pierre Bergier, armurier et horloger du Roi à Grenoble* (Giraud ; Lyon : 1901).

Bertaud

*Un fusil donné par Keller,*²⁰ *de cuivre doré, de façon Bertaud.* Inv. No. 19

-A flintlock sporting gun given to Louvois by Keller of gilt brass in the manner of Bertaud.

The name of this maker appears in various references as Bertaud, Bertault or Berthault, all of which share the same pronunciation. Based upon surviving examples of his work he personally spelled his name Berthault (a pair of carriage pistols bearing this signature are preserved in the Walter J. Charnley Collection at the Nebraska State Historical Society Museum in Lincoln [Inv. No.'s 8241-318 and 319, Figs.'s 5 and 6]; another pair sold at Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, Switzerland on September 6, 2007 [Lot 143]; the pair of silver-barreled pistols made in association with Hervin that were discussed previously, and; in an apprenticeship agreement he witnessed on January 25, 1717 [Archives Nationales de France, Minutes du Notaire Jean Verani, Etude LXX, Minutes 1717 janvier – 1717 mars, MC/ET/LXX/253 (apprentissage par Jean Martine de Anatolle...chez Adrien Regniers)]).

Though only a few pieces by Antoine Berthault are now known, he must have been highly regarded during his lifetime since the compiler of this inventory refers to this sporting gun as having been made in the manner of his work.



Fig. 5 Carriage pistol signed BERTHAULT A PARIS, circa 1680, in the Walter J. Charnley Collection of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, NE (Acc. No. 8241-319). Photograph courtesy of the NSHS.



Fig. 6 Lock plate of the Charnley Collection's Berthault carriage pistol (Acc. No. 8241-319). Photograph courtesy of the NSHS.

Casin

Deux fusils de Casin à visières d'argent. Inv. No. 2

-Two flintlock sporting guns by Casin with silver sights.

Jean Casin (sometimes spelt Cassin or Cazin) was active in Paris from the 1630s through the late 1650s. In August of 1657, it was noted that he held the position as gunmaker in ordinary to King Louis XIV and the Duke d'Anjou (E. Coyecque & H. Debraye, *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publique de France - Paris Chambre des Députés* [Plon-Nourrit et Cie.; Paris: 1907], p. 362 [541. Tome IV, Folio 205 "Concession à Jean Casin, arquebusier ordinaire du Roi et du duc d'Anjou"]). He married the Barbe Lefebure, the widow of the gunmaker, Pierre Odot, sometime between August 17, 1638 and August 23, 1639 (Archives Nationales de France, Registres des insinuations du Chatelet de Paris [Y//179], Vol. 94, 17 aout 1638-23 août 1639, Notice No. 915). Casin was evidently widowed shortly thereafter since a guardianship document drawn up in late 1641, identifies his wife as being Nicole Le Frais (Archives Nationales de France, Registres de tutelles, 1 juillet 1641 – 31 decembre 1641, AN Y3909C, image 859/1144).

Examples of his work are preserved in Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Inv. No. J0665 and J0666 illustrated in Torsten Lenk, *Flintlaset Dess Upkomst Och Ut veckling* [Nordisk Rotogravyr; Stockholm: 1939], Pl.'s 54, No. 4 and 55, No.'s 1-4). Ca-

sin's name appears on Plate 4 of *Plusieurs Models des plus nouvelles manieres qui sont en usage en l'Art de Arquebuzeri avec les Ornaments les plus Conuenables le tout tiré des Ouurages de Thuraine et le Hollandois Arquebuziers Ordinaires de sa Maiesté et gravé par C Jacquinet* (Jacquinet; Paris: s.n. [ca. 1660]).

des Granges

Deux fusils de des Granges. Inv. No. 4

-Two flintlock sporting guns by des Granges.

Numerous examples of Jean Chappus des Granges' work dating from the early 1660s through the 1690s are currently known (Fig. 7). A transcription of a contract signed by des Granges on July 29, 1668,



Fig. 7 Detail of the lock plate of a pistol signed by DES GRANGES A PARIS in the Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, Sweden (Acc. No. LRK 9291 [old no. 1637]). Photograph courtesy of the Livrustkammaren.



Fig. 8 Plate 3 of C. Jacquinet's pattern book, *Plusieurs Modèles des plus nouvelles manières qui sont en usage en l'Art de Arquebuzeri* published circa 1660, with Des Granges' name centered immediately above the gun shop scene. Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Acc. No. E.1048.1908). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

for a pair of pistols made on the order of Erik Dahlberg is to be found in Lenk, op.cit., page 185. His name also is prominently displayed above the gun shop scene in Plate 3 of *Jacquinet's Plusieurs Modèles* (op. cit., Fig. 8).

Devin

Quatre fusils de Devin, dont un à deux canons. Inv. No. 7

-Four flintlock sporting guns by Devin, of which one has double barrels.

It is quite likely that the Vicomte de Grouchy misread the name of this maker in the Louvois inventory and it actually was De Vie. Guillaume De Vie was granted a "petit logement" beneath the "grand galerie du Louvre" by King Louis XIV on May 25, 1661, due to his ability to create beautiful arms (Philippe de Chennevières, *Archives de L'Art Français Recueil de Documents Inédits relatifs à l'histoire des Arts en France*, Tome 3 [J.-B. Dumoulin; Paris: 1853-1855], pp. 284-285). The only other mention of De Vie that has been found occurs in a marriage contract he wit-

nessed in 1671 (Archives Nationales de France, Registres des Insinuations du Chatelet de Paris, Y//222, Vol. 137, Dates des Insinuations ²¹ juillet 1671 – 9 janvier 1672, fol. 290Vo, Notice No. 2524 [contract between Nicolas Faverolles and Marie Le Maistre, widow of Pierre Millet]).

Jacques Dubois

Un fusil de Jacques Dubois. Inv. No. 12

-A flintlock sporting gun by Jacques Dubois.

Jacques Dubois was active in Paris from approximately 1650 to 1675. A pair of double barreled over/under pistols by this maker are preserved in the Wrangel Armoury at Skokloster (Inv. No. 49. 2-4 [one of which is illustrated in Lenk, op. cit., Pl. 65-1]).

Forest

Une paire [de pistolets] de canons dorés de Forest. Inv. No. 29

-A pair of pistols by Forest with gilt barrels.

Two makers worked in Paris during the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century with the surname Forest or Des Forests. The first of these, Pierre Des forests, is known from two documents dating from the 1630s (a receipt dated March 22, 1633 and a lease executed on March 5, 1638 [Archives Nationales de France, Minutes du notaire Etienne Leroy, Etude VI, Minutes 1633 janvier – 1633 mars, MC/ET/VI/446/A, and; Minutes du notaire Guy Rémond, Etude XVI, Minutes 1638 janvier – 1638 juin, MC/ET/XVI/76]). The second, Mathieu Des Forests, signed a certificate acknowledging that Guillaume Jamin was a master gunmaker on December 29, 1641 (ibid., Minutes du notaire Nicolas Bauldry, 1641 juillet – 1641 decembre, Etude XIX, MC/ET/XIX/422). A pair of pistols by this maker is preserved in the collections of the Palace Armoury in Valetta, Malta (Stephen C. Spiteri, *Armoury of the Knights, A Study of the Palace Armoury, its Collection, and the Military Storehouses of the Hospitaller Knights of the Order of St. John* [Midsea Books; Tarxien, Malta: 1999], p. 339, Pl.'s X1-X4).

Foulois

Un mousqueton de Foulois. Inv. No. 46

-A musketoon by Foulois.

Mathieu de Foullois (also known as Foulois le Jeune or Foulois the Younger) was active in Paris from approximately 1650 to at least 1673. He maintained a shop within the precincts of the Louvre and lived in the faubourg Saint-Jacques with his wife Marie Boucher (Archives Nationales Paris, Registres des Insinuations du Chatelet de Paris, Y//193, Vol. 108, 2 mars 1656 – 22 fevrier 1657, fol. 429, Notice No. 4360). Though numerous examples of his work survive (Fig.'s 9 and 10), perhaps the most striking is an extensively silver-inlaid sporting gun that was made for Louis XIV that is now preserved in the collections of the Musée de l'Armée in Paris (Inv. No. M PO2849). De Foulois' name also appears on Plate 3 of Jacquinet's *Plusieurs Models* (op. cit.).

Jacques Hervier

Un fusil de Jacques Hervier. Inv. No. 9

-A flintlock sporting gun by Jacques Hervier.

No information has been located concerning this maker.

Hervin

Trois fusils d'Hervin à visières simples. (Mgr en a donné un au prince de Sultzbach, l'autre à Duval,²² le troisième est cassé.)

-Three flintlock sporting guns by Hervin with simple sights (Monsieur [i.e., Louvois] has given one to the Prince of Sultzbach [Sultzbach], another to Duval and the third is broken.).

Un fusil d'Hervin. Inv. No. 13

-A flintlock sporting gun by Hervin.

Un fusil d'Hervin. Inv. No. 15

-A flintlock sporting gun by Hervin.

Une paire [de pistolets] de cuivre à canon damasquiné d'Hervin. Inv. No. 25



Fig. 9 Detail of the lock plate and revolving chambers of a revolving rifle signed DE FOVLLOIS LE JEVNE A PARIS in the collections of the Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, Sweden (Acc. No. LRK 3630 [old no. 1344]). Photograph courtesy of the Livrustkammaren.



Fig. 10 Pair of pistols signed DE FOVLLOIS LE IEVNE A PARIS given to Charles XI of Sweden by Louis XIV of France in 1673, Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, Sweden (Acc. No.'s LRK 3536 and LRK 3537 [old no.'s 1631 and 1632]). Photograph courtesy of the Livrustkammaren.

-A pair of brass mounted pistols with damascened barrels by Hervin.

Un mousqueton d'Hervin. Inv. No. 47

-A musketoon by Hervin.

Une fourchette faite par Hervin pour servir au grand fusil à canarder. Inv. No. 58

-A forked rest made by Hervin for the large duck gun.

Pierre Hervin's name appears in several seventeenth-century records, the most important of which is the inventory of his estate that was proved on February 22, 1694 (Archives Nationales de France, Minutes du Notaire Louis Clement, Etude CXVI, Minutes 1694 janvier – 1694 mars, AN ET-CXVI-106, Inventaire d'après décès, February 22, 1694). In the burial record for his three-month old son who died on June 20, 1686, Hervin's place of residence was listed as the rue (street) Saint Anne in the parish of Saint Roche, Paris (Archives Départementales de Seine-et-Marne, 5MI3827, Troisième Registre, Chelles [(Saint André)], June 21, 1686 [Image 146

of 354]).

A bill submitted by Hervin to de Louvois in 1688 for cleaning the Thuiraine sporting guns (presumably those listed in this inventory) is preserved in the Le Tellier family archives at the Château de Bonnetable (Ernest Coyecque, "Les Archives Doudeauville au Château de Bonnetable [Sarthe]," *Bulletin Philologique et Historique [Jusqu'à 1715] du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, Années 1930 et 1931, p. 88 ["Entretien des armes à feu du Cabinet, dont fusils «Turainne»"]). This document may indicate that Hervin served on occasion as de Louvois' personal gunsmith.

Hervin & Bertaud

Trois paires de pistolets d'Hervin et Bertaud. (Elles servent à Mgr.) Inv. No. 23

-Three pair of pistols by Hervin and Bertaud (for Louvois' use).

Based upon surviving examples of their work, Pierre Hervin and Antoine Bertaud/Berthault worked in partnership during the 1680s (see note 17).

Jacquemin

Un fusil de la façon de Jacquemin à Besançon. Inv. No. 20

-A flintlock sporting gun in the manner of Jacquemin in Besançon.

No information has been located concerning this maker.

Lupy

Un fusil de Lupy (il sert à Mgr). Inv. No. 14

-A flintlock sporting gun by Lupy (in use by Louvois).

The only information concerning the maker of this sporting gun, Pierre Lupy, involves the marriage of his daughter on September 14, 1677 (Archives Nationales de France, Minutes du Notaire Pierre Savallete, Etude CV, Minutes 1677 septembre – 1677 décembre, MC/ET/CV/880 [marriage of Jean Marie Foussard to Marie Lupy, daughter of Pierre Lupy, “maître arquebusier” and Françoise Capet, September 14, 1677]).

Macon

*Un grand fusil de Macon à canards*²³ Inv. No. 11

-A large flintlock duck gun by Macon.

François Mascon (sometimes spelt Macon) was born sometime prior to 1620, as he married for the first time on September 5, 1641 (Archives Nationales de France, Minutes du Notaire Thomas Cartier, Etude XIII, Minutes 1641 juillet – 1641 decembre, MC/ET/XIII/34 [September 5, 1641 - marriage of François Macon, “arquebusier,” to Barbe Legay, widow of Jullien Vanlagert, gunmaker]). He was appointed “arquebusier du roi” prior to November 15, 1645, since he was listed with that title in the apprenticeship papers of Jacques Vologè (Archives Nationales de France, Minutes du Notaire Nicolas Cartier, Etude XVIII, Minutes 1645 juin – 1645 decembre, MC/ET/XVIII/4 [November 15, 1645]). As another apprenticeship agreement involving Jacques Rousseau dated June 29, 1643, simply refers to Macon as an “arquebusier” (Thomas Cartier, op.cit., MC/ET/XIII.37), the royal appointment evidently was awarded sometime after that date. Macon’s name ap-

pears on Plate 4 of Jacquinet’s pattern book (op.cit.).

Joseph Muray

Une carabine a choc dont l’affust est garny d’argent, une pierre violette sur le guidon du canon, façon de Joseph Muray, avec sa baguette garni d’argent par le gros bout et un tire-bourre d’argent. Inv. No. 61

-A snaphaunce carbine in the manner of Joseph Muray the stock of which is decorated with silver, a purple stone inlaid along the top flat of the barrel serving as the front sight, the head of the ramrod is of silver and the worm is of silver.

No information has been located concerning this maker, ; however, his name suggests that he was most likely a foreigner, possibly of Scottish origin.

Piraube

Un fusil livre par Pinraube [sic], monté de bois d’érable avec visière d’argent. Inv. No. 18

-A flintlock sporting gun delivered by Pinraube [sic] with a maple stock and silver sights.

*Une paire [de pistolets] à canons d’argent, façon de Piraube. (Mgr les a donnés au duc de Villeroy)*²⁴ Inv. No. 33

-A pair of pistols with silver barrels, in the manner of Piraube (Monsieur gave these to the Duke de Villeroy. [Fig.’s 11-13])

Une paire de pistolets garnis d’argent de rapport, sciselez de reliefs, avec fourreaux brodés d’or et d’argent et les faux fourreaux de même. Inv. No. 34

-A pair of pistols by the same maker, chiseled with relief work and accompanied by holsters embroidered in gold and silver and storage sleeves.

Une paire de pistolets à canons d’argent sciselez de la façon de Piraube. Inv. No. 35

-A pair of pistols with silver barrels chiseled with decoration in the manner of Piraube.

Bertrand Piraube was awarded a logement in the Galleries du Louvre on January 25, 1670 (*Nouvelles Archives de L’Art Français Recueil de Documents*



Fig. 11 Three-quarter length portrait of Francois de Neufville, duc de Villeroy (1644-1730) engraved by Gerhard Edelinck after an oil painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud. Private Collection.

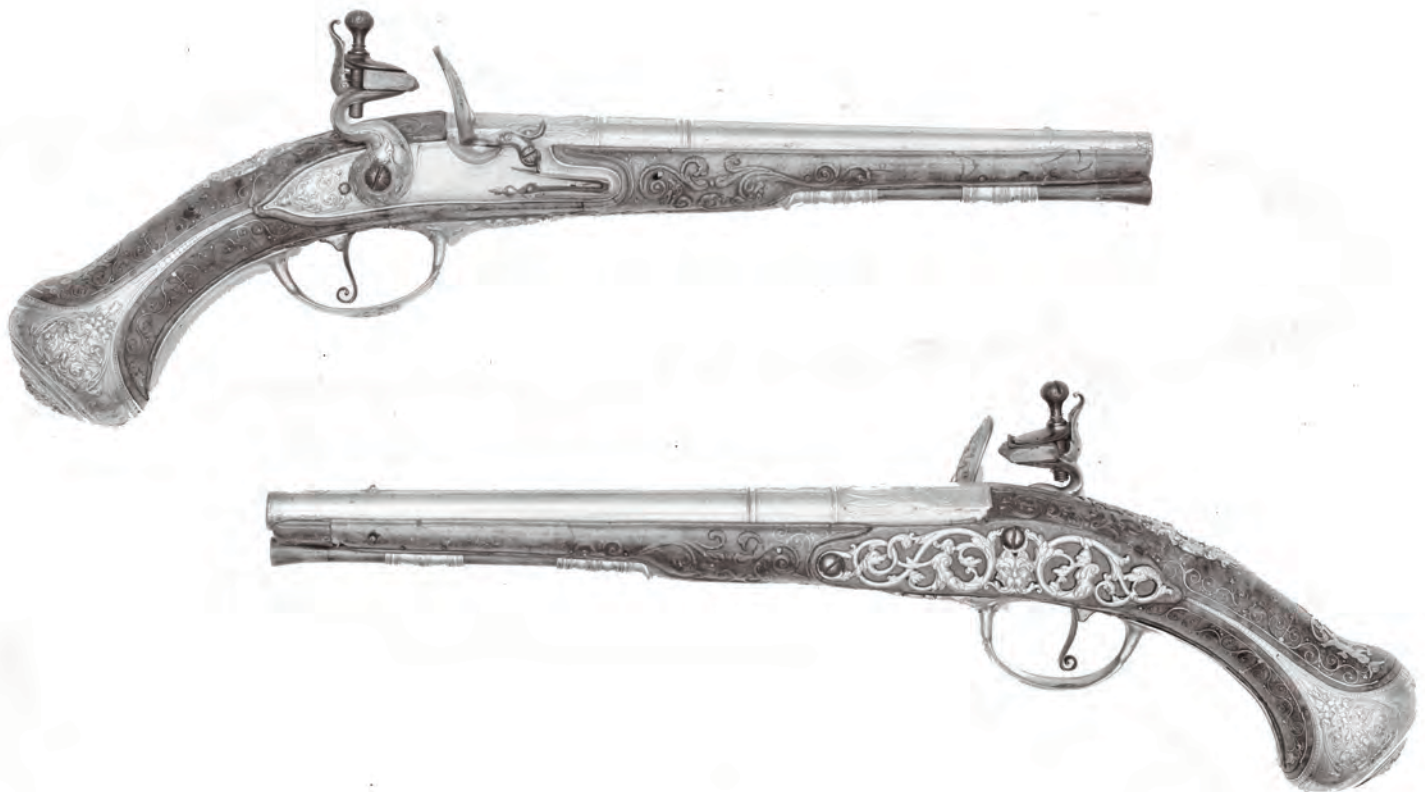


Fig. 12 Pair of carriage pistols signed PIRAVBE.AVX.GALLERIES.A PARIS, ca. 1676, having gilt silver barrels and mounts in the Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, Sweden (Acc. No.'s LRK 4281 and LRK 4281 [old no.'s 4072 and 4073]). It is likely that these pistols closely resemble those given by Louvois to the duc de Villeroy. Photograph courtesy of the Livrustkammaren.



Fig. 13 Detail of the counter or side plate of one of the Piraube silver-barreled carriage pistols in the Livrustkammaren that are illustrated in Fig. 13. Photograph courtesy of the Livrustkammaren.

Inédits publiés par la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français Année 1873 [J. Baur; Paris : 1873], p. 73) and for the next four and a half decades was primarily responsible for making the firearms distributed as gifts by Louis XIV (Fig.14). Due to his position and more importantly, the quality of his work, Piraube achieved considerable fame during his lifetime. Some measure of this is demonstrated by the fact that he was specifically mentioned by name in some of the press accounts of the era – a distinction that appears to be unique among gunmakers of the late seventeenth century period. In 1686, he was specifically credited with having made a four-shot sporting gun that could be fired under water which was presented by the City of Paris to the Dauphin of France (*Voyage des Ambassadeurs de Siam en France* [T. Girard; Paris: 1686], pp. 312-313) and in April of the following year the *Mercurie Galant* noted that he was responsible for making the majority of the arms given to the Siamese envoys then visiting the court of Louis XIV (“Liste des Presens pour le Roy de Siam, pour la Princesse Reine, pour Monsieur Constance; et pour les ambassadeurs qui sont venus en France,” *Mercurie Galant Dedié à Monsieur Le Dauphin*, April 1687, p. 142).

The richness of the arms produced by Piraube for the royal court is hinted at in payment warrents issued for his work. For example, on July 7, 1682, Louis XIV authorized his treasurer, Estienne Jehan-

not, to pay Piraube for the following that had been made for presentation to the King of Morocco.

...2620 livres pour deux fusils et quatre paires de pistollets, sçavoir: 660 livres pour un grand fuzil double , enrichy de figures or et argent en relief; 550 livres pour un autre fusil, aussy enrichy de figures or et argent de relief ; 660 livres pour une paire de pistollets enrichie d'or de raport, bas-relief et cizelure ; 400 livres pour une paire de pistolets aussy enrichie d'or de relief et graveures en taille-douce ; et 350 livres pour deux paires de pistollets ornées de relief et graveure, à raison de 175 livres la paire. [...2620 livres for two sporting guns and four pairs of pistols, namely: 660 livres for a large sporting gun enriched with gold and silver figures in relief; 550 livres for another sporting gun also enriched with gold and silver figures in relief; 660 livres for a pair of pistols enriched with inlaid gold, bas-reliefs and chiseling; 400 livres for a pair of pistols also enriched with gold relief work and engraving; and 350 livres for two pairs of pistols decorated with relief work and engraving, at 175 livres per pair.] (Lt-Col. H. de Castries, *Les Sources Inédites de L'Histoire Du Maroc, Deuxième Série – Dynastie Filalienne, Archives et Bibliothèques de France, Tome II* [Paul Geuthner ; Paris : 1924], p. 239)

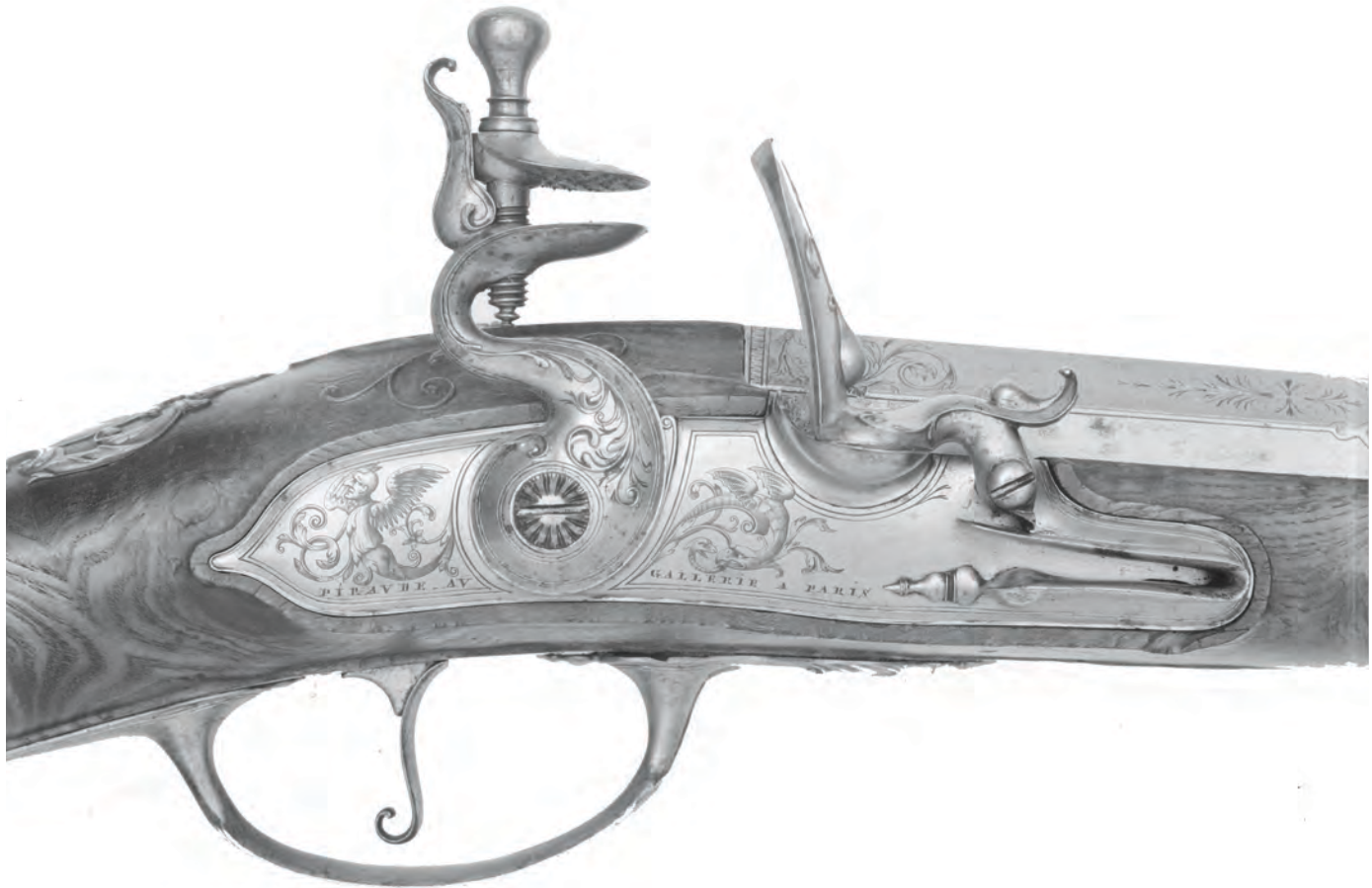


Fig. 14 Detail of the lock of a sporting gun signed **PIRAVBE AV GALLERIE A PARIS** originally owned by Charles XI of Sweden in the Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, Sweden (Acc. No. LRK 3627 [old no. 1337]). Photograph courtesy of the Livrustkammaren.

Vincent De Thou

Un fusil de Vincent de Thou, à visière. Inv. No. 6

-A flintlock sporting gun by Vincent de Thou with sights.

Une paire [de pistolets] de Vincent de Thou. Inv. No. 28

-A pair of pistols by Vincent de Thou.

No information has been located concerning this maker.

Turenne

Huit fusils de Turenne, dont quatre à visières et quatre à canons simples. (Monseigneur en a trois et a donné le quatrième à Boulogne) Inv. No. 1

-Eight flintlock sporting guns by Turenne (i.e., Thuraine) of which four have sights and four have plain barrels (Monsieur has three and the fourth was given to Boulogne.²⁵)

Une paire [de pistolets] de Turenne tout damasquinée.
Inv. No. 24

-A pair of pistols by Turenne (i.e., Thuraine) that are fully damascened.

In common with other makers discussed earlier in this article, Thuraine's name was frequently spelled phonetically. As a result it appears variously as Thurayne, Thuraine, Thurenne, Turraïne, and Turenne, sometimes in the same sources. For example, on the title page of Jacquinet's *Plusieurs Models* (op. cit.) it appears as Thuraine, while on Plates 4 and 8 the spelling is given as Turenne. Surviving examples of his work are, however, invariably signed Thuraine (Fig.'s 15 and 16).

For at least part of his career he worked with Jacques Reynier and later his son, Adrien, who were both called Le Hollandois (Jacquinet, op. cit. and Fig. 17).²⁶ As other arms are signed "Les Thuraine" (Fig.'s 18 and 19), he apparently also worked with another member of his family.



Fig. 15 Detail of the lock plate of a pistol signed THVRAINE A PARIS, circa 1669, in Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, Sweden (Acc. No. LRK 4542 [old no. 1645]). Photograph courtesy of the Livrustkammaren.



Fig. 16 Reversed image of an inked impression taken of a lock plate signed THVRAINE A PA[RIS]. Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Acc. No. E.1912.1946). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 17 Reversed image of an inked impression of a lock plate signed THVRAINE ET LE HOLL[ANDOIS]. Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Acc. No. E.1911.1946). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 18 Reversed image of an inked impression of a lock plate signed LES THVRAINES A PARIS. Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Acc. No. E.1913.1946). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 19 Reversed image of an inked impression of a counter or side plate believed to be en suite with the impression illustrated in Fig. 16. Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Acc. No. E.1917.1946). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Jacques Le Val

Un fusil de Jacques Le Val. Inv. No. 5

-A flintlock sporting gun by Jacques Le Val.

Une paire [de pistolets] de Jacques Leval. Inv. No. 26

-A pair of pistols by Jacques Leval.

No information has been located concerning this maker.

Unattributed or Unsigned Pieces

Un fusil sans nom. Inv. No. 8

-An unsigned sporting gun.

Un fusil donné par M. Titon,²⁷ monté de bois de fresne, ou sont les armes de Mgr. Inv. No. 16,

-A flintlock sporting gun given to Louvois by M. Titon with an ash stock upon which are the coat-of-arms of Louvois.

Un fusil à canarder, de 8 pieds de long, donné à Mgr. (Il est entre les mains de Mgr.) Inv. No.

-A flintlock duck gun eight feet in length that was given to Louvois. (It is in the hands of Louvois.)

Un fusil à deux coups, ou il y a une batterie et un serpentin damasquiné d'or sur le canon. Inv. No. 21

-A two shot flint and matchlock sporting gun where there is a single lock having a match holder, the barrel damascened in gold.

Deux paires [de pistolets] à rouet, l'une d'Allemagne, l'autre de Lion. Inv. No. 31

-Two pairs of wheellock pistols, one from Germany and the other from Lyon.

Une paire de pistolets de poche. Inv. No. 32

-A pair of pocket pistols.

Deux paires de pistolets de mequelets avec les ceintures, un poignard, un couteau. Inv. No. 36

-Two pairs of miquelet pistols with their belts, dagger and hunting sword.

Une grande canardière garnie de son affût. Inv. No. 44

-A large duck gun with a decorated stock.

Un mousqueton garni d'argent, que des capitaines suisses ont donné à Mgr. Inv. No. 57

-A silver-mounted musketoon given to Louvois by the Swiss captains.

Une carabine à choc dont l'affût est de cuivre. Inv. No. 62

-A snaphaunce carbine with a stock made of brass.

Plusieurs vieux mousquets dont il y a plusieurs sans feu ni serpentin. Inv. No. 67

-Several old muskets of which some have neither flints nor serpentines.

In addition the inventory records:

Une batterie d'Allemagne. Inv. No. 45

-A German gun lock.

Six canons de fusil, venus pour Monseigneur le 27 décembre 1683. Inv. No. 22

-Six sporting gun barrels purchased by Louvois on December 27, 1683.

Sept canons qui ne sont point montez. Inv. No. 48

-Seven barrels that have yet to be mounted.

Un grand canon de buttière doré. Inv. No. 54

-A gilt target rifle barrel.

Une double bayonnette à mettre au bout d'un fusil. Inv. No. 37

-A twin bladed (or double-edged) plug bayonet.

The Firearms Owned by Bonnier de la Mosson

In virtually every respect, Joseph Bonnier de la Mosson the younger was the polar opposite of the Marquis de Louvois. Born on September 6, 1702, to Joseph Bonnier, treasurer of the Province of Languedoc, and Secretary to Louis XV, Joseph the younger led a life of indolence, profligacy and unrestrained self-indulgence.

In all fairness, however, it should be said that Joseph Bonnier de la Mosson's dissolute life might have taken a different turn had his father lived further into his son's majority. The reason for this speculative assumption lies in the fact that Joseph Bonnier had arranged for his heir to pursue a military career. Serving first as a *Maitre de Camp de Cavalerie* and then *Marechal General des Logis des Camps & Armées* (quarter master of cavalry and quarter master general of the French Armies²⁸), de la Mosson evidently displayed an aptitude, as well as an interest, in military affairs. Consequently, in January of 1725, Joseph Bonnier purchased one of France's most prestigious regiments for his son in January of 1725: *le Régiment du Dragons du Dauphin*.²⁹ Unfortunately, de la Mosson's association with the army was cut short by his father's sudden death on November 15, 1726.³⁰ Having inherited the responsibilities of Treasurer for Languedoc, he was compelled to relinquish command to someone who could devote his

energies to its assigned duties and upkeep. Consequently, he sought and secured approval from Louis XV to sell the regiment to the Marquis de Vassé in early 1727.³¹

Flush with an inherited fortune estimated by a contemporary at ten to twelve million livres,³² a substantial source of income from Languedoc and after his mother's death in August of 1727,³³ the absence of any parental control, de la Mosson embarked upon a spending spree that was truly monumental. Vast sums of money were expended on the construction and furnishing on what was to become known as the Chateau de la Mosson in Montpellier, as well as the purchase of the Vicomte de Villemar's title.³⁴ Among his other excesses was a hundred course dinner held to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin in 1729.³⁵

It also became quickly apparent that in his private life he was equally as reckless. Smitten by the opera singer, Mademoiselle Petitpas, he installed her as the mistress of the Château de la Mosson and only when threatened with excommunication by the local bishop, did he take her as his wife. However, not content with that liaison, he subsequently courted the Marquise de Fleury by whom he had an illegitimate son. Following Mlle. Petitpas' death he married Constance Gabrielle Magdeleine de Monceil de Louraille on August 15, 1740, and it was from this union that his only surviving heir, a daughter, was born.³⁶

If Bonnier de la Mosson had one abiding passion during his life, it was a love of natural and theoretical science. Driven by an interest to increase his knowledge of those subjects, he assembled one of the largest collections of scientific instruments, natural history specimens, curiosities, and related objects that were ever privately put together in France. Such was the devotion to these pursuits that his widow chose to have him memorialized by the artist, Jean-Marc Nattier, in a posthumous portrait where he is depicted sitting at a table holding an open book with portions of his collections in the background (Fig. 20).³⁷

Fig. 20 Seated portrait of Joseph Bonnier de la Mosson the Younger, by Jean-Marc Nattier that was commissioned by Mosson's widow in 1745. Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art (Acc. No. 1961.9.30). Photograph courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.



That she wished to have him remembered in this manner certainly demonstrates an appreciation and acceptance on her part of the fascination the sciences held for her late husband.

Despite holding the position of “*Bailly & Capitaine des Chasses de la Varenne des Tuilleries, Plaine de S. Denis, Pont de S. Cloud & dépendances*” (Bailiff and Master of the Royal Hunting Grounds at the Tuileries, the plain of St. Denis, Bridge of St. Cloud and its dependencies)³⁸ and having an apparent interest in hunting,³⁹ Bonnier de la Mosson owned surprisingly few firearms. Those he did possess, however, were by some of the best gunmakers of his and his father’s eras, most notably Chasteau, Gruché, Laroche, and Le Hollandois.

These arms, along with his extensive library and scientific collections were all sold at auction shortly after de la Mosson’s death on July 26, 1744, to satisfy his creditors.⁴⁰ It is from the sale catalogues published by Edmé-François Gersaint, however, that we are now able to document de la Mosson’s arms collection.⁴¹ Listed *en bloc* as Lot 594,⁴² the catalogue entry concluded with the note that further details concerning the sporting guns would be provided on the day of their sale (“*Ces fusils seront tous détaillés à la vente*”), but sadly, no record of these comments appears to have survived. What follows is a transcription of the descriptions recorded in Lot 594 rearranged alphabetically by their maker’s names, if known, together with comments about those artisans.

Chasteau

Un magnifique Fusil à canon, & ornemens d’acier damasquinés en or; marqué, fait par Château. Ce Fusil a été donné par seu Monseigneur à Monsieur le Comte de Rion Colonel du Régiment Dauphin, qui le céda à seu Monsieur Bonnier de la Mosson, quand il eut obtenu du Roi l’agrément pour l’achat de ce même Régiment.

-A magnificent sporting gun with gold damascened barrel and mounts; marked, made by Château. This gun was given by Monseigneur (i.e., the Dauphin of France) to the Count of Rion, Colonel of the Dauphin’s Regiment, who in turn gave it to Bonnier de la Mosson when the King (Louis XV) approved Mosson’s purchase of the regiment.

As Sicaire Antonin Armand Auguste Nicolas D’Aydie, Comte de Rions, became colonel of the

Régiment de Dragons du Dauphin on March 8, 1718, it can be assumed that this sporting gun was given to him by the future Louis XV who had assumed the title of Dauphin after his older brother’s death in 1712. The 1718 date also allows the maker to be identified as Alexandre Chasteau who had succeeded his father Claude in 1711 (Claude Masson’s first wife, Louise, was the daughter of the gunmaker Alexandre Masson [Archives Nationales de France, Minutes et répertoires du notaire Jules Malingre, Etude XIII, Minutes 1684, juillet – 1684 décembre, MC/ET/XIII/103 (Inventaire après le décès de Alexandre Masson, October 7, 1684)]. Claude’s second wife and Alexandre’s mother was Catharine Auger, who died in 1699 [Archives Nationales de France, Minutes et répertoires du notaire Pierre de Clersin, Etude VI, Minutes 1699, janvier – 1699, juin, MC/ET/VI/610 (Inventaire après le décès de Catharine Auger, January 28, 1699)]. He then married Elizabeth Donnery who survived him [Archives Nationales de France, Registre de clôtures d’inventaires après décès, 1710-1717, AN Y5335, Image 91/411, September 11, 1711]. The Chasteau family maintained their residence and shop on the Rue Sts. Peres in the Faubourg St. Germain of Paris from the late 17th through the third quarter of the 18th centuries (as evidenced by a trade card issued by François-Alexandre Chasteau dated 1750 that is in the collections at Waddeson [Inv. No. 3686.1.63.117]).⁴³ In addition, both Claude and Alexandre held appointments as “arquebusier du Cabinet du Monsieur” or gunmaker to the Dauphin during their lifetimes ([Archives Nationales de France, Registres de tutelles, 01/01/1683 – 02/28/1683, AN Y3996A, January 27, 1683, image 836/1418]).

Gruché

Un autre beau Fusil, aussi à canon & ornemens d’acier damasquinés en or. Ce dernier est marqué, fait par Gruché.

-Another beautiful sporting gun also with a barrel and mounts damascened in gold. The last is signed, made by Gruché.

So little is known about Gruché that even his given name is the subject of speculation. What is clear is that he was a gunmaker of exceptional talent who produced arms equal in quality to his more famous contemporary, Bertrand Piraube (e.g., the exquisitely

decorated sporting gun now preserved in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich [Schalkhauser, op. cit., pp. 260-262 and Pl. XIV opposite p. 256] and the example in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. A1674).

For some time it has been generally accepted that he moved to England following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October of 1685, since a “Sr Pierre Gruchet Arquebusier de la paroisse de St Anne Westminster demeurant en Compton Street” (Sieur Pierre Gruchet gunmaker of the parish of St. Anne’s Westminster living in Compton Street) married Marie des Champs on April 4, 1699 (Public Record Office, RG4 Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths, Foreign Churches, French Protestant, Piece 4550, Hungerford Chapel, Hungerford Market, London, p. 40v [old no. 80] – the groom’s surname was spelled phonetically by the chapel’s minister since the entry itself was signed in a clear hand “Pierre Gruché”). In the absence of any other records indicating this individual’s age or place of birth, it cannot be stated with any degree of certainty that he was one-in-the-same as the gunmaker named Gruché who worked in Paris.

Since all of Gruché’s known arms predate de la Mosson’s lifetime by several decades, it is possible this sporting gun may have originally belonged to his father, Joseph Bonnier.

La Roche

Neuf autres Fusils faits & garnis très-proprement en argent par le sieur la Roche, parmi lesquels il y a un de conséquence qui est à canon d’Espagne. Tout le monde connoît la rareté & la bonté de ces canons.

-Nine other sporting guns very nicely mounted in silver by sieur la Roche, among which is one of consequence that has a Spanish barrel. All the world recognizes the rarity and strength of these barrels.

Deux autres jolis Fusils de femme, dont l’un est fait par le sieur la Roche ...

-Two other attractive sporting guns for a woman, of which one is made by sieur la Roche. [(For the second gun listed in this entry see le Hollandois below).]

Since Gersaint cites the maker singularly, these arms

were probably made by Jean-Baptiste La Roche. For a detailed account of this maker and his brother, Saveur, see this author’s forthcoming article “Les La Roche – Gunmakers to Louis XV of France,” scheduled for publication in *Man at Arms* this year (Fig.’s 21 and 22).

Le Hollandois

Un autre beau Fusil à deux coups; marqué, fait par le Hollandois.

-Another beautiful double barrel sporting gun made by le Hollandois.

Deux autres Fusils, aussi très-propres, faits par le Hollandois.

-Two other sporting guns, also

Deux autres jolis Fusils de femme ... & l’autre par le Hollandois.

-Two other attractive sporting guns for a woman ... and the other by Le Hollandois.

The surname of the several gunmakers who signed their work with the sobriquet, “Le Hollandois,” is variously recorded as having been Regnier, Reiniers, Renier, Reniers, Reygniers, or Reynier. The earliest member of the family was identified by Boenheim as Adrien Reynier who was born circa 1630, presumably in Holland (Wendelin Boenheim, *Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst vom XIV. Bis ins XVIII. Jahrhundert* [W. Moeser; Berlin: 1897], p.176). While it is not known when he arrived in Paris, it was sometime prior to 1660 since a pattern book illustrating designs he created in association with the gunmaker “Thuraine” (q.v.) was published that year. While little is known about this maker, numerous documents have survived concerning his son who also had the given name, Adrien. Adrien the younger was born circa 1680 and by 1714 had received the appointment of gunmaker in ordinary to the Duc d’Orléans since he is referred to as such in the apprenticeship papers of Pierre Vaubecholu (Archives Nationales de France, Minutes et Répertoires du Notaire Jean Verani, Etude LXX, Minutes 1714 juillet, MC/ET/LXX/246 [apprenticeship of Pierre Vaubecholu with Regniers]). On January 18, 1724, he was awarded a “logement aux galeries du Louvre” by Louis XV of



Fig. 21 Pair of pistols made by Jean-Baptiste and Sauveur La Roche to demonstrate their capabilities as gun-makers circa 1745, shortly after they took up residence in the Galleries du Louvre in Paris (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Acc No.'s 2243&A-1855). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 22 Detail of the lock on the Les La Roche pistol Acc. No. 2243-1855 illustrated in Fig. 22. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

France “en considération de ses services” (*Nouvelles Archives de l’Art Français recueil de documents inédits publiés par la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* [Charavay Frères ; Paris : 1873], p. 86). Based upon the fact that his widow, Geneviève De Vaux, initiated probate proceedings on December 5, 1736, it can be assumed that Adrien Reynier the younger Younger died in either late November or very early December 1736 (Archives Nationales de France, Registres de clôtures d’inventaires après décès, AN Y5294 [1731-1738], image 250/295 [Ve. Reynier Du Cinq février 1737]); this inventory is also referenced in the estate papers of the Comte de Charolais (Archives Nationales de France, Minutes et Répertoires du Notaire Frédéric Henri Mareschal, Etude XCII, Succession du comte de Charolais, 1761, 12 mars, MC/ET/XCII/637, pièce 321, 9^e cahier).

Legal records indicate that Reynier the younger Younger was survived by four children: Charles Antoine, born in 1714; Jean Adrien, born ca. 1719; Denis Adrien, born ca. 1724, and; Geneviève, born ca. 1727 (Archives Nationales de France, Registres de tutelles, AN Y4598A [01/04/1742 – 15/04/1742], April 10, 1742, images 586/647 to 592/647, and especially; AN Y4617 [01/11/1743 – 30/11/1743], November 7, 1743, images 785/1043 to 789/1043). His logement at the Louvre was inherited by his eldest son, Charles Antoine Reynier (*Nouvelles Archives de l’Art Français, Troisième Série, Tome VIII* [Charavay; Paris: 1892], p. 142). Upon Charles Antoine Reynier’s death, the logement was awarded to Jean-Baptiste Laroche on August 23, 1743 (see previous entry).

Proof that the Reynier family used the sobriquet “Le Hollandois” is found in several contemporary sources, most notably a notice published in May 1742, concerning a two-shot sporting gun submitted for examination the Royal Academy of Science which begins with the comment “Le Sr Reygniers, autrement nommé le Hollandois, logé aux Galeries du Louvre” (Reygniers, otherwise known as the Hollander, living at the Louvre [*Mercur de France* (Paris), Mai 1742, p. 1192]). In discussing the same firearm, the Academy’s own journal refers to “Le sieur Reiniers, dit l’Hollandois” (Reiniers called the Hollander [*Histoire de l’Académie Royale des Sciences. Année M.DCCXLII. Avec les Mémoires de Mathématique & de Physique pour la même Année* (L’Imprimerie Royale; Paris: 1745), p. 156]).

Unattributed or Unsigned Pieces

Deux Mousquetons.

-Two mousquetoons.

Une jolie paire de Pistolets à deux coups.

-An attractive pair of double barrel pistols.

Deux autres paires de Pistolets.

-Two other pairs of pistols.

FOOTNOTES

1) These records exist in three forms: household or estate listings and auction sale catalogues. Occasionally, arms are listed in dedicated documents, such as the inventories of the Earl of Huntingdon's armoury at Donington Park now at the Huntington Library (*Guide to British Historical Manuscripts* [Henry E. Huntington Library & Art Gallery: San Marino, CA: 1982], p. 102). Most often, however, they appear randomly and in sales catalogues dating from the earlier period without any notations as to makers. This is certainly the case of the over 130 firearms and 48 swords that were sold in the liquidation of Elihu Yale's estate in March of 1722 (Christopher Cook, *The last Sale for this Season. Being the Most Valuable Part of the Collection of Elihu Yale, Esq; [Late Governor of Fort St. George] Deceased* [Christopher Cook; London: 1722]). By the third decade of the 18th century, sale catalogues began listing makers' names, though the physical descriptions of the pieces remained maddeningly brief (e.g., on April 18, 1736, Aaron Lambe sold "A curious bullet gun [i.e., rifle] by Shaw inlaid with silver" and "A ditto screw barrel bullet gun with a stop to the cock by Easterby" [Aaron Lambe, *A Catalogue of the Household Furniture, and Effects of the Hon. Col. John Mercer ... and Nicholas Hawksmoor, Esq.* (Aaron Lambe; London: 1736), p. 17]). Despite the brevity of these listings they sometimes cast light on the practices of the period. When James Christie sold the contents of the late Duchess of Kingston's country home between June 10 and 23, 1789, not only did the sale include her late husband's sporting guns (by such makers as Allevin, Barbar, Ertell and Turvey), but also nine pairs of "servants pistols" some of which were made by Bailes, Bumford and Harman (James Christie, *A Catalogue of all the rich and elegant Household Furniture ... late the property of Her Grace The Duchess of Kingston, Deceased, at her Grace's Seat in Thorseby Park, in the County of Nottingham* [James Christie; London: 1789], Lots 56-93, pp. 33-34 [June 16]).

German inventories followed the same fashion: very brief descriptions including makers' names where known. Where they differed from English and French documents is in the number of arms that are sometimes listed. For example, the 1724 inventory of the Prince Bishop of Wurzburg's armoury records 2 air rifles, six gun barrels, 46 pistols and 135 longarms (Alfred Sitte, "Die graflich Schonbornsche Gewehr-kammer zu Wurzburg zu Anfang des XVIII. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift fur Historische Waffenkunde, Vierter Band, Heft 4* [1906], pp. 105-109). This collection pales in significance when compared to that assembled by Joseph von Dufresne, Hof-Kammer und Commercierraths (Court Chamberlain and Commercial Agent) of the Kingdom of Bavaria, who died in 1768. His waffensammlung included 277 pistols, 459 longarms, as well as other pieces such as crossbows (Franz de Paula von Reisenegger and Georg Benedict Fassman, *Nachricht. Nachdem Sr. Churfurstl. Durchleucht in Baiern &c. &c. denen zu Ende benannten Testamentsexecutorn, des unlangst dahier zu Munchen gestorbenen Hof= Kammer= und Commercierraths, Herr Joseph von Dufresne* (n.p.; Munich: September 15, 1768).

2) Vicomte de Grouchy, "Inventaire Général des Meubles de Monseigneur de Louvois, Fait en l'Année 1688... Chapitre des armes du cabinet de Monseigneur à Paris," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de L'Île-de-France*, Tome XXI (1894), pp. 144-146. The actual inventory is preserved in the Minutes et répertoires du notaire Pierre Caillet, étude LXXV-530, Archives nationales, Paris.

3) Contemporary usage of the phrase indicates that "façon de" could also mean "in the form of" (Allain Manesson Mallet, *Description de L'Univers*. Tome II [Denys Thierry; Paris: 1683], p. 46 ["ciselées en façon de laurier"]), or simply "form" (L'Académie Française, *Le Grand Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française*, Tome I [Jean Baptiste Coignard; Amsterdam: 1695], p. 117 ["Ciselure... La façon de cette vaisselle d'argent..."]).

4) Some confusion surrounds Louvois' date of birth. While most sources cite the date as being January 18, 1641 (e.g., Camille F. M. Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois et de Son Administration Politique et Militaire*, Tome I [Didier et Cie.; Paris: 1872], p. 13), the burial records for the parish of Notre Dame in Versailles indicate that he was 52 years of age when he died on July 16, 1691 and thus had been born in 1639 (Yvelines Archives départementales, Parioisse de Notre Dame, microfilm roll 1080399 [1691-1691], image 109 [left page]).

5) Rousset, op. cit., p. 14.

6) Ibid., p. 20.

7) Louis Mereri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique ou le Mélange Curieux de l'Histoire Sacrée et Profane*, Tome VI (Jean-Baptiste Coignard; Paris: 1725), p. 694.

8) Michel le Tellier relinquished the position when he was appointed Chancellor to Louis XIV in 1677.

9) Chief among these were the War of Devolution with the Netherlands (1667-1668), the occupation of Lorraine in 1670, the second war with the Netherlands (1672-1678) and despoliation of the Palatinate in 1674.

10) Among the reforms put into place by de Louvois were the centralization of payment for all French forces, orders governing the securing of provisions, standardization of uniforms and the active participation of the aristocracy, as well as the gentry, in military affairs (thus bringing them under the control of the King). In addition, he established a military hospital in Paris (Les Invalides) and instituted a pension system. For a complete review of these reforms see Rousset, op. cit., pp. 163-255.

11) During the period of de Louvois' superintendence of royal buildings he supervised the design and construction of the famous l'Orangerie at Versailles and the installation of numerous bronze statues in the palace's gardens. It was also at his urging that Louis XIV purchased Pierre Puget's masterpieces the "Milo of Crotona" and "Alexander and Diogenes" (Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700* [Yale University Press; New Haven, CT: 1999], pp. 253-255 and Fig.'s 313-314).

12) See note 2 above. The suddenness of his death caused some contemporaries (chiefly the courtier, Louis de Rouvroy, known as Saint-Simon) to speculate whether he had been poisoned, however, Pierre Dionis, surgeon to Madame la Dauphine and the Duchess of Bourgogne who examined Louvois' body attributed the cause of death to what would now be called sudden cardiac arrest (Pierre Dionis, *Dissertation sur La Mort Subite* [Laurent D'Houry; Paris: 1709],

pp. 82-89).

13) Aside from his Paris home and the Chateau de Meudon, de Louvois had estates at Chaville, Courtanvaux and Louvois. De Grouchy (op. cit., pp. 115-122) chronicles that portion of de Louvois' art collection that was in the marquis' Paris home in 1688. A number of the paintings and sculptures once owned by de Louvois later entered the collections of Catherine the Great of Russia, as well as the British royal family.

14) *Plusieurs Models des plus nouvelles manieres qui sont en usage en l'Art de Arquebuzeri avec les Ornaments les plus Conuenables le tout tiré des Ouurages de Thuraine et le Hollandois Arquebuziers Ordinaires de sa Maiesté et gravé par C Jacquinet* (Jacquinet; Paris: s.n. [ca. 1660]), Plates 3-4.

15) It was the practice during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries for hosts to provide the arms used on hunts at their estates.

16) Silver barreled pistols are preserved in the Swedish Royal Collection in Stockholm and the Bavarian National Museum in Munich. The former are signed by Piraube (Livrustkammaren Inv. No.'s LRK 4281-4281) and the latter are described in note 17 following.

17) These pistols (Bavarian National Museum Inv. No.'s 13/1071 and 13/1072) are described as having barrels with silver sheathed chambers and gilt foresights ("Mit silber ummantelung über der Kammer achtkantig ... Linsenkorn vergoldet" in Erwin Schalkhauser, *Handfeuerwaffen Jagdgewehre Schriebenbüchsen Pistolen* [Deutscher Kunstverlag; Munich: 1988], p. 251). The barrels also bear the signature, Keller. In all likelihood, they are one-in-the-same as the pair owned by the antiquarian and secretary to Louis XVI, Michelet d'Ennery (1709-1786), that were sold by Remy and Miliotti of Paris on December 15, 1786:

264 Deux pistolets d'arçon, à canon d'argent, d'un travail exquis par le célèbre artiste Keller, montés par Hervin & Bertault; la garniture & les ornements en argent sont très riches.

[Two holster pistols with silver barrels, of exquisite workmanship by the celebrated artist Keller, mounted by Hervin & Bertault; the mounts and ornaments of silver are very rich.]

(Remy & Miliotti, *Catalogue de Tableaux des Trois Ecoles... Du Cabinet de feu M. d'Ennery, Ecuyer* [Remy and Miliotti; Paris: 1786], p. 60, Lot 264)

18) Jean-Balthasar Keller (1638-1702) and his older brother, Jean-Jacques Keller (1635-1700), were cannon founders who emigrated to France from Switzerland at the request of Louis XIV in 1669 (Agnès Etienne-Magnien, "Une Fonderie de Canons au XVIIe Siècle: Les Frères Keller à Douai [1669-1696]," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes*, Tome 149, No. 1 [1991], pp. 91-105). Although the brothers achieved considerable fame for the cannons they cast at the royal foundry in Douai, Jean-Balthasar established an even greater reputation for the lost wax casting of bronze statuary destined to be installed in the gardens of the royal palace at Versailles (Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire des Papiers Manuscrits du Cabinet de Robert de Cotte Premier Architecte du Roi [1656-1735]... Conservés à la Bibliothèque Natio-*

nale [Honoré Champion; Paris: 1906], pp. 225-227). His greatest triumph in this regard was the casting in one pour of a monumental equestrian statue of Louis XIV in 1699 (Fig. 4), the construction of which was fully described in Germain Boffrand, *Description de ce qui été pratiqué pour la fonder en bronze d'un seul jet La Figure Equestre de Louis XIV élevée par la Ville de Paris dans la Place de Louis le Grand* (Guillaume Cavelier; Paris: 1743). As his earlier commissions were undertaken under the supervision of de Louvois, it is likely that J.-B. Keller was the donor of this sporting gun.

19) While the word "fusil" now refers to a rifle or sporting gun, during the seventeenth century it had a far more specific meaning. In a Spanish-French dictionary published in 1625, "fusil" was defined as "le chien d'une arquebuse ou pistolet," or, the cock of either a musket or pistol (Cesar Ovdin, *Tesoro de las dos Lenguas Espanola y Francesca* [Hubert Antoine; Brussels: 1625], FO [first entry]). By the late 1630s, its meaning had been expanded to include the ignition system now known as the flintlock (Anthoine de Ville, *De la Charge des Gouverneurs des Places* [Matthieu Guillemot; Paris: 1639], pp. 25 and 137 ["mousquets à rouet ou à fusil"] and 137 ["arquebuses à rouet ou à fusil"]). Interestingly, the new ignition system was not highly thought of in some circles. In the statutes of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem published in 1643, members of the Order were prohibited from carrying either wheel-lock or flintlock pistols with the additional notation that the latter were "instrumens diaboliques" (Fr. Raymond du Puy, *Les Statutes de l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Hierusalem* [n.p.; s.n.; 1643], p. 258).

By the last two decades of the 17th century the term was generally accepted as signifying a type of longarm normally 4 or 5 feet in length that was of light weight that could be carried on the shoulder or in the crook of the arm and readily cocked with the thumb without the need for a key (Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire François, contenant Les Mots Et Les Choses, plusieurs nouvelles remarques sur la langue Française* [Jean Herman Widerhold; Geneva: 1680], p. 359 ["Sorte d'arme à feu, longue ordinairement de 4 ou 5 piez, qui est légère, qu'on porte sur l'épaule, ou sous le bras & quise bande aisément avec le pouce & sans clé"], and; *Le Dictionnaire de L'Académie Française. Dedié Au Roy. Tome Premier. A-L* [Jean Baptiste Coignard; Paris: 1694], p. 502 ["Fusil, signifie aussi, L'arquebuse entière, quand elle est à fusil"]). This dual identification of the word led to the use of what now appears to be an incongruous phrase "pistolets à fusil" (Pierre Richelet, *Seconde Partie du Dictionnaire François, contenant Les Mots Et Les Choses, plusieurs nouvelles remarques sur la langue Française* [Jean Herman Widerhold; Geneva: 1679], op. cit., p. 169).

As an aside, it is worth noting that contrary to modern belief, flintlock arms cost more than those fitted with wheel-locks in the years following their introduction. In 1649, it was reported that a pair of flintlock pistols with their holsters cost eighteen livres as opposed to the sixteen livres charged for a similar pair of wheel-locks (*Le Courier François* [Paris], "Apportant toutes les Nouvelles de ce qui s'est passé depuis sa seconde arriuéee iusques à present," Suite et Troisième Arriuéee, January 1649, p. 6).

20) See note 18 above.

21) The recipient of this sporting gun was Christian-August, Duke of Bavaria, Prince von Sultzbach and Count Palatine (1622-1708).

22) The identity of this individual is unknown.

23) A “fusil à canarder” or duck gun had a barrel measuring 6 to 7 feet in length and weighed about 12 pounds. It was normally used with a rest similar to those issued to musketeers (Gervais François Magné de Marolles, *Essai sur la Chasse au Fusil* [Théophile Barrois jeune; Paris: 1781], p. 46), hence the reference under Hervin to a “Une fourchette ... pour servir au grand fusil à canarder.” The size and weight of these arms reflected the fact that they were used to shoot ducks on the water, much like later punt guns, rather than in flight

24) The recipient of these pistols was François de Neufville, 2e Duc de Villeroy, Marichal de France (1644-1730).

25) The identity of this recipient is unknown.

26) Jacques Reynier held the position of gunmaker and gun-bearer to the King Louis XIII (Archives Nationales de France, Minutes du Notaire Simon Le Mercier, Etude VII, Minutes 1639, MC/ET/VII/28 [debt owed by Jean Depot to Jacques Benier (sic). “porte arquebusier du Roi,” dated April 14, 1639]). Although the phrase “porte arquebuse” literally translates as gun-bearer, the responsibilities of the individual holding that position were more complex. In the November 1709 edition of the *Mercure Galant* the role of the “porte arquebuse” during a royal hunt is described on pages 285-286 as follows:

Lorsque le Roy va tirer ... Il se trouve au Rendez-vous un certain nombre de Pages a Cheval, qui tiennent chacun un fusil du Roy. Le Porte-Arquebuze, dont la fonction est de charger les fusils, présente le premier au Roy, & à chaque coup que Sa Majesté tire, un Page s'avance pour recevoir son fusil, & luy en représenter un autre charge; il reporte ensuite l'autre au Porte-Arquebuze qui le recharge, & ainsi alternativement pendant tout la Chasse.

(When the King goes hunting he finds at the rendezvous a certain number of mounted Pages, each of whom holds one the King's guns. The *Porte-Arquebuse* in his role of loading these arms presents the first [gun] to the King, and after each shot His Majesty fires, a page approaches him to exchange a loaded gun for the one just fired; [the page] then reports to the *Porte-Arquebuse* who reloads the gun; and so alternatively [it is repeated] throughout the hunt.)

Jacques Reynier's sons, Adrien and Andre, both later held logements in the “galleries du Louvre” (Archives Nationales de France, Minutes du notaire Etienne Périchon, Etude XXXIX, Minutes 1725 août – 1725 décembre, MC/ET/XXXIX/329 [André Regnier Arquebusier galleries du Louvre – Union de créanciers], and ; Société de l'histoire de l'Art Français, *Nouvelles Archives de L'Art Français Recueil de Documents Inédits* [J. Bauer; Paris: 1873], p. 86 [logement of Adrien Reynier]).

27) The donor of this gun, Louis-Maximilian Titon, was “Directeur des manufactures & Magazins Royaux d'Armes en France” (*Mercure de France* [Paris], “Morts, Naissances & Mariages,” Décembre 1728, Volume 1, p. 2755). As such he was responsible for the royal arsenal at the Bastille. In addition, he established the Manufacture d'Armes at Charleville under the direction of the Marquis de Louvois (Philemon Louis Savary, *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, Tome Premier* [Jacques Estienne; Paris: 1723], p. 849). In light of the latter fact, this

fusil may in fact be a musket, though the presence of Louvois' coat-of-arms on the stock suggests a sporting arm.

28) *Mercure de France* (Paris), “France. Nouvelles de la Cour, de Paris, &c.,” Décembre 1725, Volume I, p. 2927.

29) *Lettres Historiques, Contenant ce qui se passe de plus important en Europe; Et les Réflexions convenables à ce sujet* (Amsterdam), “Lettre IV. Affaires de France...Paris,” Tome LXVII, Février 1725, p. 196 (the purchase price was stated to have been 12,000 livres plus an annuity of 8,000 livres payable to the former colonel, the Comte de Riom).

30) *Mercure de France* [Paris], “Morts, Naissances, & Mariages,” Aout 1744, p. 1929.

31) *La Clef du Cabinet des Princes de l'Europe, ou Recueil Historique & Politique sut les Matières du tems* (Luxembourg), “Article IV. Contenant ce qui s'est passé de considerable en France, depuis le mois dernier,” Mars 1727, p. 196 (the report noted that the sale of the regiment for 40,000 écus [over 13,000 livres] to the Marquis de Vassé had been approved by Louis XV on the 30th of March 1727).

32) Edmond-Jean François Barbier, *Journal de l'Avocat Barbier: 1723-1727, Journal de l'avocat de Paris, Tome II* (Paleo; Clermont-Ferrand: 2002), p. 189.

33) Anne Melon died in Paris on August 15, 1727 (*Mercure de France*, Août 1744, op.cit., p. 1929).

34) Construction of the château was begun by Joseph Bonnier and completed by his son (Louis Grasset-Morel, *Les Bonnier ou Une Famille de Financiers au XIIIe Siècle* (E. Dentu; Paris: 1886), pp. 41-44 and 73-76. The purchase of Villemur's title also included his estates and hunting rights (ibid., p. 138)

35) This extravaganza, including details concerning the silver and gold plate that was used, is described by Grasset-Morel (ibid., pp. 79-83).

36) The biographical details concerning Joseph Bonnier de la Mosson the younger's relationships with Mlle. Petitpas, the Marquise de Fleury and Constance de Louraille are drawn from the following sources: François-Antoine Chevrier, *Le Colporteur. Histoire Morale et Critique* (Jean Nourse; London: 1750), pp. 82-84; [Philippe Le Prétot] *Les Amusemens du Coeur et de l'Esprit, Tome Second* (Henri du Sauzet ; Amsterdam: 1741), pp. 407-408 ; Alix de Janzé, *Les Financiers d'Autrefois Fermiers généraux* (Paul Ollendorff; Paris: 1886), pp. 120-123 ; Adolphe Jullien, *Amours d'Opéra au XVIIIe Siècle* (H. Daragon; Paris: 1908), pp. 32-34, and; Grasset-Morel, op. cit., pp. 105-107 (Petitpas) and 110-114 (Constance de Louraille). For a more recent assessment see: www.letisserand-de-sayrac.com/bonnier_de_la_mosson_8470.

37) Jean-Marc Nattier (1685-1766), *Joseph de la Bonnier*, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Inv. No. 1961.9.30, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

38) Père Ange, *L'Etat de France, Contentant les Princes, le Clergé, les Ducs & Pairs, les Maréchaux de France, & les Grands Officiers de la Couronne & de la Maison du Roi... Tome Première* (Guillaume-Denis

David; Paris: 1736), pp. 437-438.

39) In his biographical notes concerning the Parisian artist, Jean Raoux (1677-1734), Antoine Dezallier d'Argenville stated that Raoux had painted a portrait of "...Bonnier de la Masson en chasseur, est un morceau considérable pour la grand fini; il y a sur le devant, un lièvre couché, que le maître du tableau avoit grand soin de faire remarquer, en disant que cet animal étoit la figure qui lui coûtoit le plus: en effet, il avoit donné plus de cent lièvres au peintre pour la finir d'après nature" (Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la Vie des Plus Fameux Peintres, avec leurs portraits gravés en taille-douce, Tome Quatrième* [De Bure l'aine; Paris: 1762], p. 379 [Bonnier de la Masson as a hunter, it is rather large for a finished painting ; in the foreground is a hare that the mistress of the house said cost her the most since she had given the artist more than a hundred hares to paint from nature]).

40) *Mercur de France*, Juillet 1744, op. cit., p. 1704.

41) Edmé-François Gersaint, CATALOGUE RAISONNE D'UNE COLLECTION *considérable de diverses Curiosités en tous Genres, contenues dans les Cabinets de seu Monsieur BONNIER DE LA MOSSON, Bailly & Capitaine des Chasses de la Varenne des Thuilleries & ancien Colonel du Régiment Dauphin* (G.-F. Gersaint; Paris: 1744). De la Mosson's library consisting of 1,624 lots was sold beginning on April 26, 1745, by Jacques Barrois (Jacques Barrois, *CATALOGUE DES LIVRES DE M. BONNIER DE LA MOSSON, TRESORIER DES ETATS DE LANGUEDOC* [J. Barrois; Paris: 1745]).

42) Gersaint, op. cit., pp. 149-150 (Lot 594).

43) Figure 23



Fig. 23 Trade card designed and engraved by Claude Roy (1712-1792) in 1750, for François-Alexandre Chasteau, gunmaker to the Première Compagnie des Mousquetaires de la Garde du Roi, whose shop was located on the “Rue des Sts. Peres Faubourg St. Germain à Paris.” In addition to producing this card, Roy also engraved arms for Chasteau as will be demonstrated in a forthcoming essay by this author. Waddeson Manor Collections, Inv. No. 3686.1.63.117, © The National Trust, Waddeson Manor.