



Konrad Niemira

## THE ART MARKET IN WARSAW DURING THE TIMES OF STANISŁAW II AUGUST<sup>1</sup>

When reading publications devoted to artistic culture in eighteenth-century Warsaw, one may sometimes get the impression that the art market in this city was rather 'backward' and 'underdeveloped'.<sup>2</sup> This dark legend was originated, or at least codified, by a pioneering researcher on the subject, the outstanding art historian Andrzej Ryszkiewicz. Ryszkiewicz devotes some room to the period in question in the first chapter of his monograph on the paintings trade in nineteenth-century Warsaw. According to this scholar, there were only two shops that offered paintings for sale at the end of the eighteenth century: Ernst Christopher Bormann's and Karol Hampel's, although it must be stressed that neither mer-

- 1 This article could not have been written without the support of Prof. Andrzej Pieńkos and Piotr Skowroński, who invited me to take part in the academic seminar of the Ośrodek Badań nad Epoką Stanisławowską in 2017. I am grateful to both of them. Further work on the text as well as additional archival research would not have been possible without a scholarship from the Burlington Magazine, whose Council I would also like to thank here.
- 2 A. Ryszkiewicz, *Początki handlu obrazami w środowisku warszawskim*, Wrocław 1953; A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, Warszawa 1963, p. 280, footnote 1; J. Białostocki, M. Walicki, *Malarstwo europejskie w zbiorach polskich*, Warszawa 1958, p. 23; S. Bołdok, *Antykwariaty artystyczne, salony i domy aukcyjne*, Warszawa, 2004 pp. 17–27; T. de Rosset describes the Warsaw paintings market as 'miserable', dominated by itinerant picturists of second-rate quality. See T. de Rosset, 'Naśladowanie i kolekcjonerstwo. Przyczynek do rembrandtyzmu Norblina', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 2008, no. 33, p. 221. Meanwhile, historians have devoted some attention to Warsaw merchants; here we must mention first and foremost B. Grochulska's *Warszawa na mapie Polski stanisławowskiej. Podstawy gospodarcze rozwoju miasta*, Warszawa 1980.

chant specialised in the art trade in the modern sense of the term. As recorded in Bernardo Bellotto's paintings, artworks were also sold in the muddy and noisy streets. From time to time, travelling *Kunsthändler*, whose 'incursions' originated in German and Italian cities, showed up in Warsaw, and continued to come all the way until the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The artworks, as Ryszkiewicz writes, were expensive and somewhat suspect. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that this unglamorous art trade, notwithstanding a few exceptions, failed to attract the attention of several generations of scholars.<sup>4</sup>

The negative image of the domestic art market that we can encounter in Polish art history doubtless rested on an inferiority complex versus the great art centres like London, Amsterdam or Paris. Like Western scholars, Ryszkiewicz was convinced that these cities boasted a well-organised paintings trade in the eighteenth century. It is in reference to this model that he tried to depict its Polish counterpart. However, research done over the last two or three decades makes it necessary to revise the view that the Western art centres had a monolithic structure. Moreover, from the viewpoint of modern studies, confining research to the paintings trade is somewhat problematic. Guillaume Glorieux's monograph on Edme-François Gersaint, a paintings merchant from the Pont Notre-Dame in Paris, is a good example of a critical approach to the historical art market. Glorieux has shown convincingly that the image of Gersaint's boutique which has come down to us in Antoine Watteau's famous painting has little to do with the historical reality.<sup>5</sup> Although Watteau portrayed Gersaint's shop as a spacious interior hung with paintings and visited by elegant clients, we know today that his premises were cramped and badly lit. They were full – not so much of Flemish canvases in golden frames, but of all kinds of commodes, consoles, chests, clocks, etc. The boxes on the floor were filled with exotic seashells, corals, and Chinese porcelain. Moreover, in his tenement house Gersaint also set up what Count Caylus described as a 'sad manufactory', in which young artists mass-copied paintings by the Flemish masters in small formats for a broad and undemanding clientele.<sup>6</sup> The legendary 'first French art merchant' was actually a micro-entrepreneur like any other seller of his time. He surrounded himself with luxury bibelots rather than tasteful masterpieces. Similarly, his clients were not mainly aristocrats, but mostly bourgeois, both well-to-do and not so much. Even if we accept that the paintings trade emerged as a separate branch of the Paris art market at a later time, in the second half of the eighteenth century, we should not as-

3 A. Ryszkiewicz, *Początki handlu...*, p. 13.

4 S. Bałdok, *Antykwiariaty artystyczne...*, pp. 17-27; A. Bernatowicz, *Malarze w Warszawie czasów Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 2016.

5 G. Glorieux, *À l'enseignement de Gersaint. Edme-François Gersaint, marchand d'art sur le pont Notre-Dame (1694-1750)*, Paris 2002. See also S. Raux, 'Virtual Explorations of an 18th-Century Art Market Space: Gersaint, Watteau, and the Pont Notre-Dame', *Journal18*, no. 5 *Coordinates* (Spring 2018), <http://www.journal18.org/2542>. DOI: 10.30610/5.2018.3; N. Coquery, *Tenir boutique à Paris au XVIIIe siècle. Luxe et demi-luxe Paris*, Paris 2011.

6 Comte de Caylus, 'La vie d'Antoine Watteau', in *Vies anciennes de Watteau*, ed. P. Rosenberg, Paris 1984, p. 53-91.

sume that its agents were specialised professional experts. As a matter of fact, a number of famous art merchants, with Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun in the lead, started out as painter craftsmen and not as salon art experts. In addition, in Paris, London, Hamburg and Berlin, the paintings trade was not exclusively in the hands of 'sellers', but also (perhaps even chiefly) of semi-professional negotiators.<sup>7</sup> This group included figures as diverse as the gambler and speculator Michał Walicki, the doctor and diplomat Filippo Mazzei, or the painter Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdain.

Revising our image of the supposedly fully-fledged Western 'art markets' and of their professional agents requires revisiting our domestic, allegedly underdeveloped luxury goods market. It must be underlined that the latter did not only include paintings and sculptures, so appreciated by art historians, but also prints, drawings, furniture, porcelain, tableware, cutlery, candlesticks, candelabra, mirrors, upholstery, tapestries, jewellery, and various kinds of accessories such as snuff boxes and all kinds of little cases and boxes fashionable in the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> A reminder of this broad variety of the market not only allows us to redefine the scope of our research, but also to rediscover its significance in the political discourse of the period. In his account of a journey to Poland, Bernardin de Saint Pierre mockingly wrote that a Polish noble's interest in luxury goods depended on his political orientation. According to Saint Pierre, some noble families supported France because of its fashions and jewels, while others turned their sympathies toward Saxony because of its porcelain. For the Polish magnates, lost in the details of European politics, luxury products became visual symbols of a region's economic and political power. For the elite, the very act of purchasing luxury goods was also a gesture of social distinction; consumption was a way of highlighting one's belonging to the circles of power. It is through this lens that we should interpret the satires of Ignacy Krasicki, Franciszek Bohomolec and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, deriding all kinds of 'fashionable wives' and 'monsieurs Charmants', running bankrupt in the boutiques of Paris or Warsaw to manifest their 'modernity' and to symbolically differentiate themselves from the 'backward' noble masses lacking good taste. As we can see, luxury products were not a transparent commodity and the market for them was not simply just another utilitarian sector of the economy. Because of the role that luxury played as a mark of social distinction, it was a problem systematically analysed by Warsaw's intellectual elite and an issue that reappeared throughout the political discourse. If only for this reason, the structure of the luxury goods market, which fuelled this discourse, deserves renewed attention and unbiased analysis.

7 *Kunsthändler* specialising in paintings could be found both in the Netherlands and in the German cities (Frankfurt, Hamburg), cf. M. North, 'Kultur und Konsum. Luxus und Geschmack um 1800', in *Geschichte des Konsums: Erträge der 20. Arbeitstagung der Gesellschaft für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 23.-26. April 2003 in Greifswald, ed. Rolf Walter, München 2004, p. 19.

8 The Warsaw public at the beginning of the nineteenth century was most interested in tableware and sideboard accessories: luxury silvers, glasses, goblets, sugar bowls, and crystals. Cf. Z. Koźmiński, 'Aukcja pozostałości po księciu Józefie Poniatowskim 1814-1817', *Kronika Zamkowa*, 1988, no. 4 (18), p. 45.

Finally, it should be underlined that the Warsaw luxury goods market, although sometimes described as ‘miserable’, enjoyed a supra-local reputation. It had to be quite large if during his stay in Mitau, Louis XVIII regularly sent his purveyors not to Saint Petersburg or Gdańsk but to Warsaw, already under Prussian rule at this time.<sup>9</sup> Nor was it sluggish, as suggested, despite being relatively isolated from other commercial centres. Many authors from this period agree that Warsaw was pricey (even twice as pricey as Paris), at the same time emphasising that in spite of this expensiveness, there was no shortage of customers willing to buy luxury items.<sup>10</sup>

### ‘Travelling charlatans’

Having established that paintings represented only a fraction of the market, let us briefly turn our attention to them. According to Ryszkiewicz, the Warsaw system was dominated by *Kunsthändler*, who didn’t own permanent boutiques in the city but made trips, stopping in the more important urban centres to display their ‘goods’.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, only a handful of names of merchants who made their way through Warsaw in this fashion is known. We know that in 1748 at the start of his magnificent career Gerhard Morell (1710–1771), a Dane associated with Hamburg,<sup>12</sup> visited the city and brought several dozen works ordered by August III (or, more likely, by one of the latter’s agents on Brühl’s instructions) to Warsaw. Jan Klemens Branicki purchased 20 paintings from Morell.<sup>13</sup> The merchant urged him in a letter to buy another 60 in bulk for 1800 ducats. Even if the purchase was finalised, it does

- 9 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 160. Of course, it wasn’t only the assortment offered but also the political reputation of the city that could have been a decisive factor. We have evidence of politically motivated choices of ‘shopping venues’ among anti-royalist political parties of the 1760s. For a number of magnates, setting foot in Warsaw was unthinkable, which doubtless benefited the Gdańsk market, open to anyone trading in grain and looking for luxury goods regardless of political orientation. Cf. J. Michalski, ‘„Warszawa”, czyli o antystożecznych nastrojach w czasach Stanisława Augusta’, in *Warszawa XVIII wieku*, book 2, Warszawa 1972, pp. 9–78.
- 10 Many travellers recall ‘enormous prices’. See F. Schultz, ‘Podróże Inflantczyka z Rygi do Warszawy i po Polsce w latach 1791–1793’, in *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, ed. Wacław Zawadzki, Warszawa 1963, vol. II, pp. 430, 553. On the expensiveness of books in Poland, see A. Fortia de Piles, B. De Kerdu, ‘Podróż dwóch Francuzów’, in *Polska...*, p. 725; J. Bernoulli, ‘Podróż po Polsce’, in *Polska...*, vol. I, p. 374; H. Vautrin, ‘Obserwator w Polsce’, in *Polska...*, vol. I, p. 763.
- 11 A. Ryszkiewicz, *Początki handlu...*, p. 11; E. Manikowska, *Sztuka – ceremoniał – informacja. Studium wokół kolekcji Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 2007, p. 204.
- 12 Barely a decade after his visit to Warsaw, Morell became one of the main agents creating the royal collection at Christiansborg castle. He would chiefly purchase merchandise in Amsterdam. Cf. E. Kowecka, *Dwór „Najrzędniejszego w Polsce magnata”*, Warszawa 1991, p. 120; A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki. Sarmata nowoczesny. Kreowanie wizerunku poprzez sztukę*, Warszawa 2011. On Morell, see O. Andrup: ‘Gerhard Morell’, in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 3. udg., Gyldendal 1979–84. <http://denstoredanske.dk/index.php?sideId=294473> [accessed 12.12.2018]. The commercial links between Warsaw and Hamburg can be seen not only in the activity of Morell, but also three decades later. In 1778, Stanisław August was planning purchases at the auction of the collection of Pierre Laporterie. Cf. E. Manikowska, *Sztuka – ceremoniał...*, p. 167, 177.
- 13 E. Kowecka, *Dwór „Najrzędniejszego w Polsce...”*, p. 120, see also Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Main Archive of Historical Records, AGAD], Archiwum Roskie, K, no. XIV/41, Morelle to Jan Klemens Branicki, ff. 1–6; letter from 28 December 1748.

not seem that these were works of high value – the inventory of the Branicki Palace in Białystok, with its dearth of works by great masters, does not indicate that they were. Although Morell cited Heinrich Brühl, Szymon Czechowicz and Antoni Tallman, a painter from Bohemia, as those who could vouch for his professional reputation, we cannot rule out that it was Carl Heinrich von Heineken himself who introduced him to the Saxon art market. For it is a well known fact that he collaborated with Morell as early as the 1750s.<sup>14</sup>

It is only in the circle of King Stanisław II August that we find the next *Kunsthandler* known by name. In 1790–1792, one G. W. Nahke wrote a letter to the monarch in German, offering to sell him paintings purchased in Paris; one can only surmise that these came from collections being sold on the wave of the French Revolution. The king bought a landscape by Nicolas Poussin for 400 ducats, two paintings by Marten Heemskerck, and one by Christian Wilhelm Dietrich.<sup>15</sup> In 1790, Alfons Milotti stopped in Warsaw on his way to Saint Petersburg.<sup>16</sup> In this case, the paintings undoubtedly came from Paris, for it was there that Milotti, a Florentine, had his business for several years.<sup>17</sup> We unfortunately know little about Marinelli, who – probably in the same period – brought a sizeable collection of paintings for sale to Warsaw,<sup>18</sup> or about the ‘*marchand anglois*’, from whom the king bought prints.<sup>19</sup>

The list of travelling salesmen who offered prints in Warsaw is no less problematic. Based on the royal accounting books, Tadeusz Mańkowski has identified a large group of ‘foreign companies and foreign sellers temporarily in Warsaw’.<sup>20</sup> This group consists largely of Italian names: J. A. de Buffa (1781),<sup>21</sup> Baldassarre Fiorentini (1784), Trombetti (1784, 1785), Giuseppe Amadio (1785), Piatti (1785), Giovanni Maria Romano (1788), Giuseppe Fiorentini (1789), Romano Fietta (1791) and I. B. Boccardo.<sup>22</sup> French names are less prominent and may denote merchants from German lands: Carpentier (1784), de Oteé (1781), André (1781), François Morino (1788), P. Picchard (1791).<sup>23</sup> But this litany of foreign names should be shortened, however. Some of the merchants mentioned were not occasional visitors to Warsaw. Baldassarre Fiorentini, from whom the king bought copperplate engravings in 1784, is surely the same person as the maker of string instruments from the vicinity of Trent, who worked in

14 V. Spenle, ‘Un marchand d’art contemporain de Wille: Carl Heinrich von Heineken’, in *Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808) et son milieu. Un réseau européen européen de l’art au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. E. Déculot, M. Espagne, F-R. Martin, Paris 2009, pp. 161–177.

15 T. Mańkowski, *Galerja Stanisława Augusta*, Lwów 1932, vol. 1, p. 44.

16 E. Manikowska, *Sztuka – ceremonia!...*, p. 183.

17 F. Bussmann, *Un Prince collectionneur: Louis-François de Bourbon Conti et ses collections au palais du Temple à Paris*, Paris 2012, pp. 138–139.

18 T. Mańkowski, *Galerja...*, vol. 1, p. 45.

19 E. Manikowska, *Sztuka – ceremonia!...*, p. 187.

20 T. Mańkowski, *Galerja...*, vol. 1, pp. 45–46.

21 On Buffa. see H. Władcka, ‘J.A. De Buffa – handlarz i wydawca rycin w Warszawie Stanisławowskiej’, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1988, no. 1-2, pp. 127–130.

22 In another text, Mańkowski mentions another unidentified Italian art seller. Cf. T. Mańkowski, *Mecenat artystyczny Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 1976, p. 26.

23 The latter is probably Pierre Pichard, a factory owner recorded in Warsaw as of 1792.

Warsaw on a permanent basis as of at least 1787.<sup>24</sup> Giuseppe Amadio was a stucco maker who collaborated with artists working for the royal court (i.a. Staggi at the Pałowski palace), and his stay in Poland was not transitory either. It also seems that Romano Fietta's connection to Warsaw was not a one-time affair either, since one Giovanni Battista Fetti from Ticino, probably a relative of Romano, had a permanent prints boutique in Warsaw since the 1790s, while another Fietta, Lodovico, sold books there.<sup>25</sup> The Frenchman André who dealt in copperplate prints is, I believe, one and the same person as the owner of the Warsaw fashion house by the same name. Similarly, Carpendier is probably the fashion merchant François Carpentier, active in Warsaw (in the city since 1786). Finally, I.B. Boccardo may be the banker Giovanni Battista Boccardo, who settled in Poland around 1768 and ran a Genovese lottery.

It isn't only the temporary nature of the incursions of these 'elegant charlatans' from Germany and Italy that raises doubts, but also their spontaneous character.<sup>26</sup> The example of Morell shows that the 'travelling *Kunsthändler*' label that stuck to him doesn't fully reflect the core issue. After all, the transaction that Morell brought to fruition in Warsaw had been discussed in letters long before his arrival in Poland. The risk that he would fail to find clients on the banks of the Vistula was therefore small. Others also acted in a calculated fashion, e.g. the Berlin jeweller Boudeson, who tried to sound whether there would be potential clients for him in Warsaw and sought to obtain tax exemptions before coming to the city.<sup>27</sup> For others, like Fietta or Amadio, family or social connections to merchants who had settled in Warsaw earlier played an important role. Moreover, it was precisely connections between actors on the local market that gave these travelling merchants access to customers. Above all, however, they served as a credential. It should be kept in mind that in the eighteenth century, trade was based on mutual trust and guarantees.<sup>28</sup> Transactions rarely proceeded according to the model of buying directly from the seller. We know that both the great magnates and the wealthy nobility made their purchases on credit and settled their accounts not with individual sellers but with their personal bankers.<sup>29</sup> Collective transactions were therefore more common than individual purchases. Just how much Polish clients making purchases from foreign merchants valued trust and the guarantee of a third party, who maintained a relationship both with the buyer and the seller, can be gleaned from a number of letters preserved at the Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden. In May 1775, Helena

24 S. Ciampi, *Viaggio in Polonia del professor Sebastiano Ciampi nella state del 1830*, Firenze 1831, p. 65. Another merchant by the same surname, Giuseppe Fiorentini, is also recorded in Warsaw from 1786.

25 M. Guderzo, 'La stampe dei mesi della collezione Remondini di Bassano', in *Arbeitskreis Bild Druck Papier. Tagungsband Bassano 2001*, ed. Ch. Pieske, K. Vanja, S. Nagy, Münster 2003, p. 34.

26 A. Ryszkiewicz, *Początku handlu...*, pp. 13, 52, 57. According to Ryszkiewicz, this situation only changed in 1857, when Zmoyski and Tabachi arrived in Warsaw. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-90.

27 Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie [Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków, BCzart], manuscript 711, f. 287, letter from Karol Schmidt to Stanisław August, from Gdańsk, 1766.

28 C. Haru Crowston, *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France*, Durham 2013.

29 B. Grochulska, *Warszawa na mapie Polski stanisławowskiej: podstawy gospodarcze rozwoju miasta*, Warszawa 1980, p. 174.

Ogińska intervened with the elector of Saxony himself, imploring him to help her resolve a dispute with a merchant from Leipzig.<sup>30</sup> That same year, Marian Potocki also wrote to the elector with a complaint against another Leipzig merchant and his brother, an innkeeper.<sup>31</sup> In both cases, the magnates could not reach agreement with the merchants because they only had a semi-anonymous business relationship with them. Powerless, they resorted to writing to the elector. As we can easily imagine, had there been intermediaries involved between them and the Leipzig merchants (bankers or itinerant merchants recommending their Warsaw patrons to counterparts in Leipzig), these go-betweens would have made sure that the transactions were transparent and might have mediated an agreement. Guarantees greatly minimised risk when the transaction involved parties far away from each other. As I suggested earlier, they also played an important role in bringing foreign suppliers and merchandise to Warsaw.

Finally, it should be emphasised that the image of foreign merchants flocking eagerly and spontaneously to Poland contradicts what we know about the dynamics of the local market. Throughout all of the eighteenth century, Warsaw merchants successfully fought any attempts to establish a fair in the city. Nor did the Polish countryside routes enjoy a good reputation in the Reich, France or Italy. Magnates who tried to start fairs in their towns, like Jan Klemens Branicki or Aleksandra Ogińska, had great difficulty attracting foreign suppliers. These difficulties were not merely logistical (the deplorable technical condition of roads), but also related to Poland's reputation among foreign merchants and reached beyond the insolvency of Polish magnates. As an example of bad press, we could cite the text *Voyage en Sibérie* (1768), in which almost one third of the description of Poland focuses not on the country or its customs but on the horrific murder of a French family of jewellery merchants killed in January 1761 in the vicinity of Węgrów.<sup>32</sup> The graphic image of slashed throats and bodies scattered in a snowy landscape worked no less compellingly on the imaginary forces of readers than the stories of Polish magnates rushing to pay a fortune for luxury furniture, trinkets and watches.

## Temples of art

The Warsaw paintings and luxury products trade was not the exclusive province of travelling *Kunsthändler* but also, first and foremost, of local merchants. Travellers visiting the city recorded their addresses carefully. In 1778, Johann

30 Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden, Geheimes Kabinet, 10026 Polnische Briefschaften aus dem 18. Jahrhundert, loc. 02099/29, f. 30, letter from H. Ogińska to Frederic August II, from Leipzig, dated 7.05.1775. Ogińska claimed to have been cheated by a Jewish merchant, Hirsch, who had presented her with an invoice issued by another merchant active in Dessau. A document signed by her husband had allegedly been forged by an Italian by the name of Inazza, active in Halle. Ogińska insisted that when shopping in German cities, her husband never signed any documents, as he knew neither German nor French. He had supposedly signed a blank promissory note without knowing the amount that was now being demanded of him.

31 Ibid., Loc. 02099/33; f. 42; letter from Marian Potocki to Frederic August II, from Dresden, 29 April 1775. The matter concerned debts that Potocki had not repaid on time.

32 J. Chappe d'Auteroche, *Voyage en Sibérie fait par ordre du roi en 1761*, Paris 1761, pp. 13-15.



Bernoulli saw a large number of paintings in Piotr Tepper's boutique on Miodowa Street – 180 items priced from 4 to 100 ducats.<sup>33</sup> The traveller also mentions Karol Hamplen's store and the paintings by different masters collected there in addition to luxury items, vases, statues, furniture and mantelpieces. Interestingly, Bernoulli stresses that, compared to the Hamplen store in Saint Petersburg, the one in Warsaw was larger.<sup>34</sup> We might add that Hamplen's business was doing very well. A few years after the Swiss traveller's visit, in 1785, Hamplen leased the courtyard of the Radziwiłł palace on Krakowskie Przemieście and built a pavilion there in which he sold luxury furniture and foreign goods. We know that Stanisław August bought paintings from him in 1775 and in 1791.<sup>35</sup>

During his stay in Warsaw, Bernoulli also visited Bormann's store in the Marywil complex.<sup>36</sup> The owner showed him a collection he had gotten from Jacques Triebel (sometimes referenced as *Commerciennrath* Tribble),<sup>37</sup> who introduced himself as a counsellor at the Berlin court. We know that in Warsaw, Triebel tried to sell a Berlin collection (catalogued by one Nicolai – probably not Krzysztof Bogumił Nicolai, the book merchant from Marywil, but the famous Berlin publisher Friedrich Nicolai),<sup>38</sup> including a Titian for 150 ducats, a Frans Mieris for 350 ducats as well as numerous copperplates. Stanisław August himself was also one of Triebel's clients.<sup>39</sup>

It may be that François Carpentier (d. 1793), a merchant specialising in haberdashery, also sold paintings in a permanent boutique.<sup>40</sup> Antoni Magier notes

33 J. Bernoulli, *Podróż po Polsce...*, p. 381, E. Kowecka, *Dwór „Najrządniejszego w Polsce...”, p. 63. On Tepper, see B. Hensel-Moszczyńska, 'Z dziejów warszawskich Tepperów i Fergus(s)on-Tepperów', *Almanach Muzealny*, 2013, vol. 7, pp. 65–72. It was perfectly natural for a banker to deal in paintings or serve as an intermediary in importing them in the eighteenth century. The Berlin merchant and banker Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky, active in the 1750s, is a good example.*

34 J. Bernoulli, *Podróż po Polsce...*, pp. 223, 422.

35 BCzart, manuscript 782, Arts et sciences, vol I, f. 365, S. Szenic, J. Chudek, *Najstarszy szlak Warszawy*, Warszawa 1955, p. 190, E. Manikowska, *Sztuka – ceremoniał...*, p. 179.

36 J. Bernoulli, *Podróż po Polsce...*, p. 44; A. Ryszkiewicz, *Początku handlu...*, p. 11. Berman/Bormann could have been related to Friedrich Leberecht Bormann (1793–1865), an entrepreneur from Saxony who settled in Warsaw ca 1810 and for a while sold porcelain on Miodowa Street. K. Beylin, *Piętnaście lat Warszawy 1800–1815*, Warszawa 1976, p. 8.

37 Tiebel vel Tribel, Tribel, Trubel, cf. *Polska stanisławowska...*, vol. I, p. 908; E. A. von Lehndorff, 'Dzienniki', in *Polska stanisławowska...*, vol. II, p. 29.

38 Ch. Frank, 'Die Gemaldesammlungen Gotzkowsky, Eimbke und Stein: Zur Berliner Sammlungsgeschichte während des Siebenjährigen Krieges', in *Kunstsammeln und Geschmack im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. M. North, Berlin 2002, pp. 153, 159, 168. Nicolai wrote of Triebel's collection: 'eine Sammlung der Bestern italienischen, französischen und niederländischen Gamalde, sowohl Gallerie- und Kabinettstücke. Eine Sammlung Handzeichnungen und Kupferstiche besten Meister'. On Krzysztof Bogumił, see: J. Rudnicka, 'Ruch księgarski w Warszawie za Stanisława Augusta', in *Warszawa XVIII wieku. Studia Warszawskie*, vol. 12, book 1, Warszawa 1972, p. 235. There was also Carl Henrich Nicolai, an educator active in Dresden. See: J. Staszewski, *Polacy w osiemnastowiecznym Dreźnie*, Wrocław-Warszawa 1986, p. 49. We also know of Piotr Nicolai, an army officer and associate of Otto von Stackelberg.

39 E. Manikowska, *Sztuka – ceremoniał...*, pp. 168, 175, 177; *Galeria obrazów Stanisława Augusta w Łazienkach Królewskich*, catalogue, ed. D. Juszcak, H. Małachowicz, Warszawa 2015, p. 12. The offer sent to the king has survived at the Princes Czartoryski Library. It comprises 25 items priced from 40 to 300 ducats, including works by Marcantonio Franceschini, Anthon van Dyck, Frans Mieris, and Paolo Veronese. BCzart., manuscript 782, Arts et sciences, vol I, f. 365, manuscript 782, Arts et sciences, vol I, f. 299.

40 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 320.

that his inventory listed numerous paintings. Unfortunately we don't know whether the list concerned his house or shop. It is possible that the paintings were part of Carpentier's private collection (he had amassed a small fortune as a merchant in Warsaw – at the moment of his death, the local magnates owned him a 'trifling' 40,000 ducats).<sup>41</sup> Carpentier's turnover would therefore suggest that he could well afford to build his own collection of artworks.

Artists' studios, most of which were located in the Old Town and around Krakowskie Przedmieście, were also sale venues.<sup>42</sup> From the 1760s, regular auctions of different kinds of items, including paintings, were also held in Warsaw, with the book merchant Michał Gröll usually acting as auctioneer.<sup>43</sup> In 1775, he obtained an exclusive right to organise auctions from the city authorities in exchange for a percentile commission he paid into the city treasury.<sup>44</sup> In 1783, Gröll terminated the agreement and his place was filled by another 'HM privileged auctioneer' (whose prerogatives were likely equivalent to those of the Parisian *huisser-prisseur*) Ignacy Hurtyg/Hurtig.<sup>45</sup> Based on numerous announcements published in *Gazeta Warszawska* we can establish that paintings were regularly auctioned. Catalogues were also printed on some occasions. A supplement from 2 March 1783 announces the distribution of an auction catalogue containing a list of 'paintings, portraits, landscapes, pastels and other quality artworks, in addition to quality copperplates for architecture and drawing'.<sup>46</sup> Both City Hall, where the auctions took place, as well as Gröll's venue at Marywil could have been important addresses on the artistic map of Warsaw (ill. 3). Yet it was not the auction rooms or craftsmen's and booksellers' boutiques that were the chief venue for the sale of luxury products, but the largest warehouses. Already mentioned Tepper and Hamplen, and perhaps to a lesser extent Czempiński, Bormann, and Carpentier were among the leading entrepreneurs here. By examining magnates' receipts we can conclude that their warehouses offered a huge variety of stock, with frequent new arrivals. These merchants were visited on a regular basis. For example, in the autumn of 1767, Izabela Czartoryska made purchases at Czempiński's and Quien's almost every couple of days: on September 21st, October 5th and 6th, and November 1st and

41 Ibid., p. 320.

42 On Warsaw's art geography, see: A. Bernatowicz, *Malarze...*, pp. 65–73.

43 A. Berdecka, I. Turnau, *Życie Codzienne w Warszawie okresu Oświecenia*, Warszawa 1969, p. 95. Auctions, mainly the sale of whole fortunes by bid, had probably taken place in Warsaw earlier. From Gröll's times, we could cite the famous auction of Gotthilf Wernick's possessions in Gdańsk in 1773. A.R. Chodyński, 'Kolekcjonerzy i kolekcje w Gdańsku XVI-XIX wieku (do 1872 roku). "Inventarium et taxam" dzieł sztuki', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 2002, no. 27, p. 179. G. Cuny, 'Kunsthandel, Gemäldesammlungen und ihr Schicksal um 1750-1850 in Danzig', *Weichselland. Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1939, no. 38, pp. 18–24.

44 AGAD, WE 542, ff. 120, 143–145, M. Kuc-Czerep, *Niemieckojęzyczni mieszkańcy osiemnastowiecznej Warszawy*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Warszawa 2017, p. 115. It is worth noting that in 1775 Gröll also obtained a royal privilege to open a printing house.

45 A. Bernatowicz, *Malarze...*, p. 281. 'Auctioneer' (Pol. *aukcjonarz*) was also noted as a distinct profession in 'Specyfikacja gatunków i liczby mieszczan kupców warszawskich', see *Dziennik handlowy*, 1788, vol. 2, part VI, p. 506.

46 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1785, no. 18, 2 March 1785, supplement, p. 4; A. Bernatowicz, *Malarze...*, p. 181.

24th (five times in two months).<sup>47</sup> Each time she would have had to buy single items, since the list of her purchases includes a 'ream of Chinese paper, marble commode, two *maroquin* tables with gold fittings, one night stool, two feather dusting brooms, one pair of gilded wall candle holders for three candles, Paris table with green fabric'.<sup>48</sup> Czartoryska's receipts from Hampel's also show that she only bought single items in his store.<sup>49</sup> Stanisław August employed a similar purchasing style – at least as far as engravings from Hampel are concerned.<sup>50</sup> These stores had to be replenished with stock often enough to lure back clients searching for novelty.

Although impressive, the range of items available from the 'big merchants' did not make them monopolists. We know that there were many more boutiques that sold luxury or quasi-luxury goods. These, as Antoni Magier noted, were open till midnight.<sup>51</sup> Their owners were mostly foreigners.<sup>52</sup> It would appear that different branches of the trade were to some extent divided according to nationality. And so, Oriental and Turkish luxury goods could be purchased from Armenian merchants grouped mainly around the Old Town Market Square; fashion stores and houses, including luxury accessories like watches and snuff boxes,<sup>53</sup> were in the hands of French Huguenots (brothers Jean Hubert and Jean Joseph Chaudoir, Marcjalis Richard, Klemens Berneaux, Joseph Rousseau, François Toussaint and his brother (?) Joseph, and André, whose given name is unknown), based around Krakowskie Przedmieście.<sup>54</sup> Among the more important warehouses of 'zbytkowy towar' (luxury merchandise, which Magier references as Englishware) we have to mention Michael Rosler/Roezler and Hurtych on Krakowskie Przedmieście,<sup>55</sup> the already mentioned Hampel (later taken over by Nofok, based in a pavilion at the Radziwiłł palace on Krakowskie Przedmieście) and Henryk Jarzewicz on Miodowa Street, where one paid a lavish price of 1 shilling (2 *złoty*) for the 'smallest [English] trifle'<sup>56</sup>.

47 BCzart., manuscript 6077, IV, vol. 1, n.p. Receipt from 24 March 1768, for the year 1767.

48 Ibid., n.p., document from 24 January 1768.

49 Ibid., n.p., receipts from February 1771 and register of debts collected from 1764 to 1772.

50 BCzart, manuscript 676, f. 99, receipt from May 1777, covering items purchased on at least four occasions within a period of four months.

51 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 102.

52 Ibid.

53 A large batch is listed in the inventory of the Chaudoir Brothers fashion house from 1779, see National Library of the Ukraine, Kiev, F. 283, Chaudoir Archive, 77, ff. 40, 42.

54 Ibid. One should emphasise that the growing number of French merchants in Warsaw was a relatively late phenomenon. In 1730, French diplomats deplored the fact that most of the merchants in Warsaw were either German or Italian, while the most prominent French merchant, Riaucourt, was not a rich entrepreneur by Parisian standards. Centre des Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (AMAE, Paris), CP Pologne, vol. 187, f. 9, Monti's report from Warsaw, dated 4 January 1730.

55 It is hard to say whether this is the same person as Hurtig, mentioned earlier, since his name was sometimes spelled 'Hutzig'. E. Manikowska, *Sztuka-ceremoniał...*, p. 207. It should also be mentioned that Ignacy and Kaspar Hurtig, who hailed from Moravia, were related to the Roeslers. Cf. W. Smoleński, *Mieszkaństwo warszawskie w końcu XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1917, p. 38.

56 For the sake of comparison, the painter Antoni Herliczka charged 8 *złoty* for a portrait. A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 127; F.M. Sobieszczański, *Rys historyczno-statystyczny wzrostu i stanu miasta Warszawy od najdawniejszych czasów aż do 1847 roku*, Warszawa, 1848, p. 113.

There is no doubt that the Warsaw luxury goods market underwent a thorough reorganisation in the 1760s. First of all, new shops offering all kinds of luxury items sprang up on Krakowskie Przedmieście, which at the time was also a hub of wigmakers, milliners and hairdressers.<sup>57</sup> It is also symbolic that having attained a high position in the galloon trade in the 1740s, Piotr Tepper moved his business from the vicinity of the Old Town hall to Marywil, and then to Miodowa Street<sup>58</sup>. The centre of fashionable shopping shifted (yet again, considering the revolution caused by the construction of Marywil at the beginning of the century) away from the Old Town<sup>59</sup>. The shops that remained there were largely those catering to the middle nobility from outside of Warsaw rather than to wealthier clients. Secondly, it seems that the provenance of goods sold in the capital changed as well. We know that in the 1750s, items sold in Warsaw still came mainly from Gdańsk (including cabinet and chamber clocks), Breslau (furniture and mirrors) and Saxony (porcelain, fabrics); and to a somewhat lesser extent from Nuremberg, Augsburg and Leipzig.<sup>60</sup> It is quite telling that the Piwnica Gdańska (a bulk warehouse established in 1612) lost its leading status, and that the sale of Saxon porcelain at the Saski palace was cut short.<sup>61</sup> From then on, Saxon commodities were no longer only available at Fluchbajowa's and Herkowa's near the future Iron Gate, but also in all kinds of little shops scattered throughout the city.

At this time, Marywil found itself in a somewhat awkward position. Foreigners often grumbled about the double moral standards of the place (Schultz complained that the Canon Sisters, who owned Marywil as of 1744, turned a blind eye to indecency and 'rented rooms' to non-Catholics and 'wenches').<sup>62</sup> This would suggest that the prestige of Marywil had deteriorated somewhat and that it no longer attracted an elegant clientele. Still, most of the critics were Protestant; it is possible that their resentment towards Marywil stemmed primarily from their disdain for the pious sisters who made it their home.

When reading Magier's *Estetyka* and the accounts of travellers (mainly Schultz and Bernoulli) we might get the impression that the Warsaw warehouses were a bit like cluttered treasuries. But the descriptions in these accounts are predominantly of items described as English (the Henryk Jarzewicz and Johan Eberhard Tauber company warehouse)<sup>63</sup> and German (Michael Roeseler's on Krakowskie Przedmieście, subsequently taken over by Kašpar/Gaspar Hurtig<sup>64</sup>). The largest warehouses offered an English-German-French mix: Prot Potocki (on Krakowskie Przedmieście), Tepper and the Hampels, al-

57 During the Saxon period, the market had practically been monopolised by Jacques Malherbe's and Jacques Pellison's warehouse, opened in 1720.

58 We see a similar geographical shift with respect to the book trade, which moved away from the Old Town, cf. J. Rudnicka, *Ruch księgarski...*, pp. 231-233.

59 F.M. Sobieszkański, *Rys historyczno-statystyczny...*, p. 112.

60 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 252.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., p. 137; F. Schultz, *Podróże Inflantczyka...*, pp. 438-439.

63 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 351.

64 Ibid., p. 351.

though, as we learn from Schultz, the French imports were chiefly upholstery fabrics, broadcloth, silk and muslin, and not ready-made items.<sup>65</sup> This choice of assortment is confirmed by Antoni Tyzenhauz who in 1779 ventured on a secret mission to Paris, where, incognito, he looked for ways to import local fabrics, sheets and wallpaper to Poland.<sup>66</sup> The merchants Joseph Rousseau and Jan Felix (?) Dulfus also imported fabrics directly from Paris for interested customers.<sup>67</sup> Demand for French fabrics and cloth products was also wide among the Polish elite (both magnates and the bourgeoisie).<sup>68</sup> It is no coincidence that Izabela Branicka's only documented Paris purchase were 12 pairs of gloves,<sup>69</sup> and the only French item owned by Marcello Bacciarelli was a Lyon tapestry.<sup>70</sup>

French goods (or, at any rate, goods imported from France) made up a very small portion of the overall trade, however.<sup>71</sup> This is confirmed by *Contrôle des étrangers* reports of the Paris police from 1771-1794, which make no mention of merchants from Poland coming to the French capital on business, aside from the Chaudoirs and a number of Jewish merchants.<sup>72</sup> French items, if at all available in Warsaw, were probably second-hand, having arrived through German and perhaps Dutch intermediaries (via Gdańsk). It is also difficult to assess to what extent Warsaw merchants selected merchandise in London by themselves or followed the choice of negotiators from Gdańsk. Despite the change of borders following the first partition, Gdańsk still maintained the position of, as Hubert Vautrin put it, an 'important warehouse of English and Dutch products'.<sup>73</sup> It therefore seems that Gdańsk and German markets, primarily Leipzig, had to have played a key role in determining what stock was available in the warehouses of Warsaw.

65 F. Schultz, *Podróże Infantczyka...*, p. 434.

66 AMAE, *Contrôle des étrangers. 1771-1791*, vol. 25, f. 2. Report from 1 June 1778. We can learn from the report that Tyzenhauz arrived in France via England, where he had purchased steel. Having settled formalities related to the import of fabrics and wallpapers in Paris, he left for Strasbourg.

67 E. Kowecka, *Dwór...*, p. 105. See also AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Supl 6/3, f. 48v. Branicki's letter to Dulfus, dated 17 April 1754.

68 In the case of the king and the primate, the most important commissions were those from the Peyron workshops in Lyon. See AGAD, Archiwum Kameralne III/441, dossier: Peyron de Lion, 1786; Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie (National Library of Poland in Warsaw, BN), 3292, ff. 1-12 - correspondence with Monsieur Camille Pernon from Lyon, BN, Warszawa, 3292, f. 32: *Commission doné à M. Grogand*. See also E. Manikowska, *Sztuka - ceremoniał...*, pp. 139, 257; B. Grątkowska-Ratyńska, 'Stanisławowski wizerunek polskiego tronu', *Kronika Zamkowa*, 2004, nos 1-2, pp. 47-48, pp. 51-64.

69 On the other hand, Branicka made a large number of purchases in Warsaw, Leipzig, Gdańsk and Königsberg, which might have included goods from France. Cf. E. Kowecka, *Dwór...*, p. 244.

70 *Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, 1818, no. 19, supplement from 10 March 1818, n.p.

71 In addition to fabrics, French furniture was the second most important category. However, there are few documented instances of such purchases in Warsaw. It is known that in 1767, Izabela Branicka bought some kind of 'Parisian wardrobe' in the Polish capital (E. Kowecka, *Dwór...*, p. 112), while in 1768, Izabela Czartoryska bought a 'Parisian table' at Hamplen's (BCZart., manuscript 6077 IV T. 1, n.p.). One could also buy French furniture at auctions, which will be discussed further in the text.

72 AMAE, *Contrôle des étrangers. 1771-1791*. Numerous traces of the Chaudoirs' travel to France have also survived in the family archives and correspondence. The 1779 inventory of their Warsaw warehouse has also been preserved. This unique document will be the subject of a separate study which I am currently working on. Cf. National Library of the Ukraine, Kiev, F. 283, Chaudoir Archive.

73 H. Vautrin, *Obserwator w Polsce...*, p. 734.

Foreign items dominated luxury goods and in fact stock as a whole in Warsaw warehouses. Barbara Grochulska's research indicates that the balance of trade in Warsaw in the 1760s and 1770s was negative and that as much as 90% of the goods in the capital came from abroad.<sup>74</sup> As a matter of fact, a negative trade balance was a nationwide problem in Poland – Schultz wrote sarcastically (perhaps with some embellishment) that even pins are imported.<sup>75</sup> This situation only began to change in the 1780s, when domestic imitations of foreign merchandise became more common, including furniture made in Warsaw and sold as 'English'.<sup>76</sup> Around 1775, Prince Poniński brought a group of craftsmen to Warsaw (i.a. Jan Michał Rummer and Andrzej Simmler/Zymler) from Neuwied in the Rhineland, who made furniture which was then sold in boutiques on Senatorska and Długa streets and at the Teatyńska house (rather than directly at the workshop).<sup>77</sup> Simmler quickly expanded his product assortment – one could find 'furniture of different sorts, French, English, and brand new' in his boutique.<sup>78</sup> In fact, it seems that furniture was the most popular luxury product. This had already been the case in Saxon times, and it didn't concern only a narrow elite clientele. Jędrzej Kitowicz wrote tellingly:

All that I have written here about the furnishings of magnate palaces applies, proportionately, to the homes of nobles and wealthy bourgeois, that is the merchants of Warsaw, who are in no way inferior to the magnates in terms of luxury, and hence often go bankrupt. Everyone hunted for a gem to adorn their home. Many a noble with considerable or lesser income, who had married a woman brought up in the French manner, lost a fortune building and furnishing a stately palace (...).<sup>79</sup>

The number of furniture stores in Warsaw offering merchandise from local workshops is proof that local goods found willing buyers. These stores operated on Senatorska and Długa streets, but also on Trębacka Street and at the Sułkowski palace on Nowy Świat.<sup>80</sup> After the third partition, wojewódzic Leduchowski established another furniture store at the Mniszech palace, offering merchandise which did not come from a single workshop but was a mish-mash collected from a variety of local craftsmen.<sup>81</sup> The used furniture market must also have been well-developed, since the only auction recorded by Bernouilli was precisely of old furniture.<sup>82</sup> Demand had to be high. In fact, this confirms Larry Wolff's assessment of Polish luxury. Having analysed the opinions of travellers who visited the Commonwealth in the second half of

74 B. Grochulska, *Warszawa na mapie...*, pp. 83–86.

75 F. Schultz, *Podróże Inflantczyka...*, p. 551.

76 B. Maszkowska, *Z dziejów polskiego meblarstwa czasów oświecenia*, Wrocław 1956, p. 56.

77 A. Berdecka, I. Turnau, *Życie codzienne w Warszawie okresu oświecenia*, Warszawa 1969, p. 95. Cf. B. Maszkowska, *Z dziejów polskiego...*, p. 5 ff.

78 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 359.

79 J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów i zwyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, vol. 4, Poznań 1841, p. 20.

80 A. Berdecka, I. Turnau, *Życie codzienne...*, s. 95, por. B. Maszkowska, *Z dziejów polskiego...*, p. 5 ff.

81 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 125.

82 J. Bernouilli, *Podróż po Polsce...*, p. 448.

the eighteenth century (who noted the contrast between the huge number of servants employed by Polish nobles and the almost empty palace rooms), this scholar called Poland a 'land of luxury without furniture'.<sup>83</sup>

### The Auction market

The phenomenon of auctions deserves separate examination. As we know, it was Michał Gröll who introduced the practice to Warsaw on a broader scale.<sup>84</sup> Classified ads placed in *Gazeta Warszawska* (in its supplement or on the last page) are evidence that auctions were a popular form of sale. They took place at different times of day (the evening ones, as Bernoulli testifies, by candlelight),<sup>85</sup> sometimes over the course of a single day, other times spanning two, three, or even four days. The announcements are somewhat enigmatic as to the nature of items for sale, and these are often of an astonishing variety. For example, we know that in June 'different movables, such as robes, linen, galloons, gold buttons, rifles, pistols, porcelain, cups, tents, different materials and other things' were auctioned.<sup>86</sup> In August: 'different Things, such as gold, silvers, robes, carpentry, and a variety of other things',<sup>87</sup> in September: 'Parisian and other kinds of furniture, and different items'.<sup>88</sup> In June 1777: 'Jewels: 1. Large cross with large sapphires, with a circle of inset diamonds, 1. Matching large sapphire ring with a rim of inset diamonds, 1. Large sapphire cross with inset diamonds and three sapphire rings also inset with diamonds. 1. Small amethyst ring with a rim of little inset diamonds. 2. Large diamonds without setting',<sup>89</sup> in September: 'Different items, men's and ladies' garments, linen, silk fabrics, and other jewels, tables, billiard',<sup>90</sup> in July: 'Different things such as Polish and German ladies' robes, hats, sabres, linens, paintings, optical machines, a Moscow cart, faience, sealing wax',<sup>91</sup> in September 1778: 'Jewels, silver, copper, tin, brass, furniture, clocks, paintings, and other items from the [family?] roots, as well as boutique items'.<sup>92</sup> In April 1779: 'Various pieces of furniture and things such as large and small tables, chairs, canapés, commodes, cabinets, copper, tin, iron stuff, furs, linen, porcelain, faience, household appliances, shop shelves, books, and one travel trolley'.<sup>93</sup> In December 1788: 'Gold and silver watches, men's and ladies' garments, linen, bedclothes,

83 L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford 1994, p. 20.

84 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 103; for more on this problem, see K. Niemira, *Aukcje dóbr luksusowych w Warszawie czasów Stanisława Augusta*, <https://www.lazienki-krolewskie.pl/pl/edukacja/baza-wiedzy> [dostęp: 12 XII 2018].

85 J. Bernoulli, *Podróż po Polsce...*, p. 448.

86 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 43, n.p.

87 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 66, n.p.

88 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, nr 75, supplement, n.p.

89 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1777, no. 52, n.p.

90 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1777, no. 73, n.p.

91 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1777, no. 59, n.p.

92 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1778, no. 71, n.p.

93 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1779, no. 28, n.p.

fur-trimmed capes, szubas, wardrobes, small tables, commodes, bureaus, portraits, paintings, landscapes, musical instruments, Nuremberg and iron goods, and other household accessories'.<sup>94</sup> In October 1792: 'Silvers, watches, commodes, bureaus, canapés, stools, mirrors, copperplates, robes, linen, bed-clothes, a carriage, horses, harnesses, wagons, and other household items, different kinds'.<sup>95</sup> Gröll also regularly auctioned books and more than likely also prints. The auctions usually took place at Marywil, at Gröll's, at numbers 19 and 20, or at the Old Town City Hall<sup>96</sup>. Rarely were they held in the houses of the owners or inheritors of the property being put up for sale, as had been the practice in Saxon times.<sup>97</sup> The sale of the movables left by Brühl, organised in 1764 by his estate liquidator, the banker Pierre Riaucourt, in his palace, was an exception.<sup>98</sup>

Those attending auctions were mostly dealers and brokers rather than private purchasers (an elegant crowd was not likely to have frequented City Hall). Payments were only accepted in cash (the aristocracy and wealthy nobles usually bought things on credit). We should add that, contrary to common belief, auctions in the German lands, the Netherlands or Paris were not addressed to the 'general public' either, but to the 'little world' of dealers and brokers.<sup>99</sup> We know, at any rate, that auctions began to be attended by a professionally interested audience in Prussian times. Magier, for instance, notes that the mass sales of diamonds and other jewels after the third partition were chiefly attended by Warsaw jewellers, who would then take their cargo to Saint Petersburg and Moscow and sell it at a profit.<sup>100</sup> The fact that auctions were addressed to negotiators would also explain why there were so few auction catalogues: we know of only two such catalogues, which puts Warsaw behind not only Paris and London but also behind German cities (see Table 1). Neither of these catalogues have been preserved, however.<sup>101</sup> The same problem unfortunately applies to matter printed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example the legendary catalogue of Bishop Krasicki's collection, known still to Rastawiecki, but probably already lost by the middle of the century.<sup>102</sup>

94 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1788, no. 98, n.p.

95 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1792, no. 78, n.p.

96 A. Berdecka, I. Turnau, *Życie codzienne...*, p. 95.

97 Such auctions were indeed organised in the magnate residences in the country. In 1714, an auction of paintings by Jan Rejsner took place at the estate of Jan Dobrogost Krasicki in Stara Wieś (currently gmina Liw). R. Nestorow, *Pro domo et nomine suo. Fundacje i inicjatywy artystyczne Adama Mikołaja i Elżbiety Sieniawskiej*, Warszawa 2016, p. 284.

98 M. Karpińska, 'Riaucourt Piotr', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [PSB], 1988, vol. 31/2, book 129, pp. 268–269.

99 Ch. Guichard, 'Small Worlds. The Economy of Auction in the Late 18th century Paris Art Market', in *Moving Pictures. Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th-18th centuries*, ed. N. de Marchi, S. Raux, Turnhout 2014, pp. 236–256.

100 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 153.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 448.

102 *Catalogue de tableaux, desseins, bronzes, et bustes faisant partie de la succession du défunt archeveque de Gnesne comte de Krasicki, dont Vente publique se fera à Varsovie le 25 Février 1805, à Varsovie 1805*. See also T. Mańkowski, 'Krasicki jako kolekcjoner dzieł sztuki', *Pamiętnik Literacki: czasopismo kwartalne poświęcone historii i krytyce literatury polskiej*, 1936, no. 33/1/4, p. 415.



Peddling is the most difficult type of the luxury items trade to document historically. At first glance, it may seem that only goods of lesser quality than those sold in the boutiques and warehouses were proffered in this fashion. We know that inexpensive Nuremberg goods and devotional images were peddled around Warsaw.<sup>103</sup> Reconstructing the typical day of a Polish noblewoman, however, Schultz writes that in the morning, she would receive various kinds of callers (painters, poets, printmakers, sculptors, foreign virtuosos, tooth-pullers and hairdressers from Paris), but also 'all kinds of vendors of both sexes with different commodities, old receipts'.<sup>104</sup> Magier, on the other hand, notes that French merchants active in Warsaw would bring their haberdashery to magnate homes 'at table time', i.e. during the afternoon mealtime hours, so as to target the largest crowd of possible buyers.<sup>105</sup> Jewellery and haberdashery are said to have been sold in this fashion.<sup>106</sup> It therefore seems that peddling was not at all restricted to the lower strata of society. Its role was marginal for the elites, however. Schultz without hesitation assigns the key role to warehouses (writing of Jarzewicz's and Hampel's). For when visiting a store, one could 'have a look at everything, try it, assess it, make a judgement, [examining things] one after another or two at the same time, absentmindedly or with prudence, in a good or bad mood, praising or criticising'.<sup>107</sup>

## The Black Art

The dual nature of the Warsaw luxury goods market, i.e. the split between the trade in 'antiques' and in new commodities, and between high-class luxury items and their cheaper imitations, is particularly visible in the case of prints. As already mentioned, devotional images were sold across the Commonwealth by travelling *obraźnicy* ('picturists').<sup>108</sup> Copperplate engravings were also sold on the streets of Warsaw – here Magier and Schultz mainly cite Długa Street,<sup>109</sup> while the well-known and oft-referenced 1777 painting by Canaletto features prints hung out on Miodowa Street, close to Tepper's shop. We know that Warsaw book merchants also sold and imported engravings on request: Michał Gröll (initially based at the castle, then at Marywil, Johann August Poser (initially on Senatorska, then on Krakowskie Przedmieście, Trębacka, the

103 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 252. Magier writes in a particularly interesting way about the nationality of the vendors. For example, we learn that 'Nurembergers sold paper pictures of saints', while the pictures themselves came chiefly from Nuremberg and Augsburg. At the same time, 'Tyrolians, whom people called Italians,' peddled pictures in small towns and villages. *Ibid.*, p. 102. On peddling, see also A. Ryszkiewicz, *Początki handlu...*, p. 13; A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, pp. 156, 168, 271.

104 F. Schultz, *Podróże Inflantczyka...*, p. 487.

105 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 135.

106 F.M. Sobieszczański, *Rys historyczno-statystyczny...*, p. 114.

107 F. Schultz, *Podróże Inflantczyka...*, p. 487.

108 They were engraved i.a. by Jean Pierre Norblin. It is worth adding that we can also find similar representations outside of Poland. Johan Eleazar Zeissing, a German printmaker educated in Paris, engraved a *Painting seller* in 1765, BN, Paris, CA-30-fol; inv. 40318. It is possible that Norblin was familiar with this work.

109 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 53; F. Schultz, *Podróże Inflantczyka...*, p. 425.

townhouse of the Bishop of Kuyavia, then Senatorska, then Trębacka again at the Primate's Palace), Jan Chryzostom Netto (on Krakowskie Przedmieście, close to the castle),<sup>110</sup> Piotr Dufour (initially in the Old Town), brothers Gay and Gide (across from Marywil, on Senatorska Street), Fryderyk Paff/Friedrich Pfaff (Marywil), and finally Karol (Krystian?)<sup>111</sup> Hampeln (Krakowskie Przedmieście), from whom Stanisław II August bought a collection of engravings comprising several thousand prints,<sup>112</sup> and Józef Lex (on Długa, Senatorska, and in the end on Leszno Street), from whom the king must have bought a lot, since he was paid in instalments.<sup>113</sup> One could also find copperplates at Henryk Jarzewicz's English shop on Miodowa Street, and probably also at the other shops already mentioned in this text. It is conceivable that prints were also available at Montfreuil's, who sold a variety of items at Podwale, including music scores,<sup>114</sup> and at Burcard's, Colignon's, and Emanuel T. Gröbl's.<sup>115</sup> As we can see, the list of sellers offering copperplate engravings is quite long, and we might even ask whether the availability of prints on the Warsaw market (with such a small share of paintings) was not one of its most distinctive features. It is a fact that over a dozen important collections of prints were assembled in Poland during the time of Stanisław II August (including the king's own collection as well as those of Michał and Stanisław Poniatowski, Bishop Krasicki, Stanisław Kostka Potocki, August Fryderyk Moszyński, Aleksander Sapieha, and Izabela Lubomirska). It is hard to speculate, unfortunately, which works were bought on the domestic market and which were purchased abroad.

We can get some idea of the kind of prints offered by Warsaw printmakers from advertisements in *Gazeta Warszawska*. Jan August Poser advertised in the local press a series of 15 prints of frescoes from the Chapelle des Enfants trouvés in Paris, at 5 złoty per print.<sup>116</sup> Gröbl, whose announcements were more mysterious, invited the public to purchase 'Different copperplates, French, English, of superior quality, of which a Catalogue has been published'.<sup>117</sup> Both printers also sold publications devoted to the fine arts and crafts. In 1774,<sup>118</sup> Poser had in stock richly illustrated books on Roman monuments,<sup>119</sup> Etruscan

110 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 103, 327. We also know of a bookseller called Friedrich Christian Netto.

111 E. Manikowska, *Sztuka-ceremoniał...*, p. 207.

112 T. Mańkowski, *Galerja...*, p. 8.

113 Józef Lex hailed from Strasbourg. Cf. T. Kossecka, *Gabinet Rycin króla Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 1999, p. 26.; E. Manikowska, *Sztuka - ceremoniał...*, p. 185.

114 A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 144.

115 It is unclear whether Burcard refers to the Italian Boccardo or the Swiss Jean Jacques Boucard; T. Mankowski, *Mecenat artystyczny...*, p. 26.

116 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 45, supplement, n.p. This is the series *Vue perspective de la Chapelle des Enfants trouvés de Paris*, engraved by Étienne Fessard after drawings by Charles-Joseph Natoire (1769).

117 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 32, supplement, n.p.

118 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 45, supplement, n.p.

119 *Les Plus beaux édifices de la Rome moderne, ou Recueil des plus belles vues des principales églises, places, palais, fontaines etc. qui sont dans Rome, dessinées par Jean Barbault, peintre*, Rome 1763. A four-volume full edition was for sale at 24 złoty.

painting,<sup>120</sup> and ancient sculpture.<sup>121</sup> In the same year, Gröll collected subscriptions for the series *Le fabbriche e i disegni di Andrea Palladio*.<sup>122</sup> He also had in stock the famous *Descriptions des Arts et Métiers*<sup>123</sup> and, at a price of 76 złoty, ‘Copperplates of all the famous paintings and drawings at the Medicis Gallery in Florence’, doubtless the *Disegni originali d’eccellenti pittori esistenti nella Real galleria di Firenze*,<sup>124</sup> a publication featuring reproductions of drawings, thus addressed to a narrow circle of enthusiasts.

Gröll sometimes advertised his books with emphasis on the quality of the prints. This was the case of the *Encyclopédie*, which he encouraged the public to purchase, assuring that ‘all the copperplates [in it] will be excellently engraved’.<sup>125</sup> Advertising a three-volume German translation of James Cook’s *An Account of the Voyages...*,<sup>126</sup> Gröll above all extolled the fact that the work was adorned with ‘a large number of copperplates drawn and engraved by the finest artists’, after which he added that one can ‘see some of the copperplates, whose beauty is marvelled at by those versed in the art’ at his bookshop in Marywil.<sup>127</sup>

### A culture of amateurs?

It is worth emphasising at this point that Gröll seems to be insufficiently appreciated by art historians. When tracing his publishing activities, one gets the impression that he was not only a bookseller but also an extraordinarily active figure among Warsaw’s artistic circles. Gröll had numerous connections in the art world. In 1771, he published Adam Naruszewicz’s ode *Na pokój marmurowy portretami królów przyozdobiony*; in 1779, Hennequin’s *Plan Warszawy*; in 1783, Delille’s *Jardins*, translated into Polish by Franciszek Karpiński; in 1790, Albertrandi’s *Wiersz o malarstwie*. Gröll’s biography also

120 J.B. Passerii Pisarenensis, *Tractatus Praelimitares in Picturas Etruscorum in Vasculis. Prolegomena. Vindicatae Etruscae. Dissertatio de Laribus Etruscorum. Dissertatio de Re Vestiararia Etruscorum. Dissertatio de Pictura Etruscorum* | Passeri, Giovanni Battista, Roma 1767. The publication cost 77 złoty!

121 *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la Galerie du Roy de Pologne à Dresden*, Dresden 1733. Priced 15 złoty.

122 *Le fabbriche e i disegni di Andrea Palladio raccolti ed illustrati da Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi opera divisa in quattro tomi con tavole in rame rappresentanti le piante, i prospetti, e gli spaccati. Con la traduzione francese*, Vicenza 1776 [the following volumes appeared in 1778, 1781, 1783. *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 59, supplement, n.p.].

123 The series *Descriptions des Arts et Métiers, faites ou approuvées par Messieurs de l’Académie Royale des Sciences* was published in 1761–1788. One of its authors was Elie Bertrand, a Swiss preceptor working for the Mniszech family in the 1760s. *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 49 and nos 67, 76, supplement, n.p.

124 *Disegni originali d’eccellenti pittori esistenti nella Real galleria di Firenze*. Firenze, 1774. I am extremely grateful to Anna Markiewicz from the Jagiellonian University for helping me to identify this publication. *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 99.

125 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 57, n.p., *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 30, supplement, n.p.

126 *Geschichte der See-Reisen und Entdeckungen im Süd-Meer welche auf Befehl Sn Grossbrittannischen Majestät unternommen und von Commodore Byron, Capitain Wallis, Capitain Carteret und Capitain Coock in Dolphin, der Swallow, und dem Endeavour nach einander ausgeühret worden sind: aus den Tagebüchern der verschiedenen Befehlshaber und den Handschriften Joseph Banks ...verfasst; Mit des Herrn Verfassers Genehmhaltung aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Johann Friedrich Schiller*, Berlin 1774, 3 volumes.

127 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1774, no. 26, supplement, p. 8.

provides evidence that he gravitated towards the art world. Since 1756, he ran his own art shop in Dresden in addition to a bookshop there.<sup>128</sup> In Warsaw, he most certainly had close contacts with the local jewellers, since he married Zofia Karolina Jacobson, the daughter of one of them.<sup>129</sup> He gave his son an artistic education – Karol studied to be a printmaker, initially with Bogumił Schiffer (court painter to Gen. Alojzy Brühl), then, as of 1787, in Dresden and in Berlin with Daniel Chodowiecki. We could add that the Grölls were not the only ‘commercial’ family attracted to the art world. The brothers Jean Hubert and Jean Joseph Chaudoir – Huguenots running a fabric shop and selling haberdashery – brokered some of Stanisław II August’s art deals (including from the then-famous painter Gerard van Spaendonck, active in Paris). The next generations of the family, no longer active in Warsaw but in Iwnica, Żytomierz, Kiev and Saint Petersburg, increasingly turned towards the world of art and collecting, no doubt drawing on a tradition that had its origins in the Warsaw period. In fact it cannot be ruled out that part of Stanisław Chaudoir’s collection (embracing works by Luca Giordano, Paris Bordone, and Matias Stromer, as well as all kinds of ‘Greuzes’ and ‘Roberts’) had already been assembled in Warsaw by his father.<sup>130</sup>

In spite of these increasingly pronounced connections between the worlds of commerce and art, it cannot be claimed that eighteenth-century Warsaw had its own Gersaint, or, even less so, its own Le Brun or Christian von Mechel, i.e. a merchant recognised as an authority with regard to the authenticity of artworks and considered an arbiter of good taste. The professionalisation of the market proceeded at a very slow pace. In light of this, the artistic interests of printers and booksellers rather than those of shop and warehouse owners stand out as the more important.<sup>131</sup> Gröll’s example is symptomatic for the issue under discussion, as is that of Friedrich Nicolai, who was both a publisher and an art expert. If, on top of this, we recall that the first modern catalogue of private art collections in Poland was drafted (on commission from Wincenty Potocki in 1780) by Henri Amiet, a Swiss, later also associated with a number

128 Z. Staniszewski, ‘Gröll Michał’, in PSB, vol. 9, pp. 35–36; A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta...*, p. 253.

129 It is worth noting that Jacobson was one of a small number of Warsaw jewellers who travelled to France. The sources confirm that he was in Paris in May 1775. AMAE, *Contrôle des étrangers. 1771–1791*, vol. 85, f. 80, 85.

130 On the Chaudoir family collection see L. Dakhnenko, *Khudozhne zibrannja baroniv de Shoduar u Zhitomirskomu muzei*, Zhitomir 2012; E. A. Bilenkij, S. O. Bulatova, *Rukopisne ta knizhkovje zibrannja baroniv Shoduariv u fondakh Nacionalnoi biblioteki Ukraini imeni V. I. Vernadskogo*, Kiev 2011. It is worth adding that there was a clear leaning toward music among the Teppers. Cf. B. Hensel-Moszczyńska, *Z dziejów warszawskich...*, pp. 45–51.

131 The only trace of expert culture among merchants that I have come upon is a letter from Karol Hamplen to Stanisław August dated 25 November 1775, offering for sale a painting by David Teniers (1610–1690) and Carstian Luyckx (1623– after 1657, the painting *Alegoria czasu w obramowaniu wieńca z kwiatów*, currently at the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. M.Ob.571 MNW). Hamplen did not explicitly identify the painting as a work by Teniers (one of the most sought-after names on the market at the time), but simply stated that it was signed with a monogram (the letter T inside a D). This reticence does not seem to have been coincidental. Teniers’ signatures were well known. It is therefore likely that the merchant decided to reserve the pleasure of ‘guessing’ the authorship of the work to the king. BCzart, manuscript 782, Arts et sciences, vol I, f. 365.

of Warsaw bibliopoles and journalists, then the theory about an organic link between expert art-historical knowledge and the book trade seems quite justified.<sup>132</sup> Notwithstanding, this state of affairs suggests that the market for copperplate engravings must have been of high standing in Warsaw, and likely superior to the trade in paintings, furniture or exclusive crafts – none of the latter categories saw the emergence of a group of mediators capable of an intellectual (or at any rate literary) treatment of the matter.

## Conclusion

It is worth asking in this context why the paintings market appears so little developed compared to other branches of the luxury goods market in Warsaw. This conclusion is not restricted to the strictly quantitative aspect, but applies equally to the impact on local artistic production. As I mentioned earlier, Warsaw warehouses catering to wealthy clients offered not only imported furniture but also local imitations; imported porcelain was sold, as was the produce of local manufactories. Booksellers, too, sold Polish books and exclusive foreign editions under one roof. Meanwhile the Warsaw paintings market did not open up to local artists, not only in the eighteenth century, but also quite well into the nineteenth, continuing to focus on imported art. Neither Tokarski's nor Wahl's paintings were sold next to Titian's. But why?

One's first impulse might be to blame this on the 'un-modern' style of the Warsaw art community, which did not manage to establish an Academy or a Salon, nor lay the foundations for a national school and, consequently, to achieve a national reputation. But in other centres, the academy, salon, and official art were a force that hindered rather than stimulated the development of the market. In London, Amsterdam, Paris, Hamburg and Frankfurt, the life-giving inspiration came from older institutions: first and foremost, the traditional guilds and, consequently, the popularity of commercial types of painting, including still life, landscapes, nudes and devotional paintings. If Polish paintings were not sold *en masse* in eighteenth-century Warsaw, it naturally follows that there had been no such trade in the previous century either. The local paintings market was largely based on commissions. As shown recently by Aleksandra Bernatowicz, Warsaw painters during the times of Stanisław August operated as if they were separated from the market by a glass wall. The structure of this professional group, or at any rate its mentality, was almost monolithic: artists clung to rich patrons and did not strive to please the (still embryonic) public. It seems that painters, their gaze fixed on the king, were hypnotised by the idea of working for the court and failed to appreci-

132 *Musaeum Potocianum, ou Catalogue des dessins, tableaux, miniatures, estampes, marbres, porcelaines, instrument de physique et de mathématique, et autres curiosité's. Contenus Dans le Cabinet de S. E. Mr. le Comte VINCENT POTOCKI, (...) Mis en ordre par HENRI AMIET, son Secrétaire & Bibliothécaire en sa Bibliothèque à Varsovie. A Varsovie. Chez P. Dufour Imprimeur du Roi & de la République, M. DCC. LXXX, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.*

ate the emergence of a new factor. The only figures familiar to me from the painting circle who truly exploited the possibilities of the art market are the Łabieński brothers. And yet it was in Saint Petersburg rather than in Warsaw that their career flourished. It is also difficult to say whether they attained success (also in financial terms) thanks to the training they received from Marcello Bacciarelli, or precisely because they managed to break away from this environment...<sup>133</sup>

When discussing the distinguishing features of the Warsaw art market during the reign of Stanisław II August we cannot fail to notice that this period not only failed to produce the merchant expert but also fell short of producing a 'Polish Watteau', i.e. a recognised artist, who rose to fame without working for the court or supporting himself with commissions, but painted for collectors who were his personal acquaintances and for the public.<sup>134</sup> There were success stories, however, in other branches of luxury goods production: above all furniture making, which developed dynamically and successfully competed with expensive imports. There were also various attempts – with varying outcomes – to market Polish faience, glass and porcelain.<sup>135</sup>

The formal aspects of the Warsaw market also speak volumes of the tastes of the Polish public, interested first of all in decorating their homes and not in assembling collections, the likes of which could be found in Saint Petersburg, Vienna or Berlin at the time. The great absentees of the local market are therefore also not coincidental: contemporary painting, commodities from China, seashells, coral and other natural curiosities, so sought-after by the inquiring minds of the eighteenth century. The luxury rather than artistic nature of the market was also an obstacle to the development of expert knowledge and reflection on art. It is worth recalling that the development of art history was not confined to courtly culture but also spanned the world of commerce – in Gdańsk, the first artist biographies were written not by refined humanists but by a painter/conservator/merchant all in one – Jakub Wessel.<sup>136</sup> Warsaw waited in vain for its own Wessel in the eighteenth century, unfortunately. Nor did artists associated with the court of Stanisław August in the king's lifetime take on this role.

133 *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildender Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. U. Thieme, F. Becker, Bd. 22, Leipzig 1928, pp. 164–165; M. Nikogosyan, *The Restoration of Paintings at the Imperial Hermitage (Saint-Petersburg) at the Beginning of the 19th Century*, CeROArt, HS | 2012, published online 10.04.2012, accessed 1.11.2018: <http://journals.openedition.org/ceroart/2344>; on Franciszek Ksawery's brother, who is not known by name, see L. Siemieński, *Ostatni rok życia króla Stanisława Augusta czyli Dziennik prywatny opisujący jego pobyt w Rosyi*, Kraków 1862, p. 102.

134 Contrary to what one might expect, we can find collectors who were not magnates in Poland under Stanisław August. No specialist study has yet been written on the subject, however.

135 W. Kula, *Szkice o manufakturach w Polsce XVIII wieku*, part 1: 1720–1764, part 2: 1764–1780, part 3: 1780–1795, Warszawa 1956; B. Grochulska, *Warszawa na mapie...*, pp. 161–180.

136 A.R. Chodyński, *Kolekcjonerzy i kolekcje...*, pp. 191–192.

## **The Art Market in Warsaw during the times of Stanisław II August**

This article provides an overview of the Warsaw luxury goods market during the reign of Stanisław II August, and on a broader level, attempts to revise the myth that the trade in luxury goods was 'underdeveloped'. First, the travelling Kunsthändler who passed through the city are analysed. Although sometimes referred to as 'travelling charlatans' in writings from the period, supposedly both 'foreign' and 'spontaneously' visiting Warsaw, many of them in fact had family or social links to the city. The fact that they chose to market their wares in Warsaw was not due to the city's emergent reputation, but to a social network already in place. Further on, the geography of permanent trade, the types of merchandise on offer, and to a lesser extent, the identity of the merchants are discussed. The second part of the text focuses on three problems: the specific features of the auction market, the market for prints, and the relationship between the world of merchants and sellers and the culture of art amateurs and connoisseurs. The text concludes with a working hypothesis that the Warsaw market was a colonial one. Throughout all of the eighteenth century, it remained closed to local production and was largely dominated by foreign products and their copies.

**Keywords:** art market, Warsaw, 18th century, luxury goods, consumption