



CLAUDE ROY: GRAVEUR SUR TOUS METAUX AU CHARIOT D'OR

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At one time or another every historian has experienced that moment when a research project takes an unexpected turn. It may involve the discovery of something previously unknown about a topic being examined, or a lead that directs the researcher down a completely different path. While oftentimes the latter prove to be blind alleys, on occasion such events have quite different results. This was certainly the case with respect to the presentation concerning the arms collections of Marquis de Louvois and Joseph Bonnier de la Mosson that was published in the A.S.A.C.'s *Bulletin* No. 111.

Although the name of the engraver who produced François-Alexandre Chasteau's trade card reproduced at the conclusion of that article (Fig. 1) struck a chord with this writer, its significance did not immediately come to mind. Indeed, it was not until the work was in the final stages of being readied for publication that I remembered why the name Claude Roy was familiar. Then of course it was far too late to include any substantive information in the *Bulletin* other than the brief mention that Roy had engraved firearms for Chasteau in the caption for the trade card.¹

Despite being now remembered as an engraver of book plates, decorative prints and portraits, Claude Roy, also was directly involved in the decoration of mid-eighteenth century firearms. Proof of this exists in the form of a detached pistol lock which this writer examined some fifty years ago while visiting the home of Roy G. Cole (1912-1999) in Hamilton, Ontario. Although Mr. Cole had already begun reducing the size of his gun collection,² in 1967 it still contained all manner of treasures, some of which would later be given to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.³ One of the most memorable pieces, however, was the above-mentioned gun lock that he used as a paperweight. Measuring slightly more than 3" in length, the lock plate's recessed tail was chiseled in relief with three fleur-de-lis (the royal arms of France) set against a gold fish roe ground while the flat immediately forward of the cock was chiseled with an exquisi-



Fig. 1 - Trade card designed and engraved by Claude Roy in 1750 for François-Alexandre Chasteau, gunmaker to the First Company of Musketeers in the Royal Guard of Louis XV of France, who resided on the *Rue des S^ts. Peres* in the *St. Germain* district of Paris at the sign of the well-armed castle (*AU CHASTEAU BIEN ARMÉ*). In addition to depicting fowling pieces, muskets, pistols and powder flasks in the central vignette, Roy also included a sword-pistol among the arms. Favored by hunters and naval officers, sword pistols reached the height of their popularity during the 18th century but are rarely seen in art of the period consequently the presence of one in Chasteau's trade card may indicate that he was one of their prime manufacturers. Etching and engraving on paper; 215mm x 163mm; Waddesdon (National Trust), acc. no. 3686.1.63.117. Photo: University of Central England Digital Services © National Trust, Waddesdon Manor.

sitely modeled figure of a cherub pushing a wheelbarrow filled with flowers inlaid in multi-colored gold. The cock together with the breast of the frizzen, were both engraved with relief cut scrollwork highlighted by a gold background *en suite* with the lock plate's tail and the maker's signature, "CHASTEAU A PARIS" was engraved along the lower chamfered edge of the lock plate. Sadly, the cock screw, top jaw and jaw screw were missing, but it was the absence of the first that allowed Mr. Cole the opportunity to show me what intrigued him most about the lock. Upon removing the cock the engraved inscription, "ROY sc" (i.e., Roy *sculpsit* or Roy engraved this) could be seen partly encircling the cock's arbor. As he held the lock in his hand, Mr. Cole remarked that when he acquired the piece at the sale of Charles Noe Daly's collection⁴ he was unaware of the secondary signature until he set about removing a coat of dried oil that obscured the lock's surface.⁵ At the same time he commented that the discovery of Roy's signature was in a way serendipitous since he shared the same name. Unfortunately, no record has been found indicating what ultimately became of this lock.

Of Claude Roy's early life, little is now known other than the fact that he was born in 1712.⁶ By the mid-1730s, he had evidently established a reputation as an engraver of considerable talent since the Parisian print dealer, Michel Odieuvre, commissioned him to produce works for the series of "*Portraits des Grands et des Personnes illustres*" that Odieuvre began publishing during the summer of 1734 (Fig. 2).⁷ Roy's association with Odieuvre was unfortunately to be short-lived since sometime during the mid to late summer of 1735, he lost his sight.⁸

Although the exact cause and nature of Roy's sudden blindness was never set down in writing, an account published in 1743, stated that it was first thought to be irreversible.⁹ Despite that prognosis Roy did not give up hope and his persistence in finding a cure was eventually rewarded when he met Jean-Baptiste Vinatier Candide. Under this physician's care, Roy began a series of treatments that over a period of three years led to the total restoration of his sight.¹⁰ To honor the man he viewed as his savior, Roy engraved portrait of Candide in 1743 that included the following dedication

*Toi qui de CANDIDE Contemple ici l'Image
Aprends que de ma Veue il est Restaurateur
Que se de mon Burin aprenant je fais usage
Après Dieu, c'est de lui que je tiens ce Bonheur.*

[You, who gaze upon this image of Candide here Understand that my sight he restored So that I can again make use of my chisel After God, it is to him that I enjoy this good fortune.]¹¹

To further publicize his renewed capabilities, Roy also published a decorative print depicting two *putti* holding a garland draped cartouche (Fig. 3). Poignantly, the engraving was inscribed with the legend:



Fig. 2 - Portrait of King Stanislas I of Poland commissioned by the Parisian print dealer Michel Odieuvre in 1734, for his series of "*Portraits des Grands et des Personnes illustres*." © The Trustees of the British Museum, London (Acc. No. 1894, 0122.225)

Cl Roy invt, et Scult, post Recupm Visum. 1743 (Claude Roy invented and sculpted [this] after recovering [his] sight. 1743). Although this work was whimsical, it nevertheless is of some importance since the smiling *putti* mirror that seen on the detached Chasteau pistol lock mentioned above. In their expressions they also reflect Roy's evident happiness in being able to work again - a sentiment that is also clearly evident in the trade card he engraved for François-Alexandre Chasteau illustrated in Fig. 1. It is also worth noting that some of Roy's contemporaries were of the opinion that his abilities as an engraver had actually been enhanced by his temporary loss of vision with one even stating that the positive effects would astonish those looking at his engravings.¹²

While the greater part of Roy's work during the 1740s, appears to have been directed toward the production of book plates, portraits and trade cards (such as those illustrated in Fig.'s 4 and 5),¹³ he evidently began to increasingly turn his attentions to the decoration of metal, so much so that he described himself as a *Graveur Sur Tous Metaux* on his own trade card engraved in 1750 (Fig. 6). In light of the imagery depicted on that card, as well as the physical location



Fig. 3 - Whimsical decorative print engraved and published by Claude Roy in 1743 to celebrate the restoration of his sight. © The Trustees of the British Museum, London (Acc. No. 1979, U.579)

of his studio at the entrance to the *quai des Orfèvres*, or silversmiths' street opposite the statue of Henri IV on the *Pont neuf* in Paris at the sign of the *Chariot d'Or* (Fig.'s 7 and 8), it can be assumed his output was directed primarily toward silver work. If so, his primary patrons were most likely the silversmiths, Louis Doucet, his widow Catherine-Angelique Defrance and her successor Jean-Baptiste-François Cheret, who successively occupied the same premises.¹⁴ However, the existence of the detached lock plate formerly in the Cole Collection indicates he was equally adept at undertaking commissions for other trades. Given Roy's demonstrated ties to the Chasteau family, the possibility exists that he may have been the author of the decoration found on other of their arms (e.g., the pair of double barrel pistols now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art illustrated in Fig.'s 9 and 10). Certainly, the form of that pistol's engraving closely resembles work produced by Roy, though it must be noted that the patterns were used by other engravers of the period.

One of the more interesting aspects of Roy's career is that from the early 1760s until his death in 1792, he was evidently assisted by his daughter, Marie-Françoise Roy (1744-1809), who lived with him on the *quai des Orfèvres* and whose occupation was described as being a *graveuse sur metaux* (a female metal engraver).¹⁵ Given the latter fact, it is entirely possible that she too may have worked on firearm components, as well as on silver.



Fig. 4 - *Ex-libris* designed and engraved by Claude Roy during the 1740s for the Count and Countess of Fuligny-Damas. The arms displayed on the left side of the central cartouche are those of Henri-Anne de Fuligny de Damas who died in 1745, while those on the right represent, Marie-Gabrielle de Pons de Rene-Pont, whom he married in 1735. To memorialize the couple's passionate interest in music Roy displayed their arms against a trophy of composed of stringed and wind instruments. © The Trustees of the British Museum, London (Acc. No. 1979, U.578)



Fig. 5 - *Ex-libris* engraved by Claude Roy in 1765 illustrating the arms of Nicolas Hamarc de Laborde supported by a pair of *Néréides* or water nymphs. © The Trustees of the British Museum, London (Acc. No. 1979, U.576)



Fig. 6 – Claude Roy's personal trade card of 1750 advising the public that he was a *Graveur Sur Tous Metaux* (an engraver on all metals) doing business at the sign of the *Chariot d'Or* (Golden Chariot) on the *Quai des Orfèvres* in Paris. Etching and engraving on paper; 134mm x 105mm; Waddesdon (National Trust); acc. no. 3686.1.62.115. Photo: University of Central England Digital Services © National Trust, Waddesdon Manor.



Fig. 7 – Roy's workshop on the *Quai des Orfèvres* would have been just around the corner from the entrance to the *Place Dauphine* (seen opposite the equestrian statue of King Henri IV on the *Pont neuf*). Louis Bretez and Claude Lucas, *Plan de Paris. Commencé l'Année 1734, Dessiné et Gravé, sous les ordres de Messire Michel Etienne Turgot, Marquis de Sousmons, Seigneur de St. Germain sur Eaulne, Vatierville, et autres Lieux, Conseilleur d'Etat* (Paris: 1739)

Although it cannot be proved conclusively, Claude Roy and his daughter were most likely the *les plus habiles Artistes* (most able artists), who were responsible for the decoration of the vase and basin made by Cheret in 1785, that was described in the contemporary press as follows:¹⁶

Description d'un Vase & d'une Cuvette, argent vermeil, destinés pour l'Italie, qui seront exposés demain 14, Mardi & Mercredi suivans, chez le S CHERET, quai des Orfèvres, au Chariot d'or.

La Cuvette, en forme de nacelle, soutenue de deux Sirènes, pose sur un socle ou reposant quatre Levrettes. L'intérieur est orné de cinq Bas-reliefs, l'un représentant Diane à la chasse; l'autre Apollo remersant sa Lyre à Diane, & lui recommandant les beaux Arts; le 3e Achile trempé dans le Stix; le 4e la naissance de Vénus, & le dernier, formant le fond de la Cuvette, Diane entrant au bain.

Le Vase est couronné de Zéphire enfant, offrant une guirlande à Flore; autre Enfant reposant sur l'anse du Vase; par le mouvement de la charnière, ces deux Enfants se rapprochent, s'embrassent & forment un groupe aussi intéressant qu'il est ingénieux.

Au haute du Vase sont deux Bas-reliefs; l'un représente les Paysans changes en grenouilles; l'autre la Nymphé Calisto. La partie inférieure est ornée de cannelures & de deux masques de fleuves qui soutiennent deux formes guirlandes de fleurs variées; quelques glaçons échappés du dessous du Vase, forment la réunion du pied avec ce Vase.

Cet Ouvrage entièrement compose & modelé par le Sr J. B. Cheret, & ciselé par les plus habiles Artistes, montre une perfection & un fini dans les détails, comparable aux plus beaux Ouvrages d'Orfèverie.

[Description of a silver vermeil vase and basin destined for Italy, which will be exhibited tomorrow the 14th, Tuesday and Wednesday following, by Sieur CHERET, Quai des Orfèvres, at the Chariot d'or.

The basin, in the form of a nacelle, supported by two Sirens, stands on a pedestal base consisting of four resting greyhounds. The interior is decorated with five bas-reliefs, one representing Diana hunting; another Apollo giving his lyre to Diana, the advocate of the fine arts; the 3rd Achilles being dipped in the river Styx; the fourth the birth of Venus, and the last, forming the bottom of the basin, Diana entering herbath.

The vase is crowned with the figure of a young Zephyr offering a garland to Flore; another child



Fig. 8 – Although this engraving by A.-J. Defehrt illustrates the workshop of artisans who engraved and damascened gun barrels, sword hilts, as well as other wares, it probably resembles the type of studio that Claude Roy would have occupied. *Recueil des Planches, sur les Sciences, les Arts Liberaux, et les Arts Mechaniques, Tome II Second Partie* (Briasson, David, Le Breton & Durand; Paris: 1763). Author's Library.



Fig. 9 – One of a pair of silver-mounted double barrel flintlock pistols made by Alexandre-François Chasteau in 1752 or 1753. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 2002.521.1a, Gift of Walter A. Eberstadt, 2002.

Fig. 10 – Detail of the right-hand lock of the Chasteau pistol illustrated in Fig. 10. The chiseled relief scrollwork found on the tail of this lock, its cock and steel all closely resemble that seen on the detached pistol lock formerly in the Roy G. Cole Collection. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 2002.521.1a, Gift of Walter A. Eberstadt, 2002.

rests on the handle of the vase; by the movement of a hinge, these two figures come together, embrace, and form a group as interesting as it is ingenious.

At the top of the vase are two bas-reliefs; one represents peasants being transformed into frogs; the other, the nymph Calisto. The lower part is decorated with gadrooned flutes and two masks representing rivers that support two differently constructed garlands composed of various flowers; some ice cubes escaping from beneath the vase, form its juncture with the foot.

This work was entirely composed and modeled by Sieur J. B. Cheret, and chiseled by the most

skillful artists, shows a perfection and an accomplishment in its details, comparable to the finest works of silver.]

Aside from engraving, Roy also achieved a modest level of fame for his book on the proper method of rendering perspective that was published in 1756.¹⁷

After a long and evidently very successful career, Roy died in Paris at the age of 80 on October 3, 1792.¹⁸

Note:

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Endnotes

- 1 Herbert G. Houze, "The Firearms of a Minister of State Under Louis XIV and an Aristocratic Dilettante in the Court of Louis XV," *Bulletin of the American Society of Arms Collectors*, No. 111 (May 2015), p. 27.
- 2 While Mr. Cole had begun selling pieces from his collection in 1965 (Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., London, *Important Firearms, Side Arms and Armour*, November 22, 1965), the first substantial dispersal took place in 1970 (Sotheby & Co., London, *Catalogue of A Collection of Fine Firearms [First Part] The Property of Roy G. Cole, Hamilton, Ontario*, June 15, 1970).
- 3 For a brief over-view of those pieces given to the Royal Ontario Museum in 1996, see: K. Corey Keeble, "Present Your Arms," *Rotunda the magazine of the Royal Ontario Museum*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 1997), pp. 20-27. A number of Mr. Cole's firearms that had been on display in the regimental museum of the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry were subsequently sold at auction by Little John's Auction Service, Inc., *Best Auction of the Year*, November 10, 2002 (Lots, 36-38, 41-43, 77-78, 83-84, 142, 153-155, 251-252, 260-263, 338-339 and 409-410).
- 4 Ward-Price, Ltd., Toronto, Ontario, *Catalogue of the World Famous Charles Noe Daly Collection of Firearms*, June 5-7, 1935, Seventh Session, Friday Morning June 7, p. 29, Lot 863A - Gun Locks [sold for \$50].
- 5 Mr. Cole also said that when he acquired the lock its cock was held in place by a rather "ugly" over-sized plain screw that was totally out-of-place and had it not been for that he might have never removed the cock while cleaning the piece.
- 6 The assignment of Roy's year of birth is based upon the fact that when he died in October of 1792, the interment record for his burial stated he was 80 years of age (Henri Herlison, *Actes d'Etat-Civil d'Artistes Français Peintres, Graveurs, Architectes, etc. extraits des Registres de l'Hôtel-de-Ville de Paris* (J. Baur; Paris: 1873), p. 392.
- 7 In the preface to the first volume of *Portraits des Grands Hommes et des Personnes Illustrés dans les Arts et dans les Sciences* (Michel Odieuvre; Paris: 1734), Michel Odieuvre wrote that he had "employé pour le dessein & pour la gravure, les Artistes les plus distingués dans leur genre" to execute the illustrations (*Observations sur les Ecrits Modernes, Tome Huitième* [Chaubert; Paris: 1737], p. 335) Among the first of the portraits to be published by Odieuvre as part of this project was Claude Roy's engraving of Anne Jwanowa, Czarina of Russia, which was advertised in the *Mercure de France* [Paris], "Nouvelles Estampes," Aoust 1734, pp. 1826-1827. Shortly thereafter, Roy completed portraits of the King of Poland and Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony (ibid., "Estampes nouvelles," Octobre 1734, pp. 2267).
It is believed that bound sets of Odieuvre's, *Portraits des Grands Hommes et des Personnes Illustrés*, were first put together in 1735 and then additional volumes were offered as the project progressed:

La suite des Portraits des Grands Hommes et des Personnes Illustrés dans les Arts et dans les Sciences, se continué toujours avec beaucoup de succès, chez Odieuvre... [The series of Portraits of Great Men and Illustrious Persons in the Arts and the Sciences continues on with great success at

Odieuvre's...]

(Ibid., "Nouvelles Litteraires des Beaux Arts, &c. [Estampes nouvelles]," Novembre 1736, p. 2531)

- 8 Roy's loss of sight in 1735, was first mentioned by the editor of the *Mercure de France* in an article discussing the series of celestial globes that Roy had engraved for the Parisian scientific instrument maker, Jacques Baradelle, in 1742 (*Mercure de France*, "Le Sieur Baradelle," Décembre 1742, Premier Volume, pp. 2715-2716). That it occurred during the mid to late summer of 1735 can be inferred from the date of Roy's last known work for Odieuvre, a portrait of the King of Sardinia. While an announcement was published in June of 1735, that Roy's engravings of the King of Sardinia and Cardinal Fleury were available from Odieuvre

Le Portrait du Roy de Sardaigne en petit, peint par la Florentina, Peintresse à Turin, gravé par C. Roy.

Le Cardinal de Fleury, d'après M. Rigaud. gravé pas [sic] C. Roy.

[Small portrait of the King of Sardinia (based on a) painting by the Florentina, a female artist in Turin, engraved by C. Roy. The Cardinal de Fleury, after (a painting by Hyacinthe) Rigaud, engraved by C. Roy.] (Ibid., "Estampes nouvelles," Juin 1735, Vol. II, p. 1383)

there was evidently some delay in finishing that of the Sardinian king since its impending release was again announced in August 1735

La suite des Portraits des Grands et des Personnes illustrés, se continué avec grand soin chez Odieuvre, Marchand d'Estampes, sur le Quay de l'Ecole, vis-à-vis la Samaritaine. Il vient de mettre en vente Charles-Emmanuel III. de Savoye, Roy de Sardaigne, gravé par C. Roy, d'après la Florentina. [The series of portraits of important and illustrative persons continues with great care at Odieuvre, retailer of engravings, on the Quay de l'Ecole, opposite the Samaritan. He is about to put on sale [an image of] Charles-Emmanuel of Savoy, King of Sardinia, engraved by C. Roy after [a portrait] by the Florentina.] (Ibid., "Nouvelles Estampes," Aoust 1735, p. 1821)

After this announcement no further mention of Roy was made in any of the publicity attendant to Odieuvre's *Portraits des Grands et des Personnes illustrés*.

- 9 The editor of the *Suite de la Clef*, Claude Jordan, included the following remarks concerning Roy's recovery of his sight in an article discussing the series of celestial globes which the engraver had produced for Baradelle, in 1742.

Le Public, intéressé à connoître toutes les personnes qui excellent dans les différens Arts, & particulièrement dans ceux qui contribuent au soulagement des maladies, & à leur parfaite guérison, ne serasans doute pas fâché d'apprendre à qui le sieur Roy, dont il vient d'être parlé, a l'obligation du recouvrement de sa vue, dont il a été totalement privé pendant six mois en 1725 [sic], & qu'il n'a recouvrée particulièrement que trois ans après, il avoit d'abord consulté plusieurs Oculistes de réputation, qui l'avoient tous condamné à rester aveugle. Il ne s'est trouvé que M. l'Abbé Candide, distingué par une étude particulière, & une grande expérience dans toutes les opérations qui regardent ces sortes de maux, qui lui ait fait espérer, non pas une guérison douteuse, mais une guérison certaine & parfaite, de laquelle les Ouvrages ci-devant énoncés sont les preuves incontestables.

[No doubt the public, which is always interested in knowing everything about those who excel in the different arts and particularly those who contribute to the treatment of the sick and to their recovery will be disturbed to learn that the Monsieur Roy, previously mentioned in this article, in an effort to regain his sight, of which he was totally deprived of for six months in 1725 [sic] and which he did not fully regain for three years, first consulted several notable oculists, all of whom agreed that he was destined to remain blind. It was then that he found Abbe Candide, who distinguished in the study of that ailment and in the operations attendant to it, gave him hope not of a questionable cure, but one that would be certain and complete, which the previously mentioned works are incontestable proof.] (Suite de la Clef, ou Journal Historique sur les Matieres du Tems [Paris], "Nouveaux Globes," Tome LIII, Janvier 1743, pp. 76-77)

In an almost verbatim copy of the preceding account that was published in the autumn of 1743, the date of Roy's having lost his sight was again correctly noted as 1735 (*Mercure de France*, op.cit., "Nouveaux Globes, dédiés à Monsieur le Dauphin," Novembre 1743, p. 2485)

- 10 One of the first identifiable works to have been engraved by Roy after he had at least partially regained his sight was a trade card produced in 1739, for the Parisian jeweler, René Detois (Schlesinger Frères, *Catalogue des Livres Rares et des Manuscrits Précieux provenant de la bibliothèque de M. Le Métayer-Masselin*, 18 Novembre 1867, p. 58, Lot 404-4).
- 11 Roy's gratitude to Candide for having restored his sight was not a momentary sentiment as he continued to express his thanks over the following years, most notably in 1747, when he wrote the following poem honoring the doctor.

Epitre à M. Candide Oculiste
 Reçois ces vers, o cher Candide,
 Toi qui conserve le plus beau de nos cens,
 De la nature de l'acide
 Sçais réparer les accidens.
 Quand tu surmontes cet obstacle,
 Est-ce ton art? est-ce un miracle?
 Tu me rends l'usage desyeux;
 Je vois: que ce soit l'un ou l'autre;
 Tout don excellene, dit Apôtre,
 Est un drop defendu des Cieux,
 De Dieu, Père de lalumiere,
 De tous nos biens source premiere.
 Mais de ce don du Ciel, qui me rend la clarté,
 Cher ami, je te crois le seul dépositaire;
 Je ne trouve qu'obscurité
 Ailleurs ou je veux qu'on m'éclaire
 Oui je crois que ton art dans cette obscure nuit;
 Est pour la dissiper le seul astre qui luit.

[Epistle to M.CandideOculist
 Receive these verses, oh dearCandide,
 You who preserve the finest of our senses,
 By the nature of acid,
 Repair the troubles.
 When you overcome this obstacle,
 Is it your art? Is this a miracle?
 You make my eyes usable;
 I see: with either one or the other;
 Every rare gift, says the Apostle,
 Is a forbidden drop from the Heavens,
 From God, Father of light,

The source of all that is good.
 But from this gift of Heaven, which makes things clear,
 Dear friend, I believe you to be the only source;
 I do not find this obscure
 Otherwise I would want to be enlightened
 Yes I think your art in this dark night;
 Is to uncover the only star that shines.]

(*Mercure de France*, op.cit., "Epitre a M. Candide Oculiste, Décembre 1747, Premier Volume, pp. 130-131).

- 12 That sentiment was expressed by Claude Jordan in his review of the celestial globes which Roy executed for Jacques Baradelle (*Suite de la Clef*, Janvier 1743, op.cit. pp. 75-76).

M. Roy depuis le recouvrement de sa vûe a dessine d'un nouveau goût, & gravé les figures des Constellations, avec tant de propreté & de précision, que cet ouvrage, en méritant l'approbation des Scavans & des Curieux, a aussi été le sujet de leur étonnement.
 [Since recovering his sight, Monsieur Roy draws with an increased refinement and has engraved the figures of the Constellations, with such clarity and precision that this work deserves the admiration of connoisseurs and the curious who will be astonished by it.]

- 13 In December of 1750, the *Mercure de France* published a notice stating that Roy had recently completed an engraved portrait of Languet de Gergy, former parish priest of Saint Sulpice in Paris and that copies could be purchased from the artist (*Mercure de France*, op.cit., "Estampes Nouvelles," Décembre 1750, Premier Volume, p. 153).

- 14 Doucet is recorded as living on the quai des Orfèvres with his wife, Catherine-Angelique De France, in the guardianship papers for Marie-Angelique Formentin that are dated December 10, 1744 (Archives Nationales, Registres de tutelles, 12/04/1744 - 12/31/1744, AN Y4630, Image 892/1160) and again in a document regarding the settlement of his estate dated July 30, 1753 (ibid., Registre de clôtures d'inventaires après décès au châtelet de Paris, 1749-1781, AN Y5296, 30 Juillet 1753, Image 127/1236).

Jean-Baptiste-François Cheret's involvement with the quai des Orfèvres property came about when he purchased the stock and goodwill of Doucet's business that had been taken over by his widow, Catherine- Angelique de France, on February 6, 1769 (Archives Nationales, Minutes et répertoirs du notaire Louis Jacques Baron, Etude XCI, Minutes, 1769 janvier - 1769 février, MC/ET/XCI/1061, Convention entre Jean-Baptiste Cheret-Francois Cheret et la veuve Dancet [sic], pour l'achat du fond de commerce d'orfèvrerie de la dite veuve, 6 février 1769). Thereafter Cheret's business stationery was headed with the following statement:

Au chariot d'or, quai des orfèvres, la quatrième boutique au côté du Pont-neuf, à Paris.

Cheret, successeur de Madame Doucet, marchand orfèvre, fabrique toutes sortes d'ouvrages d'orfèvrerie sur de nouveaux modèles de son invention.

[At the Chariot of Gold, silversmiths' street, the fourth shop at the corner of the New Bridge in Paris. Cheret, successor to Mrs. Doucet, retail silversmith, manufacturer of all sorts of silver following new patterns of his own invention.]

(Xavier Barbier de Montault, "Inventaires du Château de Nexon," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, Tome XXXVIII [Tome XVI de la Deuxième Série - 1894], p. 226)

Claude Roy's lease of living and working space at the Chariot d'Or address was subsequently renewed by Cheret at an annual rent of 450 livres on August 2, 1769 (Archives Nationales, Minutes et répertoires du notaire Louis Jacques Baron, Etude XCI, Minutes, 1769, septembre, MC/ET/XCI/1070, Sous location de pièces par Cheret, marchand orfèvre, quai des Orfèvres à Claude Roy, maître graveur au loyer de 450 livres, 2 aout 1769).

- 15 Marie-Françoise Roy's age, occupation and place of residence were all cited in the records attendant to her death (Archives Nationale, Inventaires, contrats de mariage, notoriétés du notaire Prosper Louis Léger, Etude XVII, MC/ET/XVII/1120, Notoriétés après le décès de Marie-Françoise Roy, 13 Juillet 1809, Images 30- 33/243, and ; *ibid.*, Extrait du Registre des Actes du Décès de l'an mil huit cent neuf, Image 33-34/243). It was also noted that her landlord at No. 72, Quai des orfèvres, was the silversmith, Louis-Jean-Baptiste Cheret, son of the previously mentioned, Jean-Baptiste-François Cheret..

The estate records for Claude Roy's wife, Michelle Ivernelle or Yvernelle, note that at the time of her death in 1761, the

couple had two minor children: the previously mentioned, Marie-Françoise, and a son named, Jean- Charles, about whom nothing is known (Archives Nationale, Registre de clôtures d'inventaires après décès fait au Chatelet de Paris 1750-1763, AN Y5327, Michelle Yvernelle, 6 Avril 1761, Image 474/555).

- 16 *Journal de Paris* (Paris), "Arts," Numéro 44, 13 Février 1785, p. 183, col.'s 1 and 2. For examples of Cheret's work see: Gérard Mabilie, *Orfèvrerie Française des XVIe XVIIe XVIIIe siècles, Catalogue raisonné des collections du Musée des Arts Décoratifs et du Musée Nissim de Camondo* (Flammari- on; Paris: 1984), pp. 48050.

- 17 Claude Roy, *Essai sur la Perspective Pratique par le moyen du calcul* (Antoine Jombert; Paris: 1756). This work was favorably reviewed in the *Mercur de France*, "Essai sur la Perspective Pratique par le moyen du calcul," Décembre 1756, pp. 90-92, and; *Le Journal des Sçavans* (Paris), "De Paris," Décembre 1756, Volume I, pp. 830-831.

- 18 Herluison, *op.cit.*, p. 392.

Notes Concerning the Parisian Gun Makers Listed in Claude Jacquinet's Pattern Book of 1660

Of all the pattern books produced during the 17th and 18th centuries that illustrate decorative designs intended for the embellishment of firearms, perhaps the best known is Claude Jacquinet's, *Plusieurs Modèles des plus nouvelles manières qui sont en usage en l'Art d'Arquebuzeri avec ses Ornaments les plus Conuenables se tout tiré des Ouvrages de Thuraïne et le Hollandois Arquebuziers Ordinaires de sa Majesté* (Various Examples of the newest fashions that are in use in the Art of Gun Making with the most Suitable of those Designs all taken from the Works of Thuraïne and le Hollandois Gun makers in Ordinary to his Majesty [i.e., Louis XIV of France])

First published in 1660 and then reprinted in at least five successive editions over the next decade,¹ the book's lasting fame has less to do with the designs it contains than its initial three plates which have central panels illustrating scenes from the life of a gun maker's apprentice (Fig.'s 1-3). Although these images have over the past century been reproduced any number of times and were thoroughly discussed in Stephen V. Grancsay's monograph, *Master French Gunsmiths' Designs of the Mid-Seventeenth Century*,² the content of their adjacent borders has received

less attention. There, set into elaborate decorative devices representing various gun components (counter plates, sight bases, cocks, etc.), are the names of the following twenty-five gun makers who were working in Paris at the time of the book's initial publication.

Plate 2

MAYER A PARIS
ALEXANDRE MASSON A PARIS
DES TROIS MAISONS A PARIS NANTY A PARIS
CHODERLOT PARIS
DRVART A PARIS
DES NVEF MAISONS A PARIS
IEAN MASSON A PARIS

Plate 3

DES GRANGES A PARIS
LE CONTE A PARIS
DE FOVLLOIS A PARIS
A PARIS PAR N LE BOVRGVIGNON
DE NARCY A PARIS
A PARIS LALIGAN
GOLLE A PARIS
NAUDIN A PARIS

Plate 4

CASIN A PARIS
LA MARRE A PARIS
GARRET A PARIS



FRENEL A PARIS
LA COVSTVRE A PARIS
TVRENNE ET LE HOLLANDOIS A PARIS
DURIÉ A PARIS
PREBES A PARIS
MASCON A PARIS

While Grancsay provided information concerning arms signed by nine of the preceding makers,³ neither he, nor anyone else commenting on this work have attempted to provide more than cursory details concerning the working histories of the makers listed. As a result, they remain little known apart from their names. To a large extent this lack of attention has been due to the challenges faced by anyone who wished to study French arms makers of the seventeenth century. Until very recently, the only way to discover information concerning these individuals was to physically conduct a page by page search of the voluminous notarial records preserved in the French national archives in Paris. Since this entailed tremendous expense due to the costs associated with travel, accommodation and the amount of time needed to do more than a cursory search, work in this field was beyond the means of all but the wealthiest institutions. However, the computer and the internet have greatly changed this. The need to physically consult the original records has to a great extent been eliminated by the publication of on-line indices, extracts and digitized copies of the notarial files which allows them to be explored from anywhere in the world with a few keystrokes. Though the obstacle of having to go to Paris to do research has been overcome, others still remain. Chief among these is the determination of what exactly a document might contain and if it is of relevance. This is not as simple a task as it might appear since the records vary in legibility due to the penmanship of the notaries who prepared them, inconsistencies in spelling and multiple differences in the construction of abbreviations. As a result, it is only after sorting out these problems that the documents can be deciphered for translation and analysis.

Although the present search for information concerning the makers listed by Jacquinet was not wholly successful, documents concerning twenty of them were found. As would be expected, the amount of information these records contained varied considerably. In some instances, only names and occupations were mentioned, while in others family or business interrelationships were fully detailed. Whatever their content, all of these records cast new light on an area of historical research that has remained somewhat of a black hole.

One point that the notarial archives cannot address is the question of why Jacquinet chose to memorialize the makers listed above to the exclusion of others who were also active at the time. Perhaps the simplest answer to this is that the pattern book was produced not only to illustrate the latest decorative motifs that had become fashionable in Paris at the time, but also as an advertisement of its creator's skill. If that was

the case, the twenty-five makers could have been those for whom he had done work, a possibility that was first advanced by Bernard Quaritch in 1888.⁴ The likelihood of this having been the case is supported by the nature of the arms engraving trade itself. Until the industrialization of gun making during the nineteenth century, gun engravers plied their trade as independent contractors. This was due to the fact that even the most prolific of gun makers did not produce enough work to fully occupy an engraver. Consequently, the only means for those involved in decorating arms to secure a living wage was to secure a broad clientele that would ensure a constant flow of commissions.⁵ This in turn would explain the commonality in content and manner of execution of much of the engraved decoration encountered on mid-seventeenth Parisian firearms (Fig's 4 -8).





An alternate explanation for the list involves the production of the pattern book itself. It was not uncommon for specialized books of the period, as well as later, to have their costs underwritten by members of the trade to which they were addressed. Consequently, it is entirely possible that those mentioned either directly paid for the book's production or subscribed to the purchase of multiple copies to defray its expenses.

Before discussing these makers, however, some mention should be made of Jacquinet.

Despite having engraved the plates used in *Plusieurs Modèles des plus nouvelles manières* and *Plusieurs Pièces d'Arquebuserie Recueillies et Inventées par François Marcou maître arquebusier à Paris* believed to have been first published in 1657 (Fig. 9),⁶ then reissued in 1666 by Jacques Van Merlen,⁷ lit-



tle is actually known about him. Indeed, apart from the previously cited pattern books his name only appears in two other contemporary references. Without question, the earliest of these is of the most importance since it contradicts the popularly held assumption that he was simply an engraver by trade.⁸ Writing in 1666, the same year Van Merlen's second edition of Marcou's pattern book was published, the French classicist and art collector, Michel de Marolles (1600-1681), described Jacquinet as an *arquebusier* or gun maker.⁹ Since it is believed that de Marolles purchased prints directly from their engravers or pub-

lishers,¹⁰ this identification must be taken seriously. Its accuracy is further supported by the fact that immediately preceding this reference de Marolles described François Marcou as a *maître arquebusier*.¹¹ The distinction between the two in all likelihood indicates that Jacquinet was a journeyman gun maker and therefore, not one bound to a specific master. This would reinforce the thesis advanced at the beginning of this paper that Jacquinet most likely worked for multiple makers. The second period reference to Jacquinet also comes from de Marolles' hand. In *Le Livre des Peintres et Graveurs* written in 1673 as an explanatory addenda to the second catalogue of his collection that had been published the previous year, de Marolles listed Jacquinet as an engraver whose name had been omitted in the catalogue.¹² This identification should not be interpreted as a contradiction of his statement that Jacquinet was a gun maker, since other individuals who had been previously referred to by trade were treated the same way.

PLATE 2

MAYER: Four references have been found concerning Mayer, whose given name was Michel. The earliest, which lists his residence as being on the rue du Bac in the parish of *Saint-Sulpice, Saint-Germain-de-près-les-Paris*, is dated October 3, 1648 and was prepared upon his marriage to Marquerite de Vallois, the daughter of the gunmaker, Pierre de Vallois, who lived in the *rue Saint-Dominique* of the same parish (Archives Nationales, Minutes et répertoires du notaire Nicolas Charles, Etude XLVII, Minutes 1648 juin - 1648 décembre, MC/ET/XLVI/45, 3 octobre 1648). The remaining three documents dated some sixteen years later on May 5, September 13 and December 17, 1664, all relate to his guardianship of the minor children of his deceased brother-in-law, the gun maker Pierre de Vallois (Archives Nationales, Registres de tutelles, 01-07/1664 - 30/09/1664, AN Y3954A, 5 mai 1664, images 259-268 of 864; *ibid.*, 13 septembre 1664, images 40-44, and; *ibid.*, 01/10/1664 - 31/12/1664, AN Y3954B, 17 décembre 1664, images 727-729 of 975). In both of the latter two documents the gun maker Nicolas Laligan (discussed below) is listed as a witness and guarantor, while Jean Casin and Josse Durier (also discussed below) are cited in that of May 5, 1664.

An ink impression of the engraving executed on a pistol lock that is signed "M Mayer A Paris" is preserved in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Acc. No. E.1915-1946, Fig. 10).



ALEXANDRE MASSON: Alexandre Masson was the son of the lace dealer Antoine Le Masson and Elisabeth Le Vacher who were married in 1619 (Minutes et répertoires dunotaire Hilaire Lybault, Etude CV, Minutes 1619 janvier - 1619 juin, MC/ET/CV/215, 24 mai 1619), as well as the younger brother of Jean Masson who is discussed below. He is believed to have been born circa 1630 based upon the fact that he was described as a *maître arquebusier* in the contract drawn up prior to his marriage to Marie Quinet in December of 1653 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Balthazar d'Orleans, Etude LXV, Minutes 1653 Octobre - 1653 Décembre, MC/ET/LXV/31, 21 Décembre 1653 [a document witnessed by Jean Masson and Nicolas Laligant], images 5-7/71). Sometime prior to 1668, he was appointed gun maker in ordinary to Louis XV as he was described as such when he vouched for the accuracy of Anne Fauvel's financial claims in her marriage contract with Joseph Boudet (Archives Nationales, Registres des Insinuations du Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations 18 octobre 1668 - 26 mars 1669, Y//215, fol. 292, Notice 2810, 23 septembre 1668). A document dated September 15, 1673, indicates that his shop and residence were on the *rue de Bourbon*, in the *faubourg Saint-Germain des Près lez Paris* (ibid., Insinuations 16 juillet 1673 - 20 janvier 1674, Y//227, fol. 370, Notice 777, 15 septembre 1673 [intent to marry Jeanne Sallé]). Alexandre Masson died in either late September or early October of 1684, as the inventory of his estate was filed on October 7, 1684 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Jules Malin-gre, Etude XIII, Minutes 1684 juillet - 1684 décembre, MC/ET/XIII/103, 7 octobre 1684). Aside from his wife (Jeanne Sallé), Masson's heirs included two sons (Alexandre and Louis), two daughters (Angélique and Louise) plus a grand-daughter from the marriage of another daughter named Marie who had predeceased him. It is worth noting that Louise Masson was married to Claude Chateau, who himself later became a gun maker to Louis XIV (ibid.).

As an aside, no evidence has been found that would indicate that Alexandre Masson was related to the *armurier et damasquineur* (armor maker and damascener), Antoine Masson (1636-1700), who achieved considerable fame as an portraitist after abandoning his original profession in the early 1660s ([J. Danton] *Notice sur Antoine Masson Graveur Orléanais Lorry 1636 - Paris 1700* [H. Herluison; Orléans: 1866], p. 8, and; Andreas Andresen, *Handbuch fur Kupferstichsammler oder Lexicon der Kupferstecher, Maler-Radierer und Formschneider aller Lander und Schulen, Zweiter Band* [T. O. Weigel; Leipzig: 1873], p. 138).

DES TROIS MAISONS: Charles Des Trois Maisons' occupation was listed as a *compagnon arquebusier* or journeyman gun maker in the marriage contract of his sister Barbe that was drawn up on May 1, 1647 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Pierre Haffrey, Etude XIII, Minutes et répertoires 1647 janvier - 1647 juin, MC/ET/XIII/43, 1^{er} mai 1647, image 92/132 [Jean

de Laroque et Barbe Des Trois Maisons]). Their late father, Antoine, was described as having been a *maître arquebusier* in Montreuil, Picardy (ibid.). As Jean Casin (see below) served as a witness to this document, it is entirely possible that Charles Des Trois Maisons initially worked for that maker after coming to Paris.

NANTY: The earliest reference that has been found to date concerning Claude Nanty involves a promissory agreement he entered into with the gun maker Josse Durié (q.v.) dated September 20, 1643. In this document Nanty accepted a commission to make 14 flintlock guns under a royal warrant described as a *faveur de la naissance du Roy louis quatorze* or favor on the birthday of Louis XIV that had been issued on September 5, 1643 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Jacques Morel, Etude XLII, Contrats de mariage, notoriétés, inventaires après décès et autres, 1643 janvier - 1643 décembre, MC/ET/XLII/104, 20 septembre 163, images 456-458/1115, Promesse). Based upon the promissory note's content, the guns themselves were to be distributed to members of the civic guard of Paris which was made up of merchants, professionals and men of property (ibid., image 457/1115).¹³

The only other reference found concerning this maker is dated October 7, 1648, when he agreed to take on an apprentice (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Louis Daubanton, Etude LIII, Minutes 26 avril 1648 - 31 décembre 1648, MC/ET/LIII/1, 7 octobre 1648).

CHODERLOT: No records have been found concerning this maker, however, a double barrel pistol bearing his signature in the Tojhusmuseet, Copenhagen, Denmark (Inv. No. B 673) was illustrated by Torsten Lenk in his study, *Flintlaset Dess Uppkomst Och Utveckling* (Nordisk Rotogravyr; Stockholm: 1939 [Plate 24, images 2 and 3]).

DRUART: This was undoubtedly a member of the Drouard or Drouart family of armorers who were active in Paris during the seventeenth and very early eighteenth century. André Drouart, who was described as an *armurier ordinaire du Roi* served as a witness to the marriage of Joseph Dumont and Elisabeth Boulrier in 1669 (Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations, 27 mars 1669 - 3 août 1669, Y//216, fol. 358, Notice 3303, 24 mai 1669). Drouart died sometime in early 1683, as an inventory of his effects was filed by his widow Magdelaine Brussart on April 13 of that year (Archives Nationales, Registre de clôtures d'inventaire après décès, 1679-1689, AN Y5309, Magdelaine Broussart veuve d'André Druard, image 83/291). In this document a Jean Drouart was also mentioned as being a masterarmorer.

Unfortunately, the relationship between the deceased and Jean Drouart was not cited.

DES NEUF MAISONS: Eloi or Eloy des Neuf Maisons was the son of a lace dealer of the same name who died in 1639 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Claude I. Menard, Etude XXXIX, Minutes 1639, MC/

ET/XXXIX/71, folio 164, 28 juin 1639). In the preceding document his place of residence was given as the *rue Neuf Saint-Honoré* in the parish of *Saint-Roch*. On October 5, 1653, he served as a witness at the wedding of his cousin Francois Desangins to Gabrielle Michaut (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Louis Daubanton, Etude LIII, Minutes 1653 juillet - 1653 décembre, MC/ET/LIII/10, 5 octobre 1653) and in 1657, along with François Mascon (see below) he evaluated the estate of the Parisian gun maker Philippe Thomas (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Jean Lavasseur, Etude XLV, Minutes [inventaires après décès], 1655 - 1660, MC/ET/XLV/261, 7 mars 1657, images 176- 190).

JEAN MASSON: Jean Masson was the eldest son of the lace dealer Antoine Le Masson and Elisabeth Le Vacher who were married in 1619 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Hilaire Lybault, Etude CV, Minutes 1619 janvier - 1619 juin, MC/ET/CV/215, 24 mai 1619).

Following his father's death in August of 1632, he inherited property on the *rue Neuve Saint-Lambert* (Minutes et répertoires du notaire du Etienne Leroy, Etude VI, Minutes 1632 juillet - 1632 décembre, MC/ET/VI/445, 20 août 1632). In 1643, he and the gun maker Nicolas Laligan served as witnesses at the wedding of his sister Marie Masson, widow of the royal gunmaker Estienne Camin, to Tobie Tourneur, who was also a gun maker (Ibid., Minutes 1643 janvier - 1643 juin, MC/ET/VI/466, 14 juin 1643, and; notes for Turenne below). The interment record for his son Pierre, who died at age 6, indicates that Jean had relocated his home to the *rue des Fosses Saint-Germain près la fontaine* (by the fountain) prior to January 1664 (*Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français, Troisième Série, Tome VIII* [Charavay; Paris: 1892], p. 141). The last reference found regarding this maker occurs in a financial document dated March 2, 1680 (Registres des Insinuations du Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations, Y//237, folio 455, Notice 2347, 2 mars 1680).

PLATE 3

DES GRANGES: Des Granges full name was listed as Jean Chappus des Granges in an *Insinuation* filed with the Châtelet de Paris on July 19, 1676 (Archives Nationale, Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations, Y//232 (29 août 1676 - 6 mai 1677), folio 196v, Notice 965 - 19 juillet 1676). A contract signed by Des Granges dated July 29, 1668, concerning a pair of pistols to be made for Erik Dahlberg was published by Torsten Lenk in 1939 (Lenk, op.cit., p. 185).

LE CONTE: Nicolas Le Conte is listed as an armorer living on the *rue Transnonian*, parish of *Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs*, in a document concerning an inheritance brought about by the death of his mother (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Etienne Gerbault, Minutes 1642 janvier - 1642 mai, MC/ET/II/168, 16 mai 1642). The same document mentions that Le Conte's stepfather was the armorer Pierre Yart, which might be an orthographic corruption of the maker

Druart mentioned above.

Although no documents have been found that would indicate that Le Conte held an official position at the court of Louis XIV, his work was evidently held in high regard since he was given a commission to make double barrel turn/over sporting gun for King Charles XI of Sweden circa 1660-1665 (Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, LRK 3628 [old number 3888], Fig.'s 11 and 12). Regarded as one of the most opulent firearms of the period, the butt stock of this gun is extensively inlaid with silver decoration that is signed *BERAIN FECIT* and incorporates the legend identifying its donor, *L D G R* (*Ludovici Dei Gratia Rex* or Louis by grace of God King).



DE FOULLOIS: Mathieu de Foullois (or Foulois) is recorded as living under the jurisdiction of the royal palace in the *faubourg Saint-Jacques les Paris* with his wife, Marie Boucher, in 1656 (Registres des Insinuations du Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations, Y//193, 1656 2 mars - 1657 22 février, folio 429, Notice 4369, 29 janvier 1656).

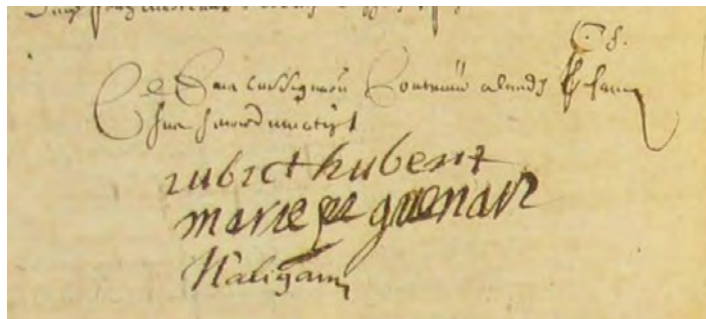
LE BOURGUIGNON: This maker has yet to be identified, however, his use of a geographic sobriquet indicates that he was from the Bourguignon region of eastern France by the Swiss border.

DE NARCY: No records have been found concerning this maker who, in common with Le Bourguignon, used a geographic sobriquet as a surname. It is unclear, however, if he originated from the village of Narcy in the Haute-Marne region of northeastern France or a similarly named village in the Bourgogne region.

LALIGAN: Nicolas Laligan (also variously recorded as Laligan, Laligant and Naligan) is mentioned in a num-

ber of legal records dating from the mid-1630s to mid-1660s (e.g., Minutes et répertoires du notaire Etienne Leroy, Etude VI, Minutes 1637 juillet - 1637 décembre, MC/ET/VI/455, 24 août 1637 [apprenticeship papers for Gédeon Lepetit]; *ibid.*, Minutes 1642 janvier - 1642 juin, MC/ET/VI/464, 3 février 1642 [the lease for a residence]; *ibid.*, Minutes 1643 janvier - 1643 juin, MC/ET/VI/466, 14 juin 1643 [marriage of Tobie Tournour to Marie Masson]; Registres de tutelles, 01/07/1664 - 30/09/1664, AN Y3954A, 13 septembre 1664, image 41/1120 [guardianship for minor children of Pierre Devallois and Marie Cernou], and; *ibid.*, 01/10/1664 - 31/12/1664, AN Y3954B, 17 décembre 1664, image 728/975 [guardianship of Devallois minor children]). He also was responsible for appraising the arms and tools in the estates of the gun makers, Guillaume Dufonds in 1652 (Inventaires après décès par Philippe Le Cat, AN ET-XVI-455, 01/01/1652 - 12/31/1652, 20 décembre 1652, images 100-101/341 [estate of Marie Dufonds, Guillaume's widow]); Pierre Hans in 1655 (*ibid.*, AN ET-XVI-457, 01/01/1655 - 12/31/1655, 12 novembre 1655, images 136-144/294), and ; Philippe Thomas in 1657 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Jean Levasseur, Etude XLV, Inventaires après décès, 01/01/1655 - 30/11/1660, AN ET-XLV-261, 7 mars 1657, image 179/633). It is worth noting with respect to the preceding three appraisals that in signing the documents Laligan conjoined the "N" of his given name with the "L" of his surname so that it appeared to read "Naligan" (Fig. 13).

See also the previous notes for Michel Mayer, Alexandre Masson and Jean Masson, as well as Turenne below.



GOLLE: Although this maker's surname was cited by Lenk as, "Galle" (Lenk, *op.cit.*, p. 80), first and second state imprints of the plate clearly indicate the correct spelling is "Golle." François Golle is recorded as a master gun maker in two notarial documents executed in Paris during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The first of these, dated February 28, 1666, concerns the estate of his father-in-law, the tailor Jacques Maillier, and merely mentions Golle (Inventaire après décès 1663 - 1668, AN ET-XLV-264, image 205/542 [28 février 1666 - succession Jacques Maillier]). The second, however, executed on May 30, 1672, provides somewhat more information (*ibid.*, 1672 - 1675, AN ET-XLV-266, image 72/560 [30 mai 1672 - Jacques Maillier]). Based upon its content, Golle had died sometime between 1666 and 1672, and his

brother-in-law, Jacques Maillier had been appointed a surrogate guardian for his son Pierre born in 1658. Unfortunately, as the 1672 document demonstrates, Maillier died prior to Pierre Golle reaching his majority. As a result, new arrangements had to be made concerning the boy's guardianship and a new evaluation of the property held in trust by Maillier for his charge had to be prepared. It is the latter aspect of the document that is of interest here. Aside from furniture, household objects, paintings and other personal property, the following arms, as well as parts, were listed (*ibid.*, images 73- 75/560).

Item cinq paires de pistolets de la facon du passe prise a raison de Douze livres lapaire

[Item five pairs of pistols after the fashion of the past valued for that reason at Twelve louis per pair]

Item quatre platines de fusils et deux de pitoles [sic] prises neufLouis

[Item four locks for flintlock guns and two for pistols valued at 9 Louis]

Item un fusil de quatre pieds de canon prise huitLouis

[Item one flintlock gun with a four foot barrel valued at 8 Louis]

Item une paire de pistolets a Deux Coups prise quarantesols

[Item one pair of double barrel pistols valued at 40 sols]

Item une paire de pistolets gravez sur la platine P.R. prises troisLouis

[Item one pair of pistols engraved on the locks P.R. valued at 3 Louis]

Item une paire de pistolets d'un long canon de dix neuf prise Cinq desols

[Item one pair of pistols with long barrels of nineteen valued at 5 sols]

Item un pistolet brise prise trentesols

[Item a turn-off pistol valued at 30 sols]

Item deux pistolets a Double platine prises quarantesols

[Item two pistols with double locks valued at 40 sols]

Item quinze Pistolets et [?]Donc quelques sans platines ou les autres[?] prises six livres

[Item fifteen pistols and (?) of which several are without locks or other (?) valued at six Livres]

Item Deux canons de fusils prises vingtsols

[Item two gun barrels valued at 20 sols]

Item un fusil et une harbaleste prises vingt sols

[Item one gun and one crossbow valued at 20 sols]

40 Item une paire de pistolets et une autre paire de poche prises le tout ensuite trois Louis dix sols

[Item one pair of pistols and another pair of pocket pistols valued together at 3 Louis 10 sols]

NAUDIN: Two gun makers having this surname are known to have worked in Paris during the seventeenth century. The first, Claude Naudin, is recorded as having purchased a number of gun barrels from Antoine Cottart in November of 1641. Although it is not specifically stated in the bill of sale regarding this transaction, Claude Naudin appears to have either held a royal appointment or at least enjoyed royal patronage since his residence and place of business was located in the Tuileries Palace (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Etienne Gerbault, Etude II, Minutes 1641 juillet - 1641 décembre, MC/ET/II/167, Marché d'armes 25 novembre 1641).

The second gun maker of this name was Charles Naudin who lived on the *Pont du Change* in the parish of *Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie* in the 1670s (Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations 1 juin 1675 - 10 janvier 1676, Y//230, folio 414, Notice 2745, 20 octobre 1675).

PLATE 4

CASIN: Numerous records survive concerning Jean Casin (sometimes referred to as Cazin) between 1638 and 1657. In 1639, he married Barbe Lefebure, the widow of the gun maker, Pierre Audot/Odot the Elder (Registres des Insinuations du Châtelet de Paris, Vol. 94, Insinuations 17 août 1638 - 23 août 1639, Y//179, fol. 125Vo, Notice 915, and; Benefice d'inventaire, AN Y3907, 01/06/1639 - 31/12/1639, 23 août 1639, image 662 and 663/1382). Barbe Lefebure evidently died sometime shortly after marrying Casin since he is recorded as having been married to Nicole Le Frais in a document dated November 14, 1641 (Archives Nationale de France, Registres de tutelles, 1 juillet 1641 - 31 décembre 1641, AN Y3909C, 14 novembre 1641, images 859-861/1144). Throughout the 1640s and 50s, Casin's place of residence was consistently cited as being on the *rue Tiquetonne* (also known as the *rue Quiquetonne*) or the *vallée de misère* (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Pierre Haffrey, Etude XIII, Minutes 1648 janvier - 1648 juin, MC/ET/XIII/45, 18 avril 1648, and; *ibid.*, Minutes 1650 juillet - 1650 décembre, MC/ET/XIII/49, 25 août 1649). Upon the death of the gun maker, Pierre Laon, Casin was appointed guardian of Jean Laon and was charged with arranging the evaluation of the late maker's estate (Registres de tutelles, AN Y3935B, 04/01/1655 - 06/30/1655, 9 juin 1655, image 715/917). In August of 1657, Casin was described as holding the positions of gun maker in ordinary to King Louis XIV and the Duke d'Anjou in a document preserved in the library of the Chamber of Deputies (E. Coyecque and H. Debraye, *Catalogue General des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France* [Plon-Nourrit et Cie; Paris: 1907], p. 262). Finally in 1664, Casin was named as one of the parties to the settlement of Pierre Devallois' estate (Registres de tutelles, 01/04/1664 - 30/06/1664, AN/Y3953B, image 260/864, 5 mai 1664; *ibid.*, AN

Y3954B, 01/10/1664 - 31/12/1664, image 728/975, 17 décembre 1664, and; see MAYER above).

In 1669, a gun maker named André Casin was listed in estate papers regarding the inheritance of Pierre Devallois' children, Marie Louise and Marguerite (see MAYER above). Aside from having his occupation noted, he was described as being their cousin by marriage (Registres de tutelles, AN Y3964B, *op.cit.*, image 604/683, 23 décembre 1669). His exact relationship to Jean Casin is, however, unknown.

LA MARRE: Two makers having this surname or a phonetic equivalent are known to have worked in Paris at the time the Jacquinet pattern book was published. The first was the master gun and lock maker, Pierre De La Marre or Delamarre, who is recorded as living on the *rue de la Fontaine des Egouts aux marais du Temple* parish of *Saint-Nicolas des Champs* in the contract that was prepared concerning his marriage to Denise Dufresne, widow of the cutler François Mirabeau, on October 4, 1648 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Claude Ménard, Etude XXXIX, Minutes 1648 juillet - 1648 décembre, MC/ET/XXXIX/83, fol. I/C/XXXVI).

The second and more likely candidate was Jacques Lamort, who was called Lamarre (Registres de tutelles, AN Y3941B, 01/04/1658 - 30/06/1658, 21 mai 1658, image 210/804 [*Jacques Lamort dit LaMarre Mr. Arquebusier a Paris dem. Rue des petite champz par Saint Eustache*], Fig. 14). While serving as a journeyman (*ouvrier arquebusier*), Lamarre entered into a marriage contract with Marguerite Thibault, the widow of the gun and crossbow maker Jean Pinson, on January 28, 1642 (Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations 6 mai 1643 - 15 octobre 1644, Y//183, folio 24, Notice 3741 - 28 janvier 1642). After her death, Lamarre married Marie Anne Thomas, daughter of the Parisian gun maker Philippe Thomas by his second wife (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Jean Levasseur, Etude XLV, Inventaires après décès, 01/01/1655 - 30/11/1660, AN ET-XLV-261, 7 mars 1657, image 176/633, and; Registres de tutelles, 21 mai 1658, *op.cit.*). The confusion surrounding Lamort's identification as Lamarre, Le Maire, Le Marre, de la Mare or even Lemoin is clearly demonstrated in the inventory of Philippe Thomas' estate (Inventaires - 7 mars 1657, *op.cit.*) where he is listed in the body of the text as Jacques Lamarre¹⁴ but his signature appears as Lamort (*ibid.*, image 177/633).

Although it cannot be demonstrated for certain, it is likely that Jacques Lamarre was one-in-the-same as the Jacques Lemaire who in 1666 received the appointment as Gun maker-in-Ordinary to Charles II (Howard L. Blackmore, *Gunmakers of London 1350-1850* [George Shumway; York, PA: 1986], p. 132). That this was the case may be bolstered by the fact that Le Maire was referred to as "*Monsieur de la Mare, Armurier du Roy*," by Albert Jouvin de Rocheford in 1672 (A. Jouvin de Rocheford, *Le voyageur d'Europe*,

ou sont *Les Voyages de France, d'Italie et de Malthe. D'Espagne et de Portugal, des Pays-Bas, d'Allemagne et de Pologne. D'Angleterre, de Danemark, et de Suede, Tome III* [Louis Billaine; Paris: 1672], p. 445; a translated extract of Jouvin's comments concerning England and Ireland was published by Francis Grose in *The Antiquarian Repertory: A Miscellaneous Assemblage of Topography, History, Biography, Customs and Manners, Intended to Illustrate and Preserve Several Valuable Remains of Olden Times, Volume IV* [Edward Jeffery; London: 1809], pp. 549-622 ["Description of England and Ireland in the 17th Century by Jorevin;" the citation of Le Mare occurring on p. 569]; Jouvin's visit to the British Isles took place sometime prior to late 1668 [C. Litton Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, Mainly of the Seventeenth Century* (Longmans, Green and Co.; London: 1904), p. 408].

Lamarre evidently left England in the early 1670s since he is recorded as working in Prague in 1674/75 and then in Vienna where he held the position of gun maker to the Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold I (Hans Schedelmann, *Die Deutschen Buchsenmacher I Band - Die Wiener Buchsenmacher und Buchsenschafter* [Walter de Gruyter & Co.; Berlin: 1944], pp. 61-62, 64, 67-69, 71, Fig.'s 66 [Pl. VI] and 81 [Pl. XIV]; Eugen Heer, *Der Neue Stockel: Internationales Lexikon der Buchsenmachers, Feuerwaffenfabrikanten und Armbrustmacher, Band I* [Schweizerisches Waffeninstitut; Schwabisches Hall: 1978], p. 674, and; *Liechtenstein, the Princely Collections* [Metropolitan Museum of Art; New York, NY: 1985], pp. 128-130). Lamarre died in 1700/1701 (Heer,op.cit.).

GARRET: The only records found concerning a gun maker having this surname or its phonetic equivalent, Garré, date from some four to seven decades after the publication of Jacquinet's pattern book and therefore, refer to a descendent or other relative of the Garret listed. However, since they may prove useful to future historians both citations are given here. In 1700, François Garet was listed as one of the guardians for his wife's nephew, Claude Riouste (Registres de tutelles, 08/01/1700 - 08/31/1700, AN Y4090, 26 août 1700, image 712/764). The second reference dated June 22, 1730, concerns the burial of François Garet who died at the age of 73 on March 6, 1730 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Nicolas Philippe Cléret, Etude LXIX, Minutes 1730 mai - 1730 août, MC/ET/LXIX/591 - Extrait mortuaire 22 juin 1730, images 100-103/279).

FRENEL: A certain amount of confusion surrounds this gun maker. Philippe Jarlier records that his given names were Jean-Baptiste and that he was active from the late 1680s until his death in 1729 (Pierre Jarlier, *Répertoire d'arquebusiers et de fourbisseurs français, 2e supplement* [François-Pierre Lobies; St.-Julien-du-Sault: 1981], p. 117, and; Minutes et répertoires du notaire François Laverjon, Etude XCI, Minutes 1729 avril - 1729 juin, MC/ET/XCI/726 - Renonciation 20

juin 1729). Those dates, however, would be inconsistent with someone who was already a *maître arquebusier* in 1660 and therefore, Jarlier's notes may refer to a son of the maker cited by Jacquinet.

The only record of a gun maker working in Paris at the mid-point of the 17th century whose name physically or, more importantly, phonetically resembled that of Frenel was Pierre Fresnel. Born in the village of Colleville-Marguerye in the diocese of Bayeux, Fresnel was identified as a *maître arquebusier* in September of 1646 when he entered into a contract to marry Marie Rousseau (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Simon Le Mercier, Etude VII, Minutes 1646, MC/ET/VII/35, 29 septembre 1646 - contract of marriage to Marie Rousseau). That Fresnel and Jacquinet's Frenel may be one-in-the-same is bolstered by the fact that Fresnel evidently had ties to the royal court. Not only was his future wife employed at the *palais des Tuileries*, but one of the witnesses to the document was Philippe de Buyster, *sculpteur ordinaire du Roi* (ibid.). In addition, another witness was François Bertrand who later became known as Bertrand Piraube (per a forthcoming article).

Coincidentally, it should be noted that an individual named Jean Fenel held an appointment as *armurier du roi* during the same period (Archives Nationales de France, Registres de tutelles, 01-07-1681 - 31-07-1681, AN Y3990B, images 335-336/835, 15 juillet 1681) and was sometimes referred to as an *arquebusier* (Maison du roi, Minutes ou transcriptions authentiques d'actes émanés des rois Louis XIV et Louis XV 1669-1786, Tome IX, E-F, Registre O/1/29, fol. 607vo [Fenel (Jean), arquebusier: don de place à bâtir à Versailles - 1685], and; Registres de tutelles, 01-07-1681 - 31-07-1681, AN Y3990B, Image 335/835, Emancipation Fenel 15 juillet 1681). However, no record has been found to date to indicate he worked in Paris.

LA COUSTURE: Philippe de la Cousture served as armorer to the Louis XIV until December 8, 1679, when he tendered his resignation (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Dominique de Jean, Etude XCIV, Minutes 1679 octobre - 1679 décembre, MC/ET/XCIV/56 - Renonciation 8 décembre 1679).

TURENNE ET LE HOLLANDOIS: Circumstantial evidence suggests that the gun maker known as Le Thuraine was in fact the *maître arquebusier* Thobie Le Tourneur or Tourneur, husband of Alexandre Masson's sister Marie (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Etienne Leroy, Etude VI, Minutes 1643 janvier - 1643 juin, MC/ET/VI/466 - Mariage Tobie Tourneur and Marie Masson widow of the royal gun maker Etienne Camin in the presence of Nicolas Lalignan and Jean Masson, 14 juin 1643, and; Registres de tutelles, 10/01/1684 - 12/31/1684, AN Y4002, images 934-935/1397, 24 Octobre 1684 [guardianship agreement relative to Louis Masson, son of Alexandre Masson and MarieQuinet]). The basis for the identification of Le Tourneur with Le Thuraine lies in his given, as well as surname. The name Thobie is rarely

encountered in France other than in the old region of Touraine (or Thuraine) and the surname is evocative of an occupation (turner) that could have led to confusion among those seeking his services as a gun maker. Thus his use of a geographic sobriquet would have been both understandable and commercially appropriate. In addition, the familial interrelationship with the Masson family indicates that his position within the gun making community of Paris was of equal standing to his in-laws (i.e., that of an *arquebusier du roi*). The October 24, 1684 guardianship document for Louis Masson (op.cit.) also states that Le Tourneur's brother, Remy, was also a *maître arquebusier* working in Paris at the same time. This would explain those arms bearing the signature *Les Thuraines à Paris* known from engraving impressions (see Fig. 4) and surviving pieces (e.g., Tojhusmuseet, Copenhagen, Inv. No.'s B.958 and 959; Sotheby's Hannover, *Property from the Royal House of Hanover*, Oct. 6, 2005, Lot 756; etc.).

It is highly probable, but by no means certain, that the gun maker called Le Hollandois (the Hollander or Dutchman) was a member of the family that used the same sobriquet during the early decades of the eighteenth century. If so, he is likely to have been Jacques Renier (the phonetic equivalent of Reynier). Although he was described in 1638 as a *maître fourbisseur et garnisseur d'épées* (a master maker and decorator of swords [Minutes et répertoires du notaire Germain Tronson, Etude I, Minutes 1638, MC/ET/II/113, 18 mars 1638]), in 1639 his occupation was listed as *porte arquebusier du Roi* (the gun maker responsible for loading Louis XIII's arms while he was hunting) in a promissory note signed by the locksmith Jean Depot (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Simon Le Mercier, Etude VII, Minutes 1639, MC/ET/VII/28, 14 avril 1639).

DURIÉ: Due to the phonetic pronunciation of this maker's surname, it is almost certain that he was one-in-the-same as Gosse or Josse Durier who was first recorded as working in Paris during the 1640s (Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations, 13 février 1642 - 5 mai 1643, Y//182, folio 53v, Notice 2912, 30 mars 1642, and; folio 57v, Notice 2922, 27 mars, 1642). Both of the latter Notices indicate that Durié was married to Marie Desforetz, daughter of the late gun maker Jacques Desforetz. As noted in the entry for Claude Nanty, Durié received a royal commission to produce a number of muskets for the city guard of Paris in September of 1643. In 1650, Durié served as a witness to his brother-in-law's marriage (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Antoine Gaultier, Etude III, Minutes 1650 août - 1650 décembre, MC/ET/III/589, 26 octobre 1650 [marriage of the gunmaker François Desforetz]). It is apparent that Durié supplemented his income as a gun maker with other endeavors since he was listed as a *mre arquebusier marchand de vins* (master gun maker and wine merchant) in the guardianship papers for the minor children of Pierre de Vallois dated May 5, 1664 (op.cit., MAYER). The final reference found concern-

ing Durié records the gift of 13,500 *livres tournois* by he and his wife to their son Mathieu on July 23, 1676 (Registres des Insinuations du Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations 29 août 1676 - 6 mai 1677, Y//232, fol. 165v, Notice 920).

PREBES: No records have been found concerning this maker.

MASCON: Although François Mascon's surname is sometimes noted as "Masson" in contemporary records those related to him can be readily identified by means of his listed address and mentions of the Legay family to whom he was related by marriage. The earliest reference to Mascon involves his marriage to Barbe Legay, widow of the gun maker Julien Vanlagert in September of 1641 (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Thomas Cartier, Etude XIII, Minutes 1641 juillet - 1641 décembre, MC/ET/XIII/34, 5 septembre 1641). During the 1640s and perhaps afterward he lived at the *Petit Bourbon* in the parish of *Saint-Germain- l'Auxerrois* in Paris (ibid., Minutes 1643 janvier - 1643 juin, MC/ET/XIII/37, 29 juin 1643 [apprenticeship papers for Jacques Rousseau], and; Minutes 1645 juin - 1645 décembre, MC/ET/XIII/4, 15 novembre 1645 [apprenticeship papers for Jacques Vologe]). From 1647 onward he was listed as holding the title of gun maker to the king (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Pierre Haffrey, Etude XIII, Minutes 1647 janvier - 1647 juin, MC/ET/XIII/43, 11 juin 1647 [as witness to the marriage contract of Mathieu Jacob and Charlotte Legay]; ibid., Minutes 1649, MC/ET/XIII/47, 27 avril 1649 [as an appraiser of Guillaume Legay's estate], and; ibid., 19 octobre 1649 [in documents concerning the widow of Guillaume Legay]). As noted in the entry for Eloi Des Neuf Maisons above, François Mascon was one of the appraisers engaged to value the estate of the gun maker Philippe Thomas who died in 1657.

On July 19, 1658, Mascon served as a witness to the marriage contract drawn up between René Robin and Jeanne Le Pot (Registres des Insinuations du Châtelet de Paris, Insinuations 30 août 1658 - 12 août 1659, Y//196, fol. 107Vo, Notice 2399). Although Mascon apparently died in March of 1662 (Simon-François Langloix, *Traite des Droits, Privileges et Fonctions des Conseillers du Roy, Notaires, Gardes-Notes & Gardes-Scel de Sa Majesté au Châtelet de Paris* [Jean-Baptiste Coignard; Paris: 1688], p. 354), guardianship papers for his minor children were not filed until February 26, 1663 (Archives Nationales, Registres de tutelles, 01/01/1663 - 31/03/1663, AN Y3951A, images 447-449/959, 26 février 1663).

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ENDNOTES

1. The various editions of *Plusieurs Modeles* appear to have been as follows:

First edition sold by Jacquinet without imprint date in which plates are numbered 1 to 16 (Osterreichisches Museum fur Allgemeine Kunst, Inv. No. KI 6498)

Second edition with the imprint date of 1660 and plates numbered sequentially as above. (Bernard Quaritch, *Quaritch's Reprints of Rare Books. X. Plusieurs Models des plus Nouvelles Manieres qui sont en usage en l'art d'arquebuzerie le tout gravé par Jacquinet. Paris 1660* [Quaritch; London: 1888]).

Third edition dated 1660 with the plate numbers for the title page, as well as the three vignette plates erased and the design plates numbered from 1 to 12.

Fourth edition produced by Nicolas Langlois without imprint date as above (Stephen V. Grancsay, *Master French Gunsmiths' Designs of the Mid-Seventeenth Century* [Greenberg; New York: 1950]). * Note-there is a variant of this edition in which the construction of the plate numbers 3, 5, 7, 8 and 10 are quite different (compare MAK, KI 6498 and Grancsay).

Fifth edition by Nicolas Langlois without the vignette plates and all the design plates signed by the printer in block letters. In this edition plates 2, 4-6 and 8 correspond to 6, 8-10 and 12 of the preceding versions (Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome, Inv. No. FC113551-FC11361, and; Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 2016.403.14)

The sequencing of the editions is based upon erasures, scratches in the plates and the progressive wear to the finer details in the engravings. For example, the progressive deterioration of Plate 9 in the first four editions can be seen in the gradual loss of shaded ornament in the lower jaw of the cock at center; the presence or absence of a plate scratch above the left-hand lion's muzzle of the counter plate at center top; the same with respect to the left-hand lion's head, and; the gradual erosion of the lower arm to the square bracket by the rear sight at right.

As another example, in the earliest impressions of Plate 4 there is an axis line running through the barrel tang and stock carving depicted on the left side. This line evidently was worn away rather quickly and is not to be seen even in vestigial form in any subject editions. Similarly, in its original form the contour line of the cock at the center of Plate 2 extends up to the base of the trigger guard shown at top. In subsequent printings this line stops well short of the trigger guard base.

It should be noted that totally homogeneous copies of *Plusieurs Modeles* are uncommon. Many sets are made up of impressions from multiple editions or printings. While some of these were most likely assembled by the original publishers to use up existing stocks of plates, others are nineteenth century creations.

In addition, facsimile reproductions of the work were published in 1888 by Bernard Quaritch of London and then again in 1950 by Stephen Grancsay.

2. Stephen V. Grancsay, *Master French Gunsmiths' Designs of the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Greenberg; New York: 1950), pp. 2-4. As Grancsay noted, the first of the vignettes was signed by the monogramist "F" in the lower left corner. While any number of engravers working in Paris circa 1660 had given or surnames beginning with the letter "F," only

one is known to have signed his work in that way. That was Pierre Ferdinand Elle who went by the name Pierre Elle Ferdinand to differentiate himself from other members of his family (François Brulliot, *Dictionnaire des Monogrammes, Marques Figurées, Lettres Initiales, Noms Abrégés etc. avec lesquels Les Peintres, Dessinateurs, Graveurs et Sculpteurs ont Désigné Leurs Noms, Second Partie* [J. G. Cotta; Munich: 1833], pp. 93-94; for the transposition of his middle and last names see Registres de tutelles, AN Y3961B, 1 avril 1668 – 30 juin 1668, images 128-129/888, 19 avril 1668). However, the somewhat rustic nature of the work is at odds with the level of draughtsmanship seen in other engravings from Ferdinand's hand. This may not necessarily disqualify him as the author of these scenes since they may represent an artistic response to the doggerel verses accompanying the images. The possibility of Ferdinand having been the author of the work may also be supported by the fact that he is known to have produced plates which were republished by Nicolas Langlois who printed one edition of the Jacquinet pattern book (see Note 1 above). Perhaps the most perplexing aspect of the gun shop scenes is the archaic nature of the arms that are shown vis-à-vis the date of the book's publication. For example, in Plate 3 all of the arms depicted are either complete or incomplete wheellocks except for a matchlock petronel having an inlaid butt stock shown on the left workbench and a snaphaunce or flintlock gun set in a vise by the central figure. Similarly, in Plate 4 the only firearm that is not a wheellock is a snaphaunce gun suspended to the immediate left of the central coat-of-arms. The scenes therefore, would be more appropriate for the 1630s than 1660. This disparity between what is shown in the remainder of the book, as well as the borders surrounding the vignettes, raises the possibility that the scenes and verses were appropriated from an older, as yet unknown, source or they were intended to be memorials to Jacquinet's own youth.

3. Grancsay, op.cit., p. 9.
4. Bernard Quaritch, *Quaritch's Reprints of Rare Books. X. Plusieurs Models des plus Nouvelles Manieres qui sont en usage en l'art d'arquebuzerie le tout gravé par Jacquinet. Paris 1660* (Quaritch; London: 1888), p. iii - Note.
5. The reliance of engravers upon multiple clients with respect to the decoration of silverware is discussed in Paul Lacroix and Ferdinand Seré, *Le Livre d'Or des Métiers, Histoire de l'Orfèverie - Joaillerie* (Librairie de Seré; Paris: 1850), p. 145.
6. While the title page of Marcou's pattern book is undated, an unnumbered plate bears the inscription: Marcou Inuenit 1657 (illustrated in Torsten Lenk, *Flintlaset Dess Uppkomst Och Utveckling* [Nordisk Rotogravyr; Stockholm: 1939], pl. 113-2).
7. As the title page for this edition includes the statement that it was available "A Paris chez van Merlen rue S. lacques a la ville d'Anuer Auec priuil. du Roy," it is apparent that Van Merlen had acquired the official copyrights (i.e., the "privilege du Roy") from Marcou. In addition, the notice immediately below the title that the work, including the elaborate ornamental frame surrounding the title and publisher's details, was engraved by Jacquinet (C lacquinet Sculpsit) indicates that he was still living in 1666. For biographical information concerning Jacques Van Merlen see: Henri Herlison, *Actes d'Etat-Civil d'Artistes Français Peintres, Graveurs, Architectes, etc. extraits des registres de l'Hôtel-de-Ville de Paris* (J. Bauer; Paris: 1873), pp. 441- 442.

8. Jacquinet was described simply as a graveur d'ornements or ornamentenstecher (i.e., an ornamental engraver) by a variety of nineteenth century art historians (e.g., Alfred Bonnardot, *Histoire Artistique et Archéologique de la Gravure en France* [Deflorenne Neveu; Paris: 1849], p. 90, and; Paul Kronthal, *Lexikon der Technischen Kunste, Erster Band* [G. Grote; Berlin: 1898], p. 446). More recently he was simply described as a metal engraver (Roger-Armand Weigert, *Inventaire du Fonds Français Graveurs du XVIIe Siècle, Tome Cinquième* [Bibliothèque Nationale; Paris: 1968], p. 448).
9. Michel de Marolles Abbé de Villeloin, *Catalogve de Livres d'Estampes et de Figvres en Taille Dovce. Avec un dénombrement des pieces qui y sont contenues. Fait à Paris en l'année 1666* (Frederic Leonard; Paris: 1666), p. 112.
10. Michel de Marolles Abbé de Villeloin, *Les Memoires de Michel de Marolles Abbé de Villeloin* (Antoine de Sommaville; Paris: 1656), pp. 154 and 167; *ibid.*, *Suite des Memoires de Michel de Marolles, Abbé de Ville- Loin* (Antoine de Sommaville; Paris: 1657), pp. 258-260.
11. De Marolles, *Catalogue*, op.cit., p. 112.
12. Michel de Marolles Abbe de Villeloin (Georges Duplassis, editeur), *Le Livre des Peintres et Graveurs* (P. Jannet; Paris: 1855), p. 54. This work was prepared to augment Michel de Marolles, *Catalogue de Livres d'Estampes et de Figvres en Taille-Dovce. Avec un denombrement des Pieces qui y sont contenues. Fait à Paris en l'année 1672* (Jacques Langlois; Paris: 1762). Though mentioned in a bibliographic biography of de Marolles published in 1673 (Jacques Langlois, *Le Catalogve des Livres Composez par l'auteur de cette nouvelle Traduction en Vers de toutes les Œuvres de Virgile* [Jacques Langlois; Paris: 1673], p. 22), it apparently only existed in manuscript form until Duplassis' edition.
13. References to the muskets used by members of the civic guard in Paris are only rarely encountered in the notarial archives and the identification of their makers is an even more unusual occurrence. One of the few instances where this occurs is in the inventory of Simon Morin's estate dating from May of 1743. In this document it was noted that among his possessions was the fusil forming part of his equipment as a member of the garde de la ville which had been made by La Roche (Minutes et répertoires du notaire Alexandre Cornet, Etude XXVIII, Contrats de mariage, notoriétés et inventaires apres décès, 5 janvier 1743 - 30 juin 1743, MC/ET/XXVIII/281, image 125/412, 17 mai 1743 [Inventaire Simon Morin, un des gardes de la ville]).
14. In the entries for Philippe Thomas' estate inventory on the website famillesparisiennes.org, Lamort's name is incorrectly transcribed as Lemoine in the cross-referenced citation for Marie Anne Thomas.