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## Striving for modernity: The jewellery making in The Second Polish Republic (1918–1939)

Ku nowoczesności:  
jubilerstwo w II Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939)

**Summary:** The article attempts to describe the condition of jewellery making in interwar Poland and to indicate the major problems hampering its development. While discussing the jewellery exhibition at the Polish General Exhibition in 1929, the main trends in the commercial vein, as well as the most important representatives of the industry were indicated. Attention was also paid to the jewellers, whose works might be an example of the search for the Polish Art Déco style. Based on the content published in the domestic trade press, which was the main communication platform for the craftsmen and merchants in Poland, the influence of the world's leading French industry was highlighted. It was noted that even though the jewellers in Poland faced many difficulties throughout the interwar period, they tried to learn from the experiences of their colleagues from Paris. This applied to issues related to the design and manufacturing of jewellery as well as running businesses. As one of the first devoted to the topic, the paper may serve as reference for further research related to jewellery making in the 1920s and 30s, not merely in Poland, but also in East-Central Europe.

**Key words:** jewellery, jewellery history, Polish jewellery, interwar Poland, jewellery industry, art déco jewellery, The Polish General Exhibition

**Streszczenie:** Artykuł stanowi próbę opisanie sytuacji jubilerstwa w międzywojennej Polsce oraz wskazania głównych problemów hamujących jego rozwój. Omawiając wystawę biżuterii na Powszechnej Wystawie Krajowej w 1929 r., wskazano główne trendy w produkcji, a także najważniejszych przedstawicieli branży. Zwrócono również uwagę na jubilerów, których prace mogą być przykładem poszukiwań polskiego stylu art déco. W oparciu o treści publikowane na łamach krajowej prasy branżowej, która stanowiła główną platformę komunikacji dla rzemieślników i kupców w Polsce, uwypuklono wpływ czołowego na świecie przemysłu francuskiego. Zauważono, że choć jubilerzy w Polsce napotykali w okresie międzywojennym wiele trudności, starali się czerpać z doświadczeń swoich kolegów z Paryża. Dotyczyło to zagadnień związanych z projektowaniem i produkcją biżuterii oraz prowadzeniem działalności gospodarczej. Jako jeden z pierwszych poświęconych

tej tematyce, artykuł może stanowić punkt odniesienia dla dalszych badań związanych z biżuterią w latach 20. i 30. XX wieku, nie tylko w Polsce, ale także w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** biżuteria, historia biżuterii, polska biżuteria, międzywojenna Polska, przemysł jubilerski, biżuteria, art déco, Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa

Despite the growing interest in the history of jewellery among Polish researchers, there are still few studies on jewellery in prewar Poland. Only the works by Józef Fajngold and Henryk Grunwald, artists associated with the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, are more widely known.<sup>1</sup> Their 1930s designs, described by Anna Sieradzka as examples of Polish Art Déco style, did not influence, however, the mass production in that time<sup>2</sup> and it is difficult to compare them with the jewellery in the commercial vein. Even though research is carried out on selected issues, no study has yet been published that would characterize the entire industry of the Second Polish Republic.<sup>3</sup>

After the end of the World War I, jewellery industry in Poland was in crisis. Although financial difficulties were presumably the most important obstacle for jewellers, they struggled also with other issues that have been a consequence of existing legal and tax systems. It needs to be highlighted that for more than a century the territory of Poland was divided between imperial powers: Russia, Prussia, and Austria-Hungary. Due to this fact, the authorities of the Second Polish Republic faced the tough task of unifying a country that has been reconstructed with three different systems and traditions. For the Polish jewellery industry, the question of a new hallmark law was primarily significant. The former regulations, imposed by the partitioning powers, continued to operate in individual lands of the newly restored country. In the areas of the former Russian and Austrian partition, each jewellery item had to be checked and marked at an assay office before being placed on the market. In the western territories, Prussian regulations were still in force, thus hallmarking was not obligatory – the manufacturer took responsibility for the authenticity of the product and could mark it himself.<sup>4</sup> After Poland regained independence, differences in these provisions caused tensions between representatives of the domestic industry. The lack of a consensus on the hallmarking law undoubtedly hindered establishing a nationwide professional union, which would

1 | See: NOWAKOWSKA 1997; NOWAKOWSKA 1998.

2 | SIERADZKA 2001, p. 141.

3 | The subject was generally discussed in my monograph on jewellery in interwar Warsaw entitled *Jubilerstwo w międzywojennej Warszawie*, which is being prepared for publication.

4 | MYŚLIŃSKI 2015, p. 141.

represent the interests of artisans and merchants and act to improve the situation of the industry. Ultimately, neither of these issues has been solved until the outbreak of World War II. At this point, it is worth adding that Polish jewellery has never gained international fame. Although in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Warsaw was the third-largest (after St. Petersburg and Moscow) goldsmith and jewellery center of the Russian Empire,<sup>5</sup> Poles were never recognized as leaders of this craft in Europe.

During the Second Polish Republic, Warsaw remained an important jewellery center. However, jewellery companies operated also in other cities, incl. Lwów, Kraków<sup>6</sup> and Poznań, whose role should be emphasized. There were much fewer companies operating there than in Warsaw, but they enjoyed great recognition throughout the country and abroad. In those two main centers trade magazines were published: in Warsaw it was „Sztuka Złotnicza, Zegarmistrzowska, Jubilerska i Rytownicza“ (1928–1932), in Poznań – „Przegląd Zegarmistrzowski i Złotniczy“ (1925–1933). The next title, „Złotnik i Zegarmistrz“ (with the headquarters in Poznań and a representative office in Warsaw), was published in the period 1934–1939. The magazines, due to the lack of specialist literature, constituted a valuable source of knowledge for craftsmen and merchants in Poland. Above all, however, they served the entire community as the main communication platform.

Thanks to publications in trade magazines, representatives of the local industry could learn about the arrangements of the Second International Congress of Jewellers and Goldsmiths which took place in Paris in 1928. The conference, organized by the international union based in Dutch Voorschoten, gathered more than 100 participants from France, Germany, Argentine, Austria, Belgium, United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, India, Italy, and Poland. During the congress, attention was paid to the need to integrate communities at the national level. In place of dispersed small associations, bigger professional unions should have been established.<sup>7</sup> In Poland, nationwide union's creation seemed to be particularly difficult because the individual areas, that constituted the Second Polish Republic, differed both in economic terms and in terms of applicable regulations (such as in the case of the hallmarking law). Moreover, according to the press, in 1925 there were over 7,000 enterprises in the watchmaking, goldsmith, and jewellery industries in Poland but 85% of them did not belong to any professional organization.<sup>8</sup> It was also noted that the financial difficulties after World War I affected wealthier countries, but representatives of

5 | BOBROW 1997, p. 9; BOBROW 2018, p. 19.

6 | See MYŚLIŃSKI 2015.

7 | *Kongres Jubilerów* 1928, p. 9; *Kongres Jubilersko-Złotniczy* 1928, p. 184.

8 | PAWLICKI 1926, pp. 6–7.

local industries coped with them thanks to joint work. As one of the editors of “Sztuka Złotnicza...” wrote in 1929:

[...] It is a shame, indeed, that so much time has elapsed since the reunification of Poland, and our organizational matters have not advanced a single step. Work is in full swing in the West; people rolled up their sleeves and work, create, build, together, in mass ... And we? We only have goals and ambitions, which, unfortunately, will not replace work. And if we are sometimes impressed by the West, we have to know that the only reason for that is because the West is organized.<sup>9</sup>

Although several nationwide meetings were organized in the interwar period, as I have mentioned, until the outbreak of World War II it was not possible to officially form the Polish trade union. In this aspect, the representatives of the western territories showed great commitment. It was they who were present at the Paris international congress in 1928. Stanisław Szulc, the president of the Association of Jewellers and Goldsmiths of Western Poland and the owner of one of the leading jewellery companies “W. Szulc”,<sup>10</sup> was even invited to take part in the session of the Precious Metals Commission. Apart from Szulc, another jeweller from Poznań, Kazimierz Stark, came to Paris. It is also worth mentioning that “Przegląd Zegarmistrzowski i Złotniczy” was presented at the exhibition of trade magazines, organized on the occasion of the congress. The publishers of the competing “Sztuka Złotnicza...” from Warsaw were not present but they prepared a paper discussing the need for cooperation of the international press.<sup>11</sup> At this point, it needs to be underlined that “Przegląd Złotniczy i Zegarmistrzowski” in the person of Tadeusz Pawlicki, was also the main promoter of the idea of preparing a presentation of goldsmiths and jewellery at the Polish General Exhibition (pol. *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa*, also known as “PWK” or “Pewuka”), which took place next year in Poznań.<sup>12</sup> The magazine published all the most important information about participation in the exhibition, including specially prepared application for the business owners who were interested in the event.

This period, just before the outbreak of the global economic crisis, seems to be the best moment for jewellers in the Second Polish Republic. After that, in early 1930s,

9 | *Na ten czas* 1929, p. 146. Translated by the author.

10 | See MĘCZYŃSKA/SOBCZAK-JASKULSKA 2010.

11 | T.P. 1928, p. 14; *Międzynarodowa współpraca* 1928, p. 171.

12 | The Polish General Exhibition was organized to present the achievements of the entire Polish society 10 years after regaining independence. It was the largest and most important event of this type in prewar Poland.

due to financial difficulties, many companies ceased to exist. Among them were those with a 19<sup>th</sup>-century tradition, which managed to rebuild in the first decade after Poland regained independence. Unemployment grew, and thus more illegal workshops appeared. The problem of vocational education also deepened. A workshop apprenticeship, which remained the basis of the jewellery training in interwar Poland, was no longer sufficient to run a business – especially in such difficult conditions brought by the recession. Although the new training opportunities introduced by the industrial law were already in force at the time, the problem of insufficient education continued to exist in the industry. Since 1927, to confirm qualifications and obtain a permit to run a workshop, craftsmen could present a certificate of graduation from selected vocational and art schools.<sup>13</sup> As for jewellery making, however, only one facility offered a professional training. Surprisingly, it was The State Industrial School for Women in Łódź.<sup>14</sup> As we may read in the press, in Poland there was no possibility of introducing the French system, where it was believed that active craftsmen should not waste their time training apprentices.<sup>15</sup> In France, independent schools under the supervision of professional organizations were established. They educated specialists: designers, jewellers, chiselers, stone setters, etc., who later joined the teams working in jewellery companies. The leading school in Paris, founded in 1867 by the main professional organization in Paris, *la Chambre Syndicale de la Bijouterie-Joallerie*, continues to operate successfully today.<sup>16</sup>

Although the jewellers in interwar Poland seemed to be aware of their limitations, they tried to learn from the best. When analyzing the contents of the Polish trade press, one can find numerous references to French industry. The news about the current fashion in Paris and reports from the exhibitions, often illustrated with pictures, were published. “Sztuka Złotnicza...” wrote, inter alia, about the important jewellery exhibition organized by *la Chambre Syndicale de la Bijouterie-Joallerie* in the Palais Galliera in 1929.<sup>17</sup> The author of the report was Jean Lanllier, the secretary of the organization with whom Polish magazine established cooperation. Lanllier also prepared another article for the Warsaw magazine describing the development of French jewellery and its importance on the world market at that time.<sup>18</sup>

13 | DZ.U. 1927. See CIECIURA [b.r.].

14 | See LIPCZIK 2019.

15 | *Zagadnienia terminatorskie* 1929, p. 12.

16 | HEUZÉ 2020, p. 10.

17 | LANLLIER 1929b, p. 92.

18 | LANLLIER 1929a, pp. 38–39.

Besides the newest trends, readers of the trade magazines could find advice on running a business, mainly based on the experiences of the world's leading jewellery center. Numerous articles on marketing and advertising in the industry have been published. Using the photos of Parisian jewellery displays, attention was paid to the importance of brand image building. Thanks to the trade press, jewellers in Poland not only had the opportunity to learn from their colleagues in France but also to establish relationships with them. In 1931, Tadeusz Pawlicki, editor-in-chief of "Przegląd Zagarmistrzowski i Złotniczy" suggested to the representatives of the domestic industry a "scientific trip" to Paris. A year before, he managed to organize a similar trip to Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, and Austria. That tour, attended by approximately fifty people, included visiting local jewellery and watch manufactures.<sup>19</sup> Encouraging participation in the trip to Paris, friendly relations between the Polish and French industries have been emphasized:

[...] we have established contact with professional organizations that will lead us to the most perfect jewellery and goldsmith workshops in Paris, that will show us the world's most wonderful jewellery, goldsmithery, and watches stores on Rue de la Paix and their incredible wealth, that will introduce us to French manufacturing in the field of our industries and show us the secrets of production methods and the training of the world's bravest jewellers and goldsmiths. We all know that just as Switzerland is the leader in watchmaking, France, and Paris in particular, dominates the world when it comes to jewellery, goldsmithery, and similar valuables. Therefore, those who want to deepen their professional knowledge will have a unique opportunity to do so in Paris under the guidance of friendly Parisian organizations.<sup>20</sup>

The itinerary of the tour included visiting the famous Colonial Exhibition, which was then held in Paris. Ultimately, although the group was assembled, the trip did not take place because it proved to be too expensive.<sup>21</sup>

It can be assumed that the French were interested in the Polish market more in the aspect of the availability of eastern markets.<sup>22</sup> The number of potential customers in Poland was probably too small for fashionable companies to place

19 | See *Wyjazd wycieczki naukowej* 1930, pp. 1–2.

20 | *Wycieczka naukowa* 1931a, pp. 6–7. Translated by the author.

21 | *Wycieczka naukowa* 1931b, p. 14.

22 | *Seconde „Foire Orientale”* 1920, p. 11.



1. A gold and platinum ring with diamonds, 1920–1930s, Poland, Antykwariat Jubilerski Jacek Zięta. Photo: Antykwariat Jubilerski Jacek Zięta.

their branches there.<sup>23</sup> Although they undoubtedly did not treat jewellers in Poland as rivals, they did not ignore them. French organizations probably wanted the Poles to receive best practice guidelines, important from the point of view of the entire European industry. It can be proved, for example, by the appeal concerning the correct definition of the type of pearls offered for sale, which was published in one of the issues of “Sztuka Złotnicza ...” in the late 1920s.<sup>24</sup>

The jewellery market in the Second Polish Republic, due to the situation of the local industry, was generally dominated by rather simple items: both in

terms of precious stones used, and the form itself. These were, for example, delicate rings made of yellow gold with old brilliant-cut diamonds in platinum or silver settings. More wealthy people probably could afford larger rings with a characteristic ornament: an openwork structure in the shape of a round, oval, teardrop, or an awning, set with diamonds (Fig. 1). Rings decorated with larger stones were also worn – precious or ornamental ones, depending on the status of the owner. At the display of jewellery stores, one could see brooches, earrings, pendants, and bracelets – especially those with rectangular links. The most common metal used in Poland was the 0,583 yellow gold, also known as the “3”. However, it is difficult to estimate the scope of production in interwar Poland. It was certainly influenced by the fact that women did not give up jewellery created before the outbreak of World War I, as well as they willingly wore artificial pieces, mass-produced from popular plastics and base metals, decorated with imitations of gemstones. *Haute joaillerie* was produced in interwar Poland, but supposedly in a limited number – only the richest could afford it, and they did not make up a large group. For sure, though, as in the case of clothing, this group wanted to be *en vogue*. The most exclusive fashion house of Bogusław Herse in Warsaw produced its own in line with the latest French trends and, prided itself on its offer of clothes brought directly from Paris.<sup>25</sup> Although much

23 | I do not mean companies selling artificial jewellery (*bijouterie de fantaisie*), which was certainly imported to Poland at that time.

24 | W.M. 1929, p. 138.

25 | SIERADZKA 2013, p. 28.





2. | A gold bracelet decorated with red and black lacquer, c. 1925–1930, Poland (Lwów), The District Museum in Konin. Photo: Agata Lipczik.

talked about the need to develop domestic production in the rebuilding country, it can be assumed that for the most affluent clientele, local companies imported jewels from the French capital.

No wonder, then, that the goal of jewellers in Poland was to reflect Parisian production. This referred primarily to the jewellery in the traditional vein, offered by the most known companies as “Cartier”, “Boucheron”, “Lacloche”, or “Van Cleef & Arpels”. French avant-garde jewellery influenced the craftsmen in interwar Poland, though certainly on a smaller scale. The District Museum in Konin houses

a permanent display of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century jewellery where a golden bracelet, made probably in the second half of the 1920s, is presented. Hallmarked in Lwów, it consists of rectangular, partially openwork modules decorated with engraving and repeated geometric patterns filled with black and red lacquer (Fig. 2).<sup>26</sup> This characteristic decoration seems to be a reference to the works of Jean Dunand,<sup>27</sup> one of the most renowned French Art Déco artists.

Based on the existing iconographic sources, it can be argued that, as it was in the West, since the late 1920s monochrome jewellery reigned supreme in Poland: platinum objects with diamonds in a brilliant-, and baguette-cut, sometimes accompanied by contrasting colored gemstones such as sapphire, emerald, or ruby (Fig. 3–4). The prevailing trend was to simplify and geometricize forms. As far as we know, at the Polish General Exhibition (*PWK*) the leading domestic companies, including “W. Szulc” from Poznań and “Jubilart” from Warsaw, showed mainly jewellery of this type (Fig. 5). The exposition, located in one of the pavilions in the “E” area (which was a school building),<sup>28</sup> covered an area of 70 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>29</sup> Although its advertising brochure highlighted that jewellery should stay in close

26 | *Katalog zbioru biżuterii* 2019, p. 158.

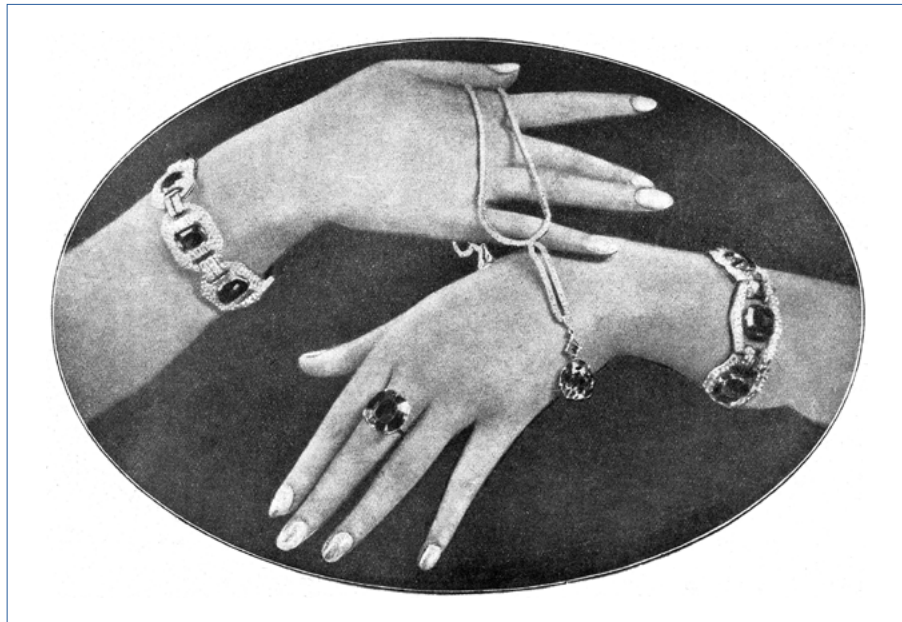
27 | See POSSÉMÉ 2009, pp. 134–135.

28 | *PWK* 1929, p. 258.

29 | *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa* 1929, pp. 1–2.



relationship with the fashion,<sup>30</sup> it was presented not with clothes and accessories, but among goldsmithery which was classified in the same category<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 6). The jewellery-goldsmith department was organized next to the “Polish Decorative Art Society” presentation. At the famous *L’Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels modernes* held in Paris in 1925, jewellery *maisons* presented their works in a specially designed space in the Grand Palais, as a part of the *Parure* department, next to clothing, accessories, and perfumes. The company “Cartier” went even further presenting itself not in the *Bijouterie-Joaillerie* department, among the biggest competitors, but individually – in the *Pavillon de l’Elegance* with the well-known fashion companies.<sup>32</sup> The jewellery presentation at the Polish General Exhibition may reflect the status of the domestic industry at that time. Although appreciated by the press in Poland, it was not recognized internationally.



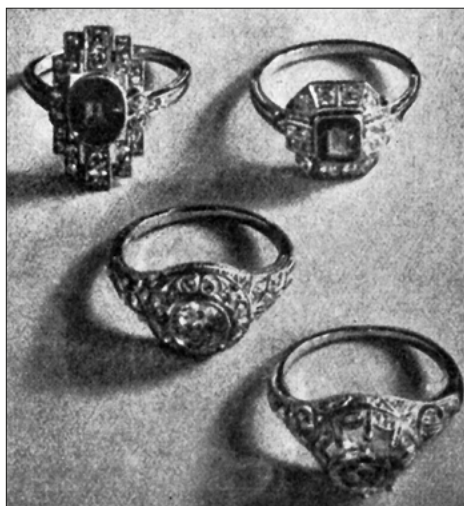
3. | Jewellery by the company “Wincenty Wabia-Wabiński”, “Teatr i Życie Wytworne”, nr 11–12 (1928). Photo: Mazowiecka Biblioteka Cyfrowa.

It should be noted that until the outbreak of World War II the production of jewellery at the level shown at the *PWK* took place rarely in Poland, most probably only on request. Photographs of diamond products from the offer of the Warsaw company “Jubilart”, taken by the famous photographer Benedykt

<sup>30</sup> | *Pani Moda* 1929, p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> | *Dział Jubilersko-Złotniczy* 1929, pp. 9–11.

<sup>32</sup> | RAULET 2002, pp. 48–53.



4. | Rings by the company "Jubilart",  
"Teatr i Życie Wytworne", nr 11–12 (1929).  
| Photo: Mazowiecka Biblioteka Cyfrowa.

Jerzy Dorys, date from around 1937.<sup>33</sup> Although these photos were taken at a time when the economic situation in the country slightly improved, it can be assumed that the jewellery, that was pictured, was made earlier. Openwork bright products resemble those that the company showed at *PWK* in 1929.<sup>34</sup> As the sources indicate, at the New York World's Fair that was opened in 1939, the "W. Szulc" company included jewellery pieces which probably were presented also ten years before in Poznań.<sup>35</sup>

In the first half of the 1930s, the global recession was of key importance for the inhibition of the development of Polish

jewellery. Although in the following years, until the outbreak of World War II, there was an improvement in the economic situation, it did not significantly affect the situation of the industry. It is worth noting that at that time in Poland, the jewellers' access to gold was limited. Since the spring of 1936, only banks and foreign exchange agents could acquire gold bars and coins. Despite protests from industry representatives, the refiners were entitled to buy and sell gold only for industrial purposes. The gold rationing became another factor influencing the development of the jewellery making in Poland. At that time, the number of the silver pieces in jewellery stores most likely increased.

In the second half of the 1930s, silver jewellery was being made by Elżbieta Danielewicz, who is considered the first woman jeweler in Poland. Her jewellery, often decorated with topazes, aquamarines, amethysts, or coral, was to be so popular among clients from Warsaw that in 1937 she decided to move her workshop from the hometown of Łódź to the capital.<sup>36</sup> Danielewicz's projects, unfortunately known only from photos, show inspiration by the works of Jean Fouquet and Raymond Templier. It should be noted that Elżbieta Danielewicz was one of the first graduates of the jewellery department of the State School of Industry for Women

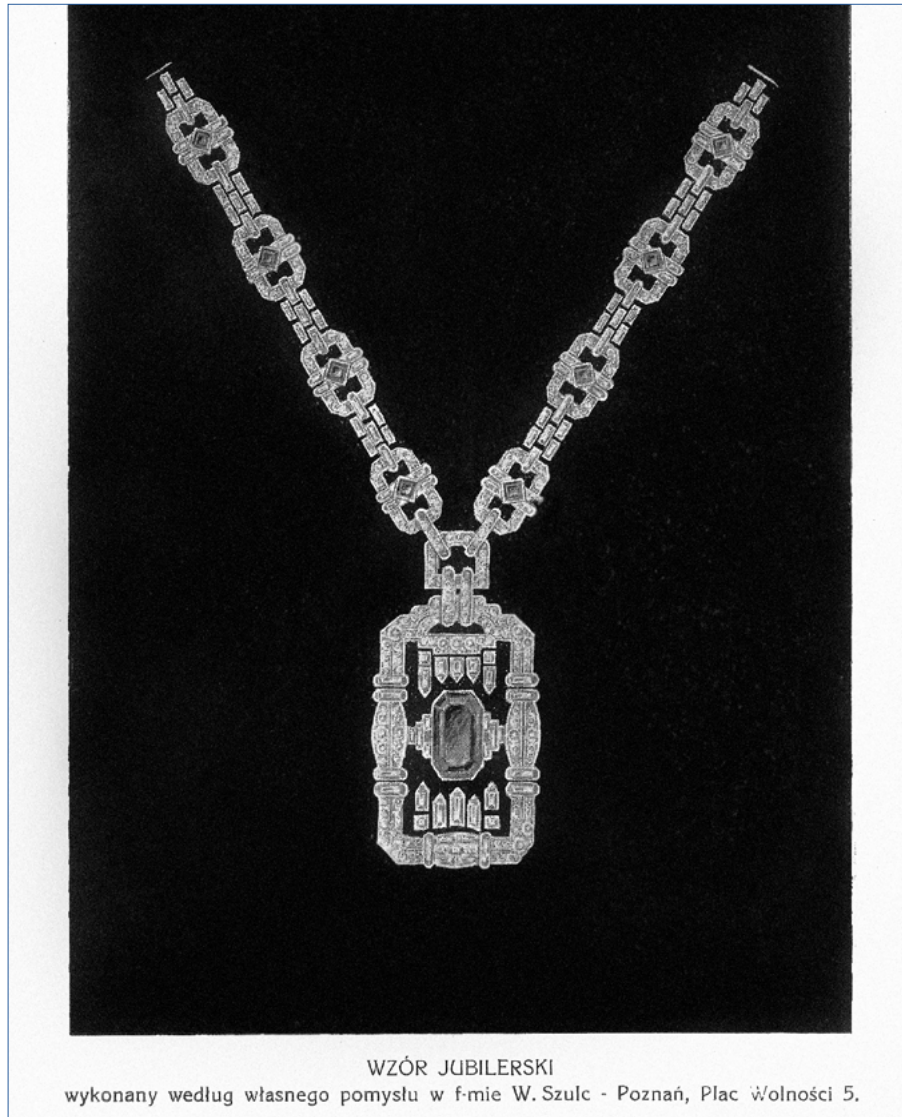
33 | The photographs are in the collection of the National Library of Poland. Their reproductions are available online in the digital repository Polona.pl.

34 | PRZEGLĄD 1929.

35 | MĘCZYŃSKA/SOBCZAK-JASKULSKA 2010, p. 130.

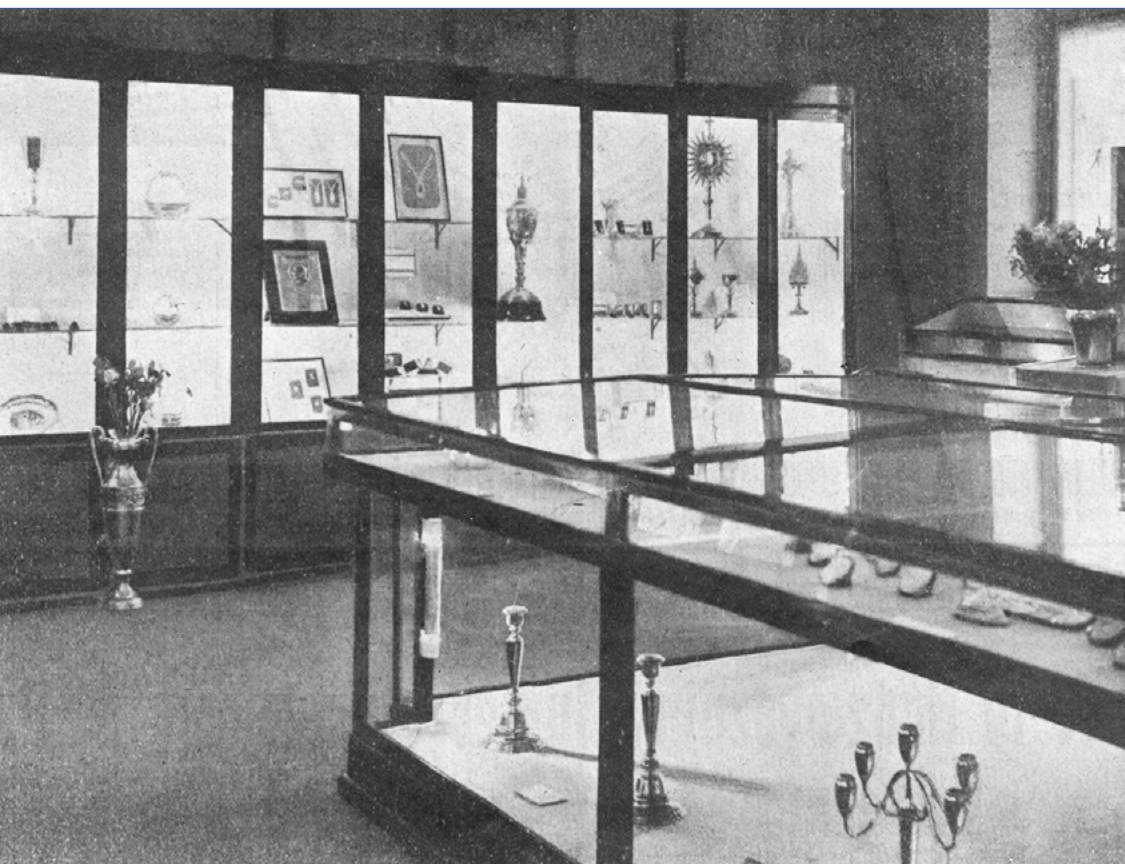
36 | See: GRZESZCZAKÓWNA 1937, pp. 14–15; WALCZOWSKI 1936, pp. 88–90.

in Łódź. The jewellery that was created in the school's workshop, is known also only from photographs and descriptions. In the late 1920s, these were mainly silver openwork items, decorated with single stones, such as amethysts, most often set centrally. Some pieces, distinguished with geometric forms, were created probably in response to prevailing trends. Others seem more decorative and resemble jewellery from the period before the outbreak of World War I.<sup>37</sup>



5. Necklace design by Florian Krzyżaniak presented by the company “W. Szulc” at the Polish General Exhibition, “Przegląd Zegarmistrzowski i Złotniczy”, nr 9 (1929). Photo: Polona.pl.





6. | The Jewellery-Goldsmith Department at the Polish General Exhibition, “Przegląd Zegarmistrzowski i Złotniczy”, nr 20 (1929). Photo: Polona.pl.

In the late 1930s, jewellery made of silver, copper, and brass, simplified and delicately geometrized, were designed by the artist, Henryk Grunwald. In 1938, during the exhibition at the Institute of Art Propaganda in Warsaw, he presented his works, including two copper tiaras. Identical ones were worn by Jadwiga Beck, the wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, who ordered them from Grunwald for the diplomatic visit to Great Britain in 1936. The tiaras reportedly met with the interest of British journalists. As Jadwiga Beck recalled:

[...] Since I did not want banal imitations and I am interested in artistic things made in Poland, I turned to Henryk Grunwald, who designed and made “jewellery” from copper and brass for me. I had great satisfaction both on behalf of myself and the author because these are original, artistic, and national items!<sup>38</sup>

38 | J.B. 1936, pp. 22–24. Translated by the author.

Although Grunwald's projects were promoted by Jadwiga Beck, who was considered to be one of the best-dressed Polish women at the time, as I mentioned in the introduction, they did not affect the wider production. In interwar Poland, jewellery companies rarely collaborated with artists in the field of design. One of the exceptions might be Henryk Piotrowski, a graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Poznań, who designed jewellery and goldsmithery for the "W. Szulc" company.<sup>39</sup> The situation in the industry did not allow for the creation of multi-person teams of specialists, as was the case in Parisian jewellery companies. It can be assumed that most craftsmen made jewellery according to their own drawings or tried to copy foreign designs. The level of Polish skills in the field was assessed by one of the editors of "Sztuka Złotnicza, Zegarmistrzowska, Jubilerska i Rytownicza": *Unfortunately, our colleagues, who are not inferior in their fantasy and artistic creativity to their colleagues from Paris, cannot boast of a similar success in influencing the public and serious jewellery manufacturers.*<sup>40</sup> Although this sentence was written in 1928, it seems to be valid for jewellery in Poland throughout the whole interwar period.

The jewellery industry in Poland struggled with difficulties throughout the interwar period. Apart from the problem of general impoverishment, its development was mainly hampered by organizational adversities. The jewellers tried, however, to follow the example of French colleagues, whose dominance was unquestionable globally. Although aware that they had no chance to keep up with them, the Parisian companies remained their main point of reference. This concerned not only the question of jewellery: its types, forms, or use of specific materials and precious stones, but the entire functioning of the industry. The most active representatives of Polish jewellery making, mainly from Warsaw and Poznań, maintained professional contacts with delegates of the most important organizations in Paris. As the industry there could not be threatened in any way by jewellers from Poland, the French did not hesitate to share their knowledge and experiences. In the absence of a nationwide association, the role of the Polish trade press should be emphasized. Thanks to the articles published there, Polish jewellers could be up to date with the Paris trends. Nevertheless, despite the attempts made, approaching the level of the leading jewellery centers happened to be impossible in interwar Poland.

I would like to thank L'Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA) for supporting my scientific stay in Paris in June 2021 with the travel grant (*Aide à la mobilité de recherche en France – Historiens de l'art*). The library and archival query made at that time were of great importance for my research.

<sup>39</sup> | KEMPIŃSKA 2016, p. 301.

<sup>40</sup> | SZTUKA 1929.

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