

XXX^E CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES HISTORIENS DU PAPIER XXX^E
XXXTH INTERNATIONAL PAPER HISTORIANS CONGRESS XXXTH



Angoulême (France)
7-11 Octobre 2010



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 Angoulême, Payzac, Puymoyen, La Courade
 7-11 october 2010

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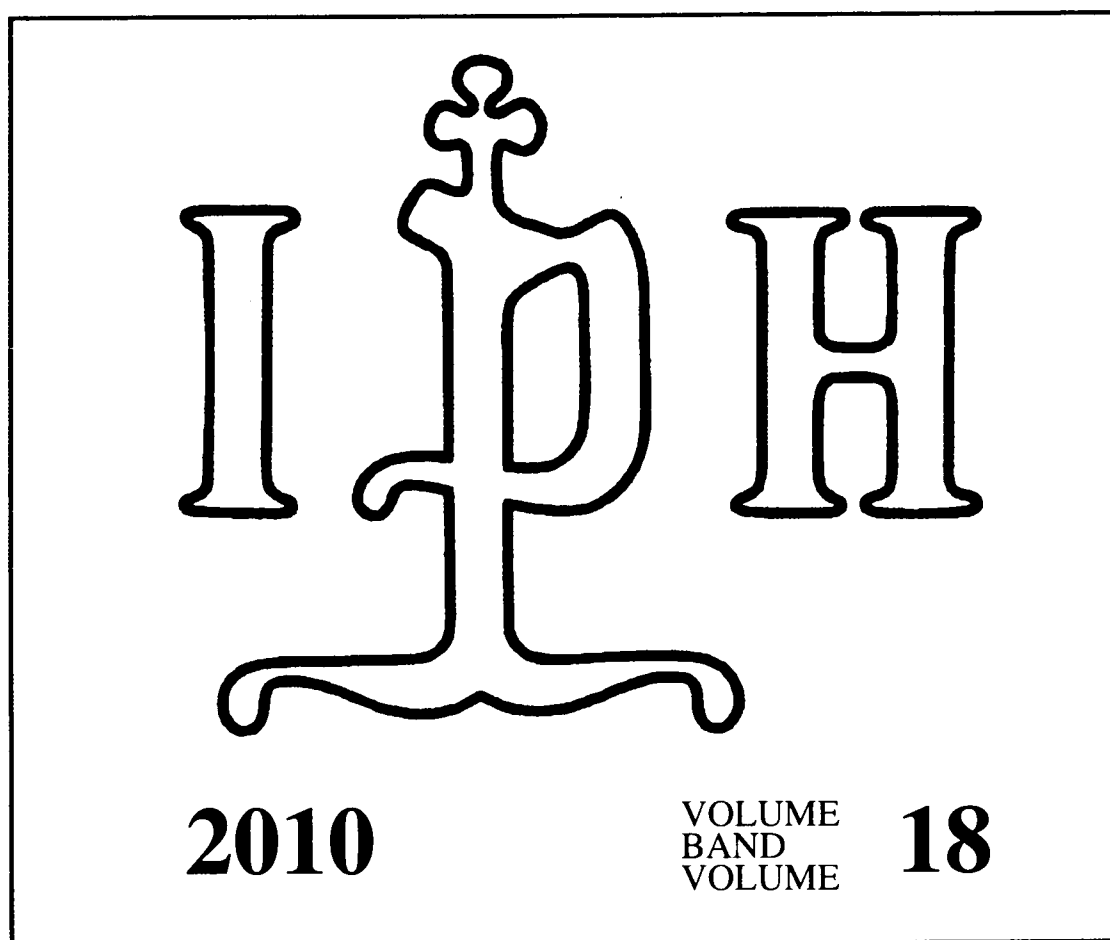
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IMPORTED PAPER, INCLUDING FRENCH, has been used in Russia and Siberia in the XVIth through the first third of the XVIIIth century. The Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of the Tomsk State University Research Library (ORKP NB TGU) is one of Tomsk's largest depositories of historical documents and houses rich collection of Siberian manuscripts dated from the XVIIth-XVIIIth centuries.

Some of the XVIIth century manuscripts were written on French paper bearing the countermarks of Dutch factors who owned paper mills in Angoumois, France¹. One of them – Gillis van Hoven, together with his partner, P. de Haak, was the owner of several paper mills around the year of 1635². The other famous factor, whose countermark occurs on the paper of Siberian manuscripts was Abraham Jansen³. He settled in Angoumois in 1635, bought a few paper mills, such as Puy-Moyen and Nersac, and owned them till 1710⁴. Famous French paper-makers – Jean Villedary, Claude de George, Jean and François Jardel – worked at those mills.

Claude de George used the heraldic shield with Strasburg Lily in his watermark⁵, according to W. Churchill⁶. De George was papermaker at the Nersac mill in Angoumois from 1643 to⁷ 1683 and used countermark letters CDG. His paper was so popular, that De George's widow decided to keep her husband's countermark after his death. As a result, paper with mentioned letters was produced until 1706⁸. The full view of the De George's countermark is not available on the Tomsk's manuscripts (only large fragments are), but from what is available to see appears very similar to the picture published by Churchill.

Countermarks of other French papermakers, who worked for the Dutch market, can also be found on the paper of Tomsk's manuscripts. Among them, for example, letters DD – initials of the papermaker from Angoumois David Debort⁹, Dieuade – last name of Antoine Dieuade¹⁰, countermark of Antoine Clédat¹¹ – letters AC under the coat of arms of Amsterdam, and others.

Paper produced in Angoumois was used in different Siberian towns. The following watermarks were identified on Siberian manuscripts from the Tomsk University Library collection: Seven province GVH (initials of Gillis van Hoven) – on the documents of the Kuznetsk town custom house from 1687-1688¹²; the coat of arms of Amsterdam with countermark AI (initials of Abraham Jansen) and Strasburg Lily with the same countermark – in a documents of the Tobolsk Voevoda's¹³ chancellery and administration from 1698¹⁴, and so on. Private people also used French paper for their personal needs. For example, a manuscript copy of Zosima and Savvatii Solovetsky hagiography¹⁵ was written on a paper with the countermark GVH. This manuscript was housed at the church depository of ancient documents in Tobolsk since the XVIIth century; in 1920s it has been transferred to the Tomsk University Library along with other manuscripts and early printed books. It is necessary to mention however that Siberian origin of this manuscript is questionable.

The total number of documents on French paper in Siberian archival depositories from the XVIIth century is not large – only

1 : See, for example, ORKP NB TGU, -8513, p.9, -8514, p.13

2 : CHURCHILL W. *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France etc. in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection*. Amsterdam, 1935, p. 23.

3 : See, for example, ORKP NB TGU, -8521, ff. 2, 3, 4.

4 : CHURCHILL W. *Watermarks ...*, p. 23

5 : *The most similar see* : CHURCHILL W. *Watermarks ...*, p. 412.

6 : CHURCHILL W. *Watermarks...*, p. 84.

7 : *Ibid.* p.19

8 : *Ibid.* p.21

9 : ORKP NB TGU, -8498, p.2. See also : NICOLAI A. *Histoire des moulins à papier du sud-ouest de la France. 1300-1800*. Vol. 2. Bordeaux, 1935, p. 65.

10 : ORKP NB TGU, -8505, p. 2. See also : NICOLAI A. *Histoire des moulins...* Vol.2. Bordeaux, 1935, p.63.

11 : ORKP NB TGU, -8522, p.1. See also : Nicolai A. *Histoire des moulins...* Vol.2. Bordeaux, 1935, p. 63.

12 : ORKP NB TGU, -8513,-8514.

13 : *The Voevoda was the head of province and town in the XVIIIth century in Russia*.

14 : ORKP NB TGU, -8521.

15 : ORKP NB TGU, -5708.

six official documents and two private manuscripts were discovered during this study. As a result the full information on the paper usage and statistical data is not available. It's possible to identify that French paper produced in Angoumois was in circulation in Siberia in the XVIIth century, but the patterns of the usage can't be easily determined.

Data for the XVIIIth century is more substantial. Some French papermakers continued to work for Dutch factors at this period. A watermark with the coat of arms of Amsterdam and countermark of the French papermaker F. Marot from Perigord (F. Marot; F. Marot, fin, Perigord), who worked at Couze mill¹⁶ can be frequently found in Siberian documents from the first third of the XVIIIth century. The name of another papermaker, who worked at the same mill – Raimon Jardel¹⁷ – also frequently occurs on the French paper from this period. Both kinds of watermarks are found on the paper used in the Voevoda's chancellery, the Archbishop's office, custom house and churches of Tobolsk, Kusnetsk, Berdsk, Tomsk, etc.

At the end of the XVIIth – first half of the XVIIIth century, France began to reform actively its legislation on papermaking. According to the law of 1688, each papermaker was obliged to indicate his initials on the paper, produced at his mill. Series of legislative acts from 1739-1741 regulated size and weight of paper, especially paper for export¹⁸. The year of paper manufacture must be shown on each sheet paper from the year of 1742 onward. Since the text of the law allowed for some variations in its interpretation, many papermakers used the date "1742" on their paper until the end of the century¹⁹. There are two documents among Siberian manuscripts at the ORKP NB TGU, written in 1745²⁰ in Kuznetsk that bear the mould date "1742"; the paper was produced by F. Marot in Perigord.

The most widespread imported paper in Siberia in the first half of the XVIIIth century was the French paper with the coat of arms of Amsterdam. The most frequent countermarks with initials of F. Marot and R. Jardel were found in Kuznetsk and Berdsk documents dated from 1733-1734, and paper produced by F. Marot's son was found in Kuznetsk documents from 1745. A majority of documents under study were produced in Kuznetsk and Berdsk, and some of them in Tobolsk and Tara (1742-1743). The whole number of manuscripts from the Tomsk Library collection produced on the paper with a countermark F. Marot in ORKP is 57, whereas the one with a countermark R. Jardel amounts to 44.

The substantial number of manuscripts in different Siberian depositories provides evidence that French paper was used widely in all Siberian territory. For example, paper with countermark "F. Marot" was used in Oek, Irkutsk²¹, Tobolsk²²; paper with countermark "R. Jardel" has also been found in Tobolsk²³.

The number of private Siberian manuscripts of XVIIIth century at the Tomsk State University Library is not high. The autograph of the first ethnographical work about Siberia "Kratkoe opisanie o narode ostyatskom" by Grigory Novitsky²⁴ is the earliest among them, and was written in Tobolsk in 1715. The work of Novitsky was published in German in 1721; the manuscript copies of this

16 : CHURCHILL W. *Watermarks...*, p. 20.
According to Churchill, F. Marot worked at this mill in 1739.

17 : CHURCHILL W. *Watermarks ...*, p. 20.
According to Churchill, this name was mentioned during the period 1706-1784.

18 : *Ibid.* p.57-58

19 : *Ibid.* p.58

20 : See, for example, ORKP NB TGU, -796,
p.132.

21 : Institut istorii SO RAN (Institute of history,
Siberian Branch of Russian Academy of
Science), 4/84, p.55-58, 72;

22 : GATO (State Archive of Tomsk Region),
f. 175, op. 2, d. 5, p. 97; f.1 73, op. 1, d. 85, p.
502-506; TGLAMZ (Tobolsk State Historico-
Architecture Museum-Reserve), 12532, p.156-
157, etc

23 : GATO, f.175, op.2, d.3, p.1-2\$ f. 175, op. 2,
d. 6, p. 1-2/

24 : ORKP NB TGU, -751

text were widespread – for example, the author of the Tobolsk chronicle, the coachman Ilya Cherepanov, used one of them in his work. “Kratkoe opisanie...” was published in Russia as a translation from German in 1884. The full text of autograph was first published in 1941 by the Novosibirsk scholar N. A. Kvashnin.

Novitsky’s autograph is a manuscript *in-quarto*, consisting of 98 leaves, with cardboard binding and marble paper on covers, written in neat “skoropis”. Novitsky’s handwriting is on the leaves 1-92, leaves 93 through 98 were handwritten by another person. The manuscript is not illuminated, the only ornamentation is the simple linear frame on the title page. Two sorts of paper were used in this manuscript: one of them has a watermark with the coat of arms of Amsterdam and countermark AG (initials of Antoine Grelou from Perigord), and another with the same watermark but a different countermark MAR (by F. Marot).

It is necessary to mention the manuscript copy of “Arifmetika” by Leonty Magnitsky²⁵ which belonged to Fedor Us’yantsev, a son of the soldier of the Fourth division of the Enisey regiment. The first edition of “Arifmetika” was published in 1703; it was re-published several times through the XVIIIth century, and became the most authoritative Russian textbook. The famous Russian scholar Mikhail Lomonosov was taught using it in school. Since the textbook was quite expensive, and students couldn’t afford it, it was manually copied (as a whole or partially) many times. The copy under study is not in a good condition (some leaves are missing, dilapidated and stained); some repair was done as early as the end of the XVIIIth century. The paper with a coat of arms of Amsterdam watermark and a countermark F. Marot was used in the Tomsk manuscript.

25 : ORKP NB TGU, -869.

The same paper was used by Ilya Cherepanov, the Tobolsk coachman, for his famous chronicle; one of the copies of Cherepanov’s manuscript is now located in the Tobolsk museum²⁶. “Cherepanov’s chronicle” is a collection of historical texts that start from the period of Siberian colonization and include biography of Ermak, conqueror of Siberia, compilation from “Siberian history” by G. F. Miller, “Remezov chronicle” and “Opisanie naroda ostyatskogo” by Novitsky follows further. For the later Siberian history (second half of the XVIIIth century) the chronicle includes an original text by Cherepanov, its final year is 1759.

26 : TGIAMZ, 12532, p.156-157.

One can find French paper also in Old Believers manuscript collections. For instance, one of the Old Believers Books of canons²⁷ was written on paper with countermarks of Antoine Grelou and Abraham Jansen. An Old Believers manuscript recently purchased by the Tomsk Library²⁸ was written on a paper with a countermark of Abraham Jansen and the coat of arms of Amsterdam.

27 : ORKP NB TGU, -5354.

28 : ORKP NB TGU, -20.103.

As a whole, there is more material for analysis for the XVIIIth century than for the XVIIth century. Paper from the XVIIIth century manuscripts was mostly produced in the Perigord mills while the paper that was used in Siberia in the XVIIth century was coming from Angoumois. Paper with countermarks of F. Marot and R. Jardel was the most popular.

Russian paper, produced in the European part of the country, appeared for the first time in Siberian manuscripts in the 1730s. A widening use of Russian paper in Siberia pushed the European-made paper out of the Siberian market by the middle of the century, and finally paper of Siberian origin was available on the market at the end of the XVIIIth century. French paper became rare; it is nearly impossible to find it among documents of the end of the century.

There were two main ways of delivery of French paper to Siberia: firstly – through merchants who brought paper from the European part of Russia for sale; secondly – through the centralized supply of the government institutions. Centralized supply was irregular and shortage of paper was very common, according to numerous archival sources from the central and local archives²⁹. Thus, state organizations and private persons were forced to buy paper on the market³⁰.

Tomsk merchants D. Shukov, P. Efsev'ev and V. Kolmogorov, bourgeois I. Myl'nikov and D. Sechenov were selling paper in Tomsk at the end of the XVIIIth century. Imported paper was more expensive than the Russian one.

For example, in the book of acquisitions and expenses of the Tomsk bourgeois P. Startsov, one can see 9 records on paper buying for the period of January the 4th to July 31st 1790³¹. For each purchase, only a small quantity of paper was bought. In two cases the origin of the paper was specified: paper from Yaroslavl was bought on June 8th (50 kopecks per quire) and "Dutch paper" on July 9th (70 kopecks per quire). Most probably "Dutch paper" here means paper with the watermark "Coat of Arms of Amsterdam"; it was often referred to as "Dutch"³². It is well-known that the watermarks on the paper of French origin frequently had the coat of arms of Amsterdam as a main image. Unfortunately, there is no detailed information on what exactly kind of "Dutch" paper was purchased by Startsov in Tomsk in the year of 1790.

Both merchants and bourgeois were among paper traders. For example, bourgeois Ivan Semenov Mel'nikov sold some paper to P. Startsov twice: on January 4th and June 9th; it was him, who sold the "Dutch paper" mentioned above. The bourgeois Stephan Shikhov, Dmitry Sechenov and Semen Tusikov also were paper sellers. As to the merchants, usually they sold small loads of paper; the Tomsk merchants Ivan Vershinin, Mikhail Petrov, Mikhail Mel'nikov were among them.

Prices of paper were raised during the last quarter of the XVIIIth century. The ream of paper cost about 1,5 – 2 rubles in 1770s, and about 3 rubles average at the end of the XVIIIth century.

CONCLUSION

Paper produced in France was used in Siberia, but not for a long time – for less than 100 years. Paper from Angoumois was widespread during the XVIIth century, while Perigord paper was more common in the XVIIIth century. This paper was used by government organizations and private people and it was delivered to Siberia mainly by merchants from the European part of Russia.

29 : See, for example : Institut istorii SO RAN, 4/84, p. 141.

30 : GATO, f.50, op. 1, d. 38, p. 60; f. 50, op. 1, d. 5, p. 99, etc.

31 : GATO, f.333, op. 1., d. 9. p. 11.

32 : See, for example : DIANOVA T.V. *Filigrani XVII-XVIII v. "Gerb goroda Amsterdama"*. Moscow, GIM. 1998, p. 3-9.