

# The Artist and the City: Józef Chełmoński's Parisian Addresses and Their Significance

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## ABSTRACT

Wojciech Głowacki's paper analyses the life of Józef Chełmoński in Paris (1876–1888), focusing on the places where he lived and worked. Through research conducted in the Special Collections of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Parisian archives of the Musée d'Orsay and the library of the Institut national d'histoire de l'art, as well as the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, the author reconstructs the geographical and social context of the painter's work. Methods employed include the analysis of archival sources, Salon catalogues, memoirs and correspondence. Chełmoński moved residences several times. The choice of locations for his homes reflected an initial desire to signal success and later attempts to adapt to changing circumstances. In his early years, he lived and worked at 11 boulevard de Clichy, 54 avenue Bosquet, 1 avenue Duquesne and 17 avenue de la Motte-Picquet. His final Parisian addresses were 110 boulevard Malesherbes and 4 place de Wagram. The artist's studios were located at 5 rue Bizet, 11 impasse du Maine and 41 rue Verniquet. The author challenges the myth of patriotic motivations behind Chełmoński's return to Poland, instead pointing to the material and social factors behind this decision. Drawing on a wealth of sources, the paper reconstructs Chełmoński's relocations in Paris, identifies their causes and highlights the broader context of a Polish artist operating within the art market of the time. This approach offers a deeper understanding of the painter's choices regarding his work, ambitions and self-promotion within the international artistic environment of late nineteenth-century Paris.

## KEYWORDS

Józef Chełmoński (1849–1914), Paris, artists' studios, sociology of art, Polish painting, 19th-century painting, realism, art market

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Józef Chełmoński is one of the most renowned Polish painters, whose life and work have been the subject of numerous studies.<sup>1</sup> In research into nineteenth- and twentieth-century culture, the biographical perspective is gaining prominence, as it sheds light on previously overlooked contexts surrounding the creation of artworks.<sup>2</sup> Examining the Parisian phase of Chełmoński's life from this angle yields intriguing results – all the more compelling as this period has become somewhat legendary. This paper presents the results of archival queries made possible by a research grant from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage supporting a monographic exhibition on Józef Chełmoński, organized between 2024 and 2025 through the collaboration of three institutions: the National Museum in Warsaw, the National Museum in Poznań and the National Museum in Kraków. I conducted queries in the Special Collections of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, the archives of the Musée d'Orsay and the library of the Institut national d'histoire de l'art in Paris, as well as the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles. Since numerous studies on Chełmoński lack a reconstruction of the geographical and social contexts of his life in France, my aim was to fill this fundamental gap by gathering information about the places where he lived and worked in Paris from 1876 to 1888.

In the first half of the artist's stay in France, when the annual Salons featured his works such as *Matter Before the Bailiff* (1873, NMW), *In Front of the Inn* (1877, NMW, [fig. 1](#)), *Recollection from a Journey Through Ukraine* (1877, private collection), *Horse Fair at Balta* (1879, NMW), *Sledge Ride* (1879, Silesian Museum in Katowice) and the monumental *Four-In-Hand* (1881, NMK), Chełmoński was at the peak of his popularity, which also translated into financial success.<sup>3</sup> It is worth emphasizing that the location and decor of artists' residences and studios were significant markers of social status, helping establish their position within the art world. Examining Chełmoński's addresses in Paris and tracing his relocations reveals connections – often overlooked in art research – between artistic and exhibition success and the painter's socio-economic standing.

During the twelve years he spent on the Seine, Chełmoński changed both his atelier and flat several times ([fig. 2](#)). While we lack photographs of these interiors, their locations alone provide valuable insights into the artist's career. Publishing images of studios was a common practice in the late nineteenth century, but Chełmoński was not interested in documenting his ateliers or using them to promote his art.<sup>4</sup> Many painters' studios of this era were designed to impress guests – friends, art connoisseurs and potential clients – with their lavish



fig. 1 Józef Chełmoński, *In Front of the Inn*, 1877, National Museum in Warsaw  
photo National Museum in Warsaw

and surprising decor, turning a visit there into a spectacle of sorts. Evidently, Chełmoński approached his workspace in a utilitarian manner, without giving it a stately character. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he documented neither family life nor the sale of his works.<sup>5</sup> A common practice among Parisian painters was to list their addresses in the *Didot-Bottin*<sup>6</sup> directory or in professional publications. Although Chełmoński was undoubtedly aware of these self-promotion opportunities, he chose not to take advantage of them. It is possible that we do not know all the Parisian residences and studios associated with the artist, and it is not always feasible to precisely trace the timeline of his relocations. Most information about these places comes from Salon catalogues, memoirs and correspondence. At times, it remains uncertain whether a given address was a residence, a workplace or both.

### Early Residences and Studio

Upon arriving in France at the end of 1875, Józef Chełmoński stayed with Cyprian and Matylda Godebski in Neuilly-sur-Seine, near Paris, at 51 boulevard Eugène, together with Wacław Szymanowski and Henryk Piątkowski.<sup>7</sup> The assistance of Cyprian Godebski, a Polish-French sculptor who went on to become an influential art critic, was instrumental in

Chełmoński's decision to leave Warsaw. From mid-October 1876, Chełmoński rented a studio at 11 boulevard de Clichy.<sup>8</sup> At the time, many other painters lived or worked in this area of Paris's 9th arrondissement, west of Place Pigalle – home to one of the city's 'model markets' for artists.<sup>9</sup> In the immediate vicinity of Chełmoński's home, these were Edgar Degas, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Paul Gauguin, Paul Merwart, Claude Monet and Gustave Moreau, to name but a few.<sup>10</sup> Not coincidentally, Chełmoński's flat was located less than half a kilometre from the premises of Goupil & Cie at 9 rue Chaptal<sup>11</sup> (fig. 3). From his first success at the 1876 Salon until mid-1881, when Arnold & Tripp took over the sale of his paintings, Goupil & Cie served as the main dealer for Chełmoński's works. In the 1878 Salon catalogue, Chełmoński's private address was omitted in favour of his patron's business address.<sup>12</sup> This highlighted the commercial relationship between the artist and his dealer while directing buyers to the location where his works could be acquired during his prolonged absences from Paris. Halfway between boulevard de Clichy and the Palais Royal in the south, on rue Laffitte, lay the epicentre of Paris's artistic life in the 1870s.<sup>13</sup> Prominent dealers such as Durand-Ruel, Francis and Georges Petit, as well as galleries representing Chełmoński, including Goupil and Arnold & Tripp (fig. 4),<sup>14</sup> were



all based there. Also located on rue Laffitte was Hôtel Drouot, the city's main auction house.

By at least May 1877, the artist had secured his own studio at 5 rue Bizet<sup>15</sup> in the 16th arrondissement, on the right bank of the Seine. His neighbour here was the painter Albert Aublet.<sup>16</sup> Chełmoński's wife, Maria, née Szymonowska, visited this atelier for the first time on 20 September 1878, when she arrived in Paris after the couple's honeymoon.<sup>17</sup> Her recollections of the modest, dirty space correspond to descriptions of the artist's studio at the Europejski Hotel<sup>18</sup> in Warsaw and in Kuklówka – unadorned, furnished with random pieces, and lacking the costly props found in artists' ateliers of the time. At rue Bizet, Chełmoński kept greyhounds, rabbits and horses, when he needed them as models for his paintings.<sup>19</sup> He was not the sole user of the studio, allowing his friend Antoni Piotrowski to work there.<sup>20</sup> Years later, the painter Wojciech Kossak recalled: '[t]here was literally nothing there [in the studio] except a few easels, an iron stove and two Polish wolfhounds warming themselves by it'.<sup>21</sup>

The descriptions of Chełmoński's atelier, devoid of theatrical or salon-like characteristics, indicate that he likely did not host clients there, aside from his dealers.

## On the Left Bank of the Seine

Maria Chełmońska recalled that her husband's flat, which she saw upon arriving in France, seemed to have 'a feminine touch', adding with regret that she also found within it 'pitiful remnants left behind from bachelor visits and revelries'.<sup>22</sup> The young bride likely realized that Chełmoński had been living there with a mistress prior to their marriage. Wojciech Kossak, writing two decades after Chełmoński's death, mentioned Santa, an Italian woman who had accompanied Chełmoński to Paris and lived with him there. In a rather crude recollection, Kossak claimed that Chełmoński had referred to the young girl as 'an overseas ape'. Kossak situated this former flat on boulevard de La Tour-Maubourg in the 7th arrondissement, on the left bank of the Seine. He described the

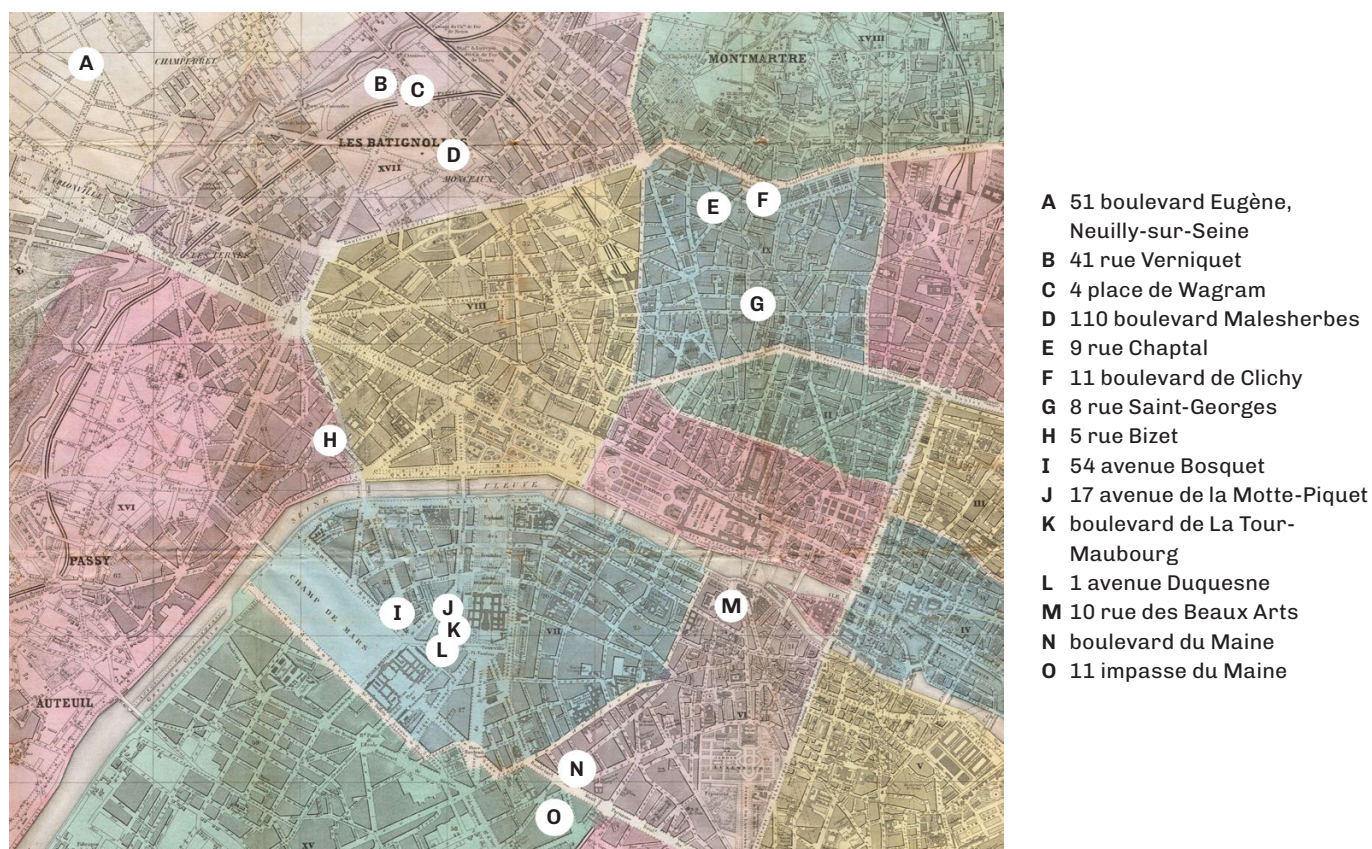


fig. 2 Map of Paris showing the locations of Chełmoński's residences, studios, and his art dealers' galleries.

Compiled by Wojciech Głowacki based on: Alexandre Vuillemin (cartographer), E. George (engraver), *Nouveau plan de Paris divisé en vingt arrondissements*, Librairie de L. Hachette & Cie, Paris, 1870.

fig. 3 The building at 9 rue Chaptal, where the headquarters of Goupil & Cie were located  
photo Wojciech Głowacki, 2022



decor of this 'most banal' interior, 'worthy of a harlot', with its 'dreadfully blue satin curtains and bedcovers', as entirely unsuited to Chełmoński's character, concluding that Santa must have been the one responsible for its arrangement.<sup>23</sup>

By moving to the left bank of the river, Chełmoński distanced himself from the bohemian art world, settling in a historic and prestigious part of the city, near the Champ de Mars, École Militaire and the Hôtel des Invalides. The Chełmońskis remained in the 7th arrondissement but likely moved out of the artist's bachelor flat rather quickly. Antoni Piotrowski recalled meeting Chełmoński in Warsaw in 1878, before Piotrowski's departure for Paris, when Chełmoński gave him the key to his flat on avenue Bosquet<sup>24</sup> (a street parallel to boulevard de La Tour-Maubourg). According to the artist's daughter, the aforementioned 'blue flat' was located at no. 54 of this avenue.<sup>25</sup> By mid-1879,

or possibly as early as October 1878 (according to Wanda Chełmońska),<sup>26</sup> the Chełmońskis had moved to 1 avenue Duquesne, near avenue Bosquet. It was here that their daughter Jadwiga was born in July 1879,<sup>27</sup> followed by Maria in May 1881<sup>28</sup> (fig. 5). The family later moved to 17 avenue de La Motte-Picquet, a building just 200 metres from their previous home.<sup>29</sup> Here, their third daughter, Zofia, was born in January 1883.<sup>30</sup> Maintaining a residence in this part of the city was indicative of the family's high financial status and their aspiration to belong to the affluent bourgeoisie. Choosing the 7th arrondissement was unusual for painters; however, Louis Fournier, a friend and admirer of Chełmoński's work, lived nearby on the elegant Cité Vaneau, on the opposite side of the Hôtel des Invalides.<sup>31</sup>

For some time (at least until early 1881), Chełmoński retained his studio at rue Bizet, which was a considerable distance from his flat



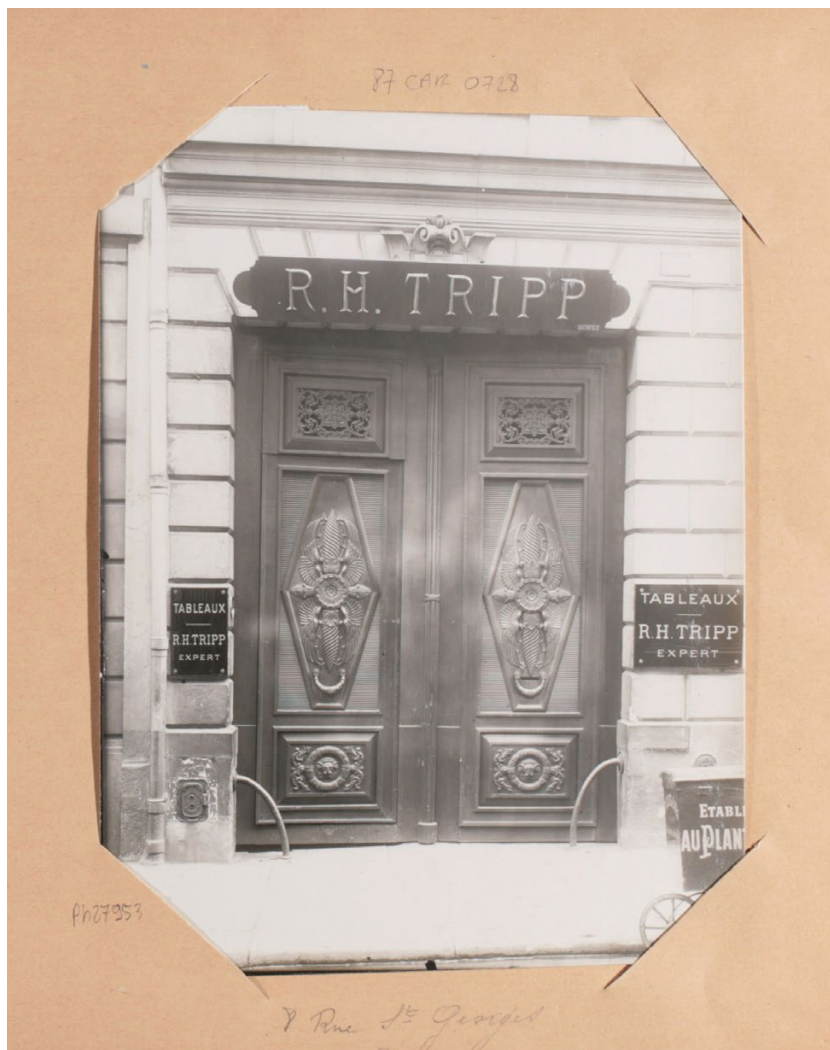


fig. 4 Gate of the building at 8 rue Saint-Georges, which housed the Arnold & Tripp gallery and later Richard H. Tripp's company photo Charles Lansiaux, 1919, Paris Musées, Musée Carnavalet – Histoire de Paris

in the 7th arrondissement. It is unclear when he gave it up, but by mid-1883, he had already acquired a studio at 11 impasse du Maine<sup>32</sup> and a flat located in the nearby avenue du Maine.<sup>33</sup> While living here, Chełmoński recruited models from the neighbouring rue Poinot.<sup>34</sup> This area of the 14th arrondissement (Montparnasse) would become particularly popular among artists at the turn of the century, but even in the early 1880s, several painters, including Jules Bastien-Lepage,<sup>35</sup> were already working on impasse du Maine. About a kilometre to the southwest, at 48 rue de la Procession, is where Cyprian Godebski lived and worked.<sup>36</sup>

### In the Painters' District

The next addresses associated with the Chełmoński family were 110 boulevard Malesherbes, where they lived between 1884

and 1885,<sup>37</sup> and 4 place de Wagram, where they moved to in 1886.<sup>38</sup> Both residences were located close to one another in the 17th arrondissement. Of the two, boulevard Malesherbes was the more prestigious address, situated in the area known as Plaine Monceau, which had become a desirable location for artists and affluent bourgeoisie during the Second Empire (1852–1870). As Manuel Charpy observed, most painters listed in the 1887 *Tout-Paris* directory – which published the addresses of institutions, businesses and prominent residents – lived in this area. At the time, many notable artists, such as Alexandre Cabanel, Édouard Detaille, Ernest Meissonier, Mihály Munkácsy, Alphonse de Neuville, Giuseppe De Nittis, Jan Styka and Alfred Roll, resided or worked along boulevard Malesherbes, avenue de Villiers and the surrounding streets.<sup>39</sup> A friend of Chełmoński, Józef Gałęzowski, occupied a flat

at 85 boulevard Maiesherbes.<sup>40</sup> Renting a residence in this 'painters' district' north of Parc Monceau placed Chełmoński in the vicinity of key figures in his profession.<sup>41</sup> His move to place de Wagram in 1886 is likely referenced in a letter where he proposed to his wife that they relocate to a more affordable home closer to his atelier.<sup>42</sup> Chełmoński probably meant his studio at 41 rue Verniquet, which was just a block away from place de Wagram<sup>43</sup> (fig. 6). Other artists such as Giovanni Boldini, Alphonse de Neuville, John Singer Sargent and Alfred Roll, all had their ateliers nearby. Wanda Chełmońska mentioned that work on her father's new studio began in 1883.<sup>44</sup> A surviving invoice from 1885 for renovations at rue Verniquet identifies the architect as Charles-Albert Mussigmann.<sup>45</sup> In April 1884, Zygmunt Sarnecki noted that, unable to visit Chełmoński's studio, which was

'under reconstruction or repair after damage caused by the "restless steeds" he used as models', he had to settle for visiting the 'refined and elegant' flat at boulevard Maiesherbes.<sup>46</sup>

Maria Chełmońska, the artist's daughter, described the Parisian home where she grew up – most likely referring to the place de Wagram residence – as a wealthy bourgeois interior adorned with expensive furniture and decorations. This prompted Maciej Masłowski to ironically compare Chełmoński to Mr Geldhab, the titular character in Aleksander Fredro's comedy.<sup>47</sup> In contrast, the artist's wife referred to their Parisian home as relatively modest.<sup>48</sup> The Chełmońskis' social life in Paris revolved primarily around the Polish community. According to Wanda Chełmońska, whose knowledge was informed by her mother's stories, her parents' home was 'a frequent

fig. 5 Birth certificate of Maria Chełmońska, the artist's daughter. The document lists the address 1 avenue Duquesne, Archives de Paris, Actes d'état civil, ref. no. V4E 3346, certificate no. 759/1881 [retrieved: 10 Mar. 2025] photo © Archives de Paris

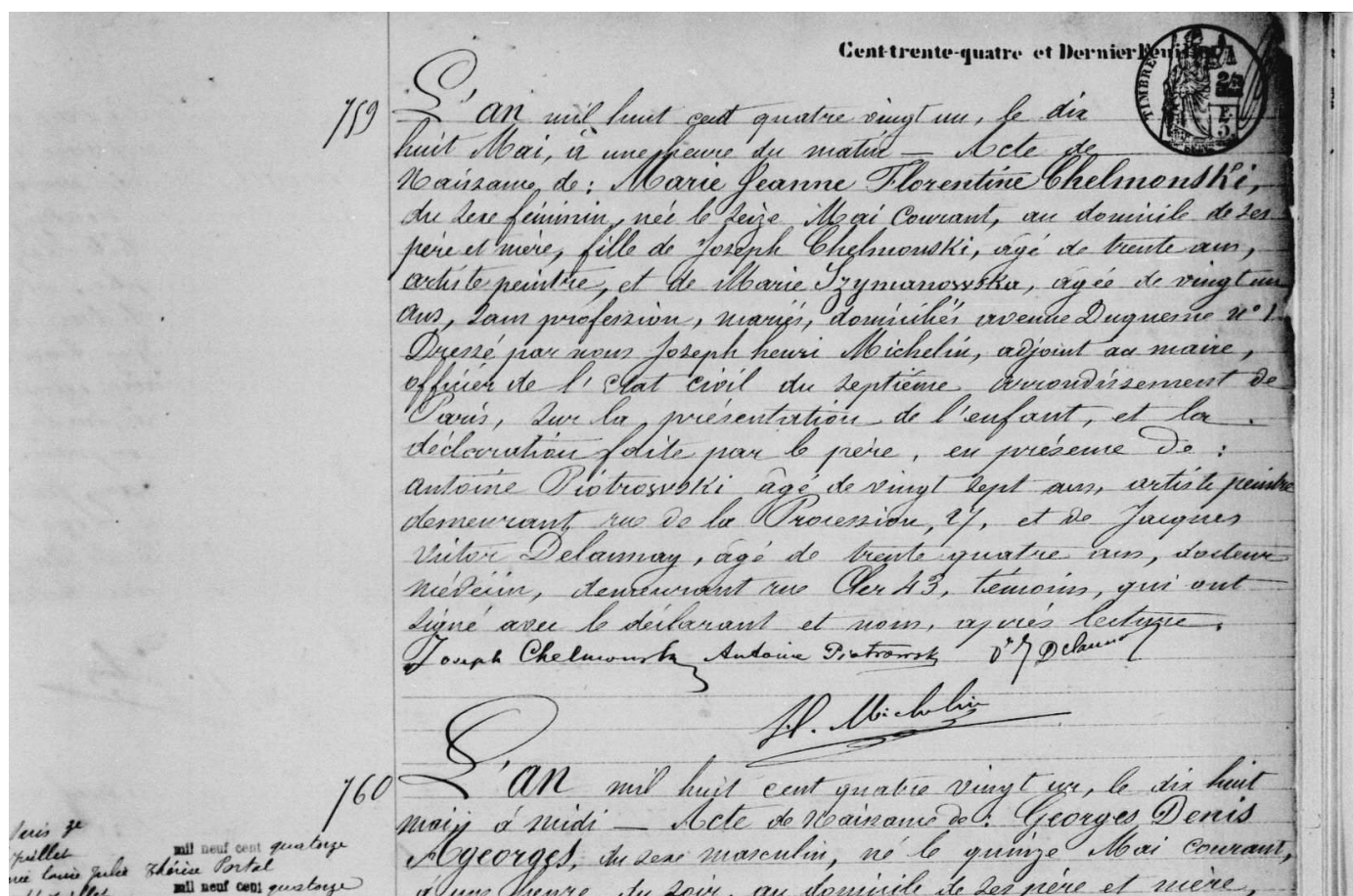




fig. 6 Fragment of a late nineteenth-century Paris cadastral map. Chełmoński's studio was located at 41 rue Verniquet, Archives de Paris, ref. no. PP/11973/A [retrieved: 10 Mar. 2025]  
photo © Archives de Paris

meeting place for both renowned and lesser-known Polish artists'.<sup>49</sup> The family's guests included Antoni Piotrowski, Cyprian ('Cipa') Godebski, Ksawery and Józef Gałęzowski, Szymon and Adam Natanson, Antoni Sygietyński, Teodor Axentowicz, Jan Styka, Henryk Redlich, Stanisław Rejchan (Reichan), Stanisław Masłowski, Jan Stanisławski and Stanisław Witkiewicz.<sup>50</sup> The Chełmońskis also hosted costume parties and dance evenings for their Polish friends.<sup>51</sup> Years later, the artist's wife recalled: '[t]he evenings were very lively because people remembered about us; there was always someone visiting. They would endlessly sketch everyone around me'.<sup>52</sup> Wanda Chełmońska believed her father fell in love with Paris and developed a deep attachment to the city.<sup>53</sup> Over time, however, his attitude changed, likely influenced by various setbacks,<sup>54</sup> prompting the family to return to Poland.

4 place de Wagram became the Chełmońskis' final Parisian address (fig. 7), where their son Józef was born in January 1887.<sup>55</sup> For the 1889 Exposition Universelle, Chełmoński registered his works under the address of his friend, the artist Stanisław Rejchan, at 10 rue des Beaux-Arts.<sup>56</sup> By this

time, Chełmoński had already been living in Kułówka, where he moved in 1888, shortly after his return to Poland. The small estate became the artist's retreat in his later years, during which he dramatically shifted the themes of his work, moving closer to Symbolism. In March 1889, Maria Chełmońska travelled to Paris to settle outstanding financial obligations and send the family's belongings from France to Poland.<sup>57</sup> Her husband asked her not to relinquish the studio but to rent it out for a year instead.<sup>58</sup> During their nearly year-long stay in Paris in 1889–1890, two young painters, Józef Pankiewicz and Władysław Podkowiński, used Chełmoński's studio – a 'vast ground-floor hall, ten metres wide' – for their work.<sup>59</sup>

The history and frequency of Józef Chełmoński's relocations in Paris is intriguing. During the twelve years he spent there, the painter lived in at least seven flats and worked in three different studios. While the necessity of moving during his early years – when he was building his reputation on the local art market – is understandable, it is harder to explain his relocations during the period when he had already gained recognition among collectors.





fig. 7 The Chełmońskis' final Parisian address – 4 place de Wagram  
photo Wojciech Głowacki, 2022

Financial difficulties may have been a factor. In the autumn of 1876, following his success at the Salon, Chełmoński chose his first studio in Paris on boulevard de Clichy, likely with Goupil's assistance. This atelier was located on the outskirts of a district populated by artists and art dealers. However, already in the following year, the painter moved his studio to rue Bizet, a relatively unusual choice, far from the main artistic hubs. Shortly afterward, in 1878, Chełmoński settled in a luxurious district near the École Militaire, a move that symbolized his entry into the upper echelons of society and demonstrated his financial success. However, this decision distanced him from his professional peers. By 1883 at the latest, the Chełmońskis briefly moved to the less prestigious and more affordable Montparnasse district. From 1884 until the end of their time in Paris, they lived in Plaine Monceau, an area renowned for its numerous studios and artist residences. During this period, the painter began renovating

a new atelier on rue Verniquet, located in the same area. The move to Montparnasse and the return from the left bank to the right bank of the Seine coincided with a significant decline in Chełmoński's income.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps the artist hoped that changing his place of residence and work would improve his financial situation. This was a calculated move aimed at fostering closer connections with local artists and patrons. By living and working among a community of creatives and collectors, Chełmoński sought to enhance his opportunities for securing clients and selling his works. However, these hopes proved futile. Despite his efforts, Chełmoński was unable to regain the favour of local critics or success among collectors. The reasons for his struggles were not social but instead stemmed from changing tastes among art buyers and the waning appeal of the realist style that Chełmoński practised. These shifts could not be remedied by his strategies.

Disillusioned, he returned to his homeland, where he began to reassess and transform his art.

Scholars have traditionally attributed Chełmoński's departure from Paris to artistic motivations (a desire to change his surroundings and develop his new interest in landscape themes) or patriotic reasons (a longing for Poland).<sup>61</sup> However, examining his relocations in Paris in the context of both his art and his economic situation sheds new light on the mythologized return to Poland<sup>62</sup> and shifts focus to the material reasons underpinning

this decision.<sup>63</sup> Economic pressures forced Chełmoński to remain mobile, pushing him to be more active and adapt his artistic practice to the expectations of Warsaw's art scene, where he re-established himself upon his return. This endeavour was successful – Chełmoński re-entered the local art market, buoyed by the acclaim of his Parisian career, which was highlighted by sympathetic critics. Although the shift in his thematic and stylistic focus initially faced resistance from Warsaw's artistic establishment,<sup>64</sup> it soon secured him success and lasting fame that endures to this day.

Translated by Aleksandra Szkudłapska

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> See summary of the state of research in Joanna M. Sosnowska's recent book *Malarz. Józef Chełmoński* (Warsaw, 2021). The seminal analysis of Chełmoński's work can be found in Maciej Masłowski's publication *Malarski żywot Józefa Chełmońskiego*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1972) and the catalogue of the Poznań exhibition – Tadeusz Matuszczak, *Józef Chełmoński (1849–1914). Wystawa monograficzna*, exh. cat., National Museum in Poznań (Poznań, 1987).
- <sup>2</sup> See, among others, Karolina Dzimira-Zarzycka, *Samotnica. Dwa życia Marii Dulębianki* (Warsaw, 2022); Natalia Budzyńska, *Witkiewicz. Ojciec Witkacego* (Kraków, 2022); ead., *Brat Albert* (Kraków, 2022); Stanisław Janowski, *To i owo z mojego życia*, with introduction and commentary by Jolanta Różalska (Warsaw, 2023); Anna Kaszuba-Dębska, *Przybyszewska / Pająkówna. Głuchy krzyk* (Warsaw, 2023).
- <sup>3</sup> I discuss the reception of Chełmoński's works and his income in the Parisian period in the essay: Wojciech Głowacki, 'The Painter as a Businessman? Did Chełmoński Really Succeed in Paris?', in *Józef Chełmoński 1849–1914*, vol. 1, eds Ewa Micke-Broniarek, Wojciech Głowacki, exh. cat., National Museum in Warsaw; National Museum in Poznań; National Museum in Kraków (Warsaw, 2024), pp. 62–75.
- <sup>4</sup> For more on this subject, see Agnieszka Bagińska, *Pracownia artysty w polskiej sztuce i kulturze drugiej połowy XIX i początku XX wieku* (Warsaw, 2015), pp. 45–51.
- <sup>5</sup> See, among others, Léa Saint-Raymond, 'How to Get Rich As an Artist. The Case of Félix Ziem – Evidence from His Account Book from 1850 through 1883', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Spring 2016), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring16/saint-raymond-on-how-to-get-rich-as-an-artist-felix-ziem> [retrieved: 20 Sep. 2023]; Agnieszka Bagińska, 'Painter of the Salon. Anna Bilińska's Exhibition and Artistic Strategies', in *The Artist. Anna Bilińska*, eds ead., Renata Higersberger, exh. cat., National Museum in Warsaw (Warsaw, 2021), p. 31 and Simon Kelly, 'How Monet Became a Millionaire. The Importance of the Artist's Account Books', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, vol. 47 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-023-09473-y> [retrieved: 22 Sep. 2023].
- <sup>6</sup> *Didot-Bottin. Annuaire-almanach du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature et de l'administration ou Almanach des 500,000 adresses de Paris, des départements et des pays étrangers. Salon de 1876. 93<sup>e</sup> exposition officielle depuis l'année 1673. Explication des ouvrages [...]* exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées (Paris, 1876), p. 52. For more information on the milieu centred around Godebski, see Andrzej Pieńkos, 'Cyprien Godebski et sa position inter-nationale à Paris à l'époque de Gautier et de... Bourdelle', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, vol. 44 (2019), pp. 111–124, <https://doi.org/10.24425/rhs.2019.131202> [retrieved: 8 Jan. 2024]. See also Jan Rosen, *Wspomnienia*, written down by Anna Leo (Warsaw, 1933), p. 43; Masłowski, *Malarski żywot...*, pp. 194–196. Current name: boulevard Victor-Hugo.
- <sup>8</sup> Chełmoński's letter to Wojciech Gerson of 13 Sep. 1876: 'My address since 15 octobre: Boulevard Clichy No. 11, atelier au premier'. As cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle korespondencji*, ed. Jan Wegner (Wrocław, 1953), p. 70. Źródła do dziejów sztuki Polskiej, vol. 6. The artist also provided this address in his application to the 1877 Salon: *Salon de 1877. 94<sup>e</sup> exposition officielle depuis l'année 1673. Explication des ouvrages [...]* exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées (Paris, 1877), p. 59.
- <sup>9</sup> Manuel Charpy, 'Les ateliers d'artistes et leurs voisinages. Espaces et scènes urbaines des modes bourgeoises à Paris entre 1830–1914', *Histoire urbaine*, no. 26 (2009), p. 50, <https://www.cairn.info/revue-histoire-urbaine-2009-3-page-43.html> [retrieved: 10 Sep. 2023].
- <sup>10</sup> Information about the artists' addresses comes from the website <https://>



- nos-tresors-caches.com/Hotels/PagesArrond\_01/Hotel\_01.htm. See also John Milner, *The Studios of Paris. The Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 121–147.
- <sup>11</sup> For the enterprises headed by Adolphe Goupil, see Agnès Penot, *La maison Goupil. Galerie d'art internationale au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 2017). See also Tadeusz Matuszczak, 'Chełmoński w księgach handlowych Goupil & Cie', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, no. 4 (2014), pp. 637–653.
- <sup>12</sup> *Salon de 1878. 95<sup>e</sup> exposition officielle depuis l'année 1673. Explication des ouvrages [...] exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées* (Paris, 1878), p. 43.
- <sup>13</sup> Léa Saint-Raymond, Félicie de Maupeou, Julien Caverio, 'Les rues des tableaux. Géographie du marché de l'art parisien (1815–1955)', *Artl@s Bulletin*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2015), paper 6, p. 83, <https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/artlas/vol4/iss1/6> [retrieved: 11 Sep. 2023]. This was where art galleries were located and high-profile exhibitions were organized, including by the Impressionist group.
- <sup>14</sup> Data regarding the locations of the galleries comes from © GeoMAP 2017, Julien Caverio, Félicie Faizand de Maupeou, Léa Saint-Raymond, <https://paris-art-market.humanum.fr>.
- <sup>15</sup> Chełmoński's letter to his mother of 20 May 1877, as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 42. The artist provided this address in Salon catalogues between 1879 and 1881: *Salon de 1879. 96<sup>e</sup> exposition officielle depuis l'année 1673. Explication des ouvrages [...] exposés au palais des Champs-Élysées* (Paris, 1879), p. 51; *Salon de 1880. 97<sup>e</sup> exposition officielle depuis l'année 1673. Explication des ouvrages [...] exposés au palais des Champs-Élysées* (Paris, 188), p. 73; *Salon de 1881. Salon des Artistes français. 98<sup>e</sup> exposition depuis l'année 1673. Explication des ouvrages [...] exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées* (Paris, 1881), p. 41. When writing about Chełmoński's studio in avenue de l'Impératrice, Stanisław Witkiewicz most likely meant the one on rue Bizet, next to which runs an avenue that until 1879 bore the name of Joséphine de Beauharnais, Empress of the French (current name: avenue Monceau) – Stanisław Witkiewicz, *Aleksander Gierymski* (Warsaw, 1950), pp. 100–101; see also Masłowski, *Malarski żywot...*, p. 203. The building where Chełmoński rented his studio no longer exists. The current name of the street is rue Georges-Bizet.
- <sup>16</sup> Aublet provided this address in the *Didot-Bottin* directory: *Didot-Bottin...* (Paris, 1878), p. 1324. Maria Chełmońska recalls a meeting with him: Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences (further: IS PAN), Special Collections (further: ZS), ref. no. 1760-1 – Maria Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia [Memoirs]*, fol. 46.
- <sup>17</sup> IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 1760-1 – Maria Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia [Memoirs]*, fol. 41. See also Wojciech Kossak, 'Wojciech Kossak o Chełmońskim', in *Józefowi Chełmońskiemu w hołdzie Ziemia Łowicka* (Łowicz, 1934), p. 5.
- <sup>18</sup> See Maria Gołąb, *Chełmoński. Chmielowski. Witkiewicz. Pracownia w Hotelu Europejskim w Warszawie 1874–1883*, exh. cat., National Museum in Poznań (Poznań, 2010), pp. 57–64, 132–140.
- <sup>19</sup> IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 1760-1 – Maria Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia [Memoirs]*, fols. 41, 44. See also A. Bagińska, *Pracownia artysty...*, pp. 76–77.
- <sup>20</sup> Masłowski, *Malarski żywot...*, p. 222.
- <sup>21</sup> Kossak, 'Wojciech Kossak o Chełmońskim', p. 5.
- <sup>22</sup> IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 1760-1 – Maria Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia [Memoirs]*, fol. 41.
- <sup>23</sup> Kossak, 'Wojciech Kossak o Chełmońskim,' p. 5. Given the proximity of this street to Chełmoński's subsequent address on avenue Bosquet, it cannot be ruled out that Kossak in fact meant the same place but provided the wrong street name. See also Sosnowska, *Malarz. Józef Chełmoński*, pp. 49–52.
- <sup>24</sup> Piotrowski provides the year 1879, but notes that Chełmoński's stay in Warsaw was related to his wedding: Antoni Piotrowski, *Józef Chełmoński. Wspomnienie* (Warsaw, 2001) (reprint of the 1st ed. from 1918), pp. 17–18. Wyczółkowski also stayed as Chełmoński's guest in 1878, together with Piotrowski. He placed this apartment not far from Godebski's residence: *Leon*

- Wyczółkowski. *Listy i wspomnienia*, ed. Maria Twarowska (Wrocław, 1960), pp. 201, 222. *Źródła do Dziejów Sztuki Polskiej*, vol. 9. Before the artist's wedding, Kossak situated Chełmoński's studio ('a huge windowless shed with a glass roof') on avenue Bosquet, but also 'in Passy, not far from Trocadéro'. Since these pieces of information are contradictory, he most likely meant the studio on rue Bizet – see Wojciech Kossak, 'Wojciech Kossak o Chełmońskim', p. 5.
- <sup>25</sup> Masłowski, *Malarski żywot...*, pp. 211–212.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.
- <sup>27</sup> Archives de Paris (further: AP), Actes d'état civil (further: EC), ref. no. V4E 3329 – file no. 911/1879. Chełmoński also used the 1 avenue Duquesne address in his correspondence: Chełmoński's letter to Józef Bohdan Zaleski of 4 May 1880, as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 99; Musée d'Orsay (further: MO), Fonds Arnold et Tripp, MS 367 (2) (further: AT) – Chełmoński's letter to Richard Howard Tripp [1882?], fol. 36.
- <sup>28</sup> AP, EC, ref. no. V4E 3346 – file no. 759/1881.
- <sup>29</sup> This address is provided next to Chełmoński's name in Salon catalogues for 1882 and 1883: *Salon de 1882. Salon des Artistes français. 99<sup>e</sup> exposition depuis l'année 1673. Explication des [...] exposés au palais des Champs-Élysées* (Paris, 1882), p. 49; *Salon de 1883. Salon des Artistes français. 100<sup>e</sup> exposition depuis l'année 1673. Explication des ouvrages [...] exposées au palais des Champs-Élysées* (Paris, 1883), p. 47. The artist also cited it in his correspondence: Chełmoński's letter to Wojciech Gerson of 21 Feb. 1883, as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 72.
- <sup>30</sup> AP, EC, ref. no. V4E 5968 – file no. 41/1883.
- <sup>31</sup> Louis Fournier's letter to Chełmoński of 19 Apr. [1888?], as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 113. Wegner dates the letter to 1887, but he may be wrong, since the street did not receive its name until 1888.
- <sup>32</sup> MO, AT – Chełmoński's letter to Richard H. Tripp of 12 Jul. [1883?], fol. 39. The current street name is rue Antoine-Bourdelle. According to Wanda Chełmońska, the studio was located at no. 4: IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 628 – Wanda Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], I, fol. 5.
- <sup>33</sup> See IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 628 – Wanda Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], I, fol. 5. We do not know at what number the Chełmońskis lived.
- <sup>34</sup> In a letter, Chełmoński recalled looking for a model on rue Pinsot (wrongly transcribed as Poinrot) in the 14th arrondissement: Chełmoński's letter to his wife [1880–1883?], as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 70.
- <sup>35</sup> Milner, *The Studios of Paris...*, pp. 219–231.
- <sup>36</sup> *Bulletin littéraire et scientifique de l'Association des anciens élèves de l'École polonaise*, no. 11 (1880), p. 9. This address is also referred to by Maria Chełmońska: 'Yesterday we visited the Godebskis on rue de la Procession; a small, uncomfortable house, but the studio was large, with many finished works and many unfinished ones, covered with canvases', IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 1760-1 – Maria Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], fol. 42.
- <sup>37</sup> *Salon de 1884. Salon des Artistes français. 102<sup>e</sup> exposition depuis l'année 1673. Explication des ouvrages [...] exposées au palais des Champs-Élysées* (Paris, 1884), p. 47; *Salon de 1885. Salon des Artistes français. 103<sup>e</sup> exposition. Explication des ouvrages [...] exposés au palais des Champs-Élysées* (Paris, 1885), p. 49; Chełmoński's letter to Natalia Gerson of 15 Jun. 1884, as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 73. The Chełmońskis still lived on boulevard Małesherbes in October 1885: Chełmoński's letter to Marcin Olszyński of 7 Oct. 1885, as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 91.
- <sup>38</sup> *Salon de 1886. Salon des Artistes français. 104<sup>e</sup> Exposition depuis l'année 1673. Explication des ouvrages [...] exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées* (Paris, 1886), p. 42; Chełmoński's letter to Wojciech Gerson [1886], as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 73.
- <sup>39</sup> Charpy, 'Les ateliers d'artistes et leurs voisinages...', p. 49; Podlaskie Museum in Białystok, Branch in Tykocin (further: MPB, MT), inv. no. MT/H/D/165 – Notes adresowy Anny Bilińskiej i Antoniego Bohdanowicza [Address notebook of Anna Bilińska and Antoni Bohdanowicz], [s.p.]; website:

- https://nos-tresors-caches.com/Hotels/PagesArrond\_17/Hotel\_17.htm. See also Milner, *The Studios of Paris...*, pp. 171–189.
- <sup>40</sup> MPB, MT, inv. no. MT/H/D/165 – Notes adresowy Anny Bilińskiej i Antoniego Bohdanowicza [Address notebook of Anna Bilińska and Antoni Bohdanowicz], [s.p]. See Rosen, *Wspomnienia*, p. 42.
- <sup>41</sup> See Milner, *The Studios of Paris...*, pp. 109–110.
- <sup>42</sup> Chełmoński's letter to his wife [1885 or 1886], as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 48. Wegner dates the aforementioned letter to 1882.
- <sup>43</sup> When referring to Benedykt Tyszkiewicz's equestrian portrait from 1887, which her father painted 'at his place on rue Brémontier' (IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 628 – Wanda Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], I, fol. 9), Wanda Chełmońska most likely meant the studio in rue Verniquet, which is near rue Brémentier (this section is currently named rue Alfred-Roll).
- <sup>44</sup> IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 628 – Wanda Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], I, fol. 6.
- <sup>45</sup> The receipt is in the collection of the artist's heirs. The building was largely remodelled in the 1890s and in the 20th century, see *Règlement, Tome 2 (Vol. 2). Annexe au règlement X, Protections patrimoniales, Arrondissements 11 à 20*, [Paris, 2023], p. 270, [https://plubioclimatique.paris.fr/projet/datas/pdf/REG2A10\\_2DE2.pdf](https://plubioclimatique.paris.fr/projet/datas/pdf/REG2A10_2DE2.pdf) [retrieved: 9 Jan. 2024].
- <sup>46</sup> Zygmunt Sarnecki, 'Pracownie artystów polskich w Paryżu. III. Józef Chełmoński', *Biesiada Literacka*, no. 431 (1884), p. 218.
- <sup>47</sup> See Maślowski, *Malarski żywot...*, p. 216.
- <sup>48</sup> IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 1760-1 – Maria Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], fol. 45.
- <sup>49</sup> IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 628 – Wanda Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], II, fol. 16.
- <sup>50</sup> IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 628 – Wanda Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], II, fols. 21–22.
- <sup>51</sup> Maślowski, *Malarski żywot...*, pp. 212–213, 233.
- <sup>52</sup> IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 1760-1 – Maria Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], fol. 45.
- <sup>53</sup> IS PAN, ZS, ref. no. 628 – Wanda Chełmońska, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], II, fol. 12.
- <sup>54</sup> Sosnowska, *Malarz. Józef Chełmoński*, p. 10. See also Maślowski, *Malarski żywot...*, pp. 248–249.
- <sup>55</sup> AP, EC, ref. no. V4E 7363 – file no. 45/1887.
- <sup>56</sup> *Exposition universelle de 1889. Catalogue illustré des beaux-arts. 1789–1889*, ed. François-Guillaume Dumas ([Lille], 1889), p. 264. Both addresses are featured in Anna Bilińska's notebook, with Chełmoński's address crossed out: MPB, MT, inv. no. MT/H/D/165 – Notes adresowy Anny Bilińskiej i Antoniego Bohdanowicza [Address notebook of Anna Bilińska and Antoni Bohdanowicz], [s.p].
- <sup>57</sup> Maria Chełmońska's letter to her husband of 13 Mar. 1889, as cited in *Józef Chełmoński w świetle...*, p. 106.
- <sup>58</sup> Chełmoński's letter to his wife of 14 Mar. [1889], as cited in *ibid.*, p. 61.
- <sup>59</sup> Józef Czapski, *Józef Pankiewicz. Życie i dzieło. Wypowiedzi o sztuce* (Warsaw, 1936), p. 43.
- <sup>60</sup> See Głowacki, 'The Painter as a Businessman?...', pp. 62–75.
- <sup>61</sup> See, i.a., Maślowski, *Malarski żywot...*, p. 244; Sosnowska, *Malarz. Józef Chełmoński*, pp. 7–10.
- <sup>62</sup> Czesław Jankowski described the artist's return to the country as 'Antaeus-like contact with his native land': Czesław Jankowski, 'Przegląd artystyczny', *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, no. 25 (1890), p. 398.
- <sup>63</sup> Joanna M. Sosnowska also notes the pragmatic nature of the artist's decision to leave Paris: Sosnowska, *Malarz. Józef Chełmoński*, p. 150.
- <sup>64</sup> The rejection of Chełmoński's works by the jury of the autumn 1888 exhibition of the Zachęta Society (TZSP) in Warsaw was generally labelled an artistic scandal. See Joanna M. Sosnowska, 'Józefa Chełmońskiego „Droga” ku abstrakcji', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, no. 4 (2014), pp. 655–665; Ewa Micke-Broniarek, 'Images of Nature in the Work of Józef Chełmoński at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries', in *Józef Chełmoński...*, vol. 1, pp. 77–89.



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