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FROM THE HISTORY OF GDANSK

SECRETS OF GOLDEN VODKA

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How beautiful is Neptune's Fountain in the sun! The Polish eagles on its grid glitter with gold, the wet mouths of sea horses glisten, drops of water falling into the pool sparkle joyfully. Some say it is possible to hear in their splashes the following legend:

When finally, after long preparations, it was possible to open the fountain, mounted in 1633 for the king's Vladislaus IV visit, great joy spread in the city. Everybody alive hurried to the square in front of the Arthur's Court to admire the work of art. The citizens liked the fountain so much that they started to drop golden coins into the water. The grateful Neptune brought them a miracle – the water turned into vodka glittering with gold flakes and of an irresistible taste. Soon the greedy inn owners of Gdańsk learnt about this and started to transport the drink in barrels to their cellars. The joy continued into the night, and the barkeepers were rubbing their hands and counting possible future fortunes. The next morning each of them hurried to their cellars to please their eyes again with the view of the barrels, and to try the miraculous taste of the mysterious vodka. Yet to their utmost horror there was only plain water in the barrels.

[...] Only the modest and respectable owner of the "Under the Salmon" inn was not greedy for the drink of the sea god, and was rewarded in a really royal manner. In all the kegs in his cellar he found the golden vodka, which has become the "Salmon's" specialty.

And what was the truth like? There are numerous papers concerning the golden vodka, also called *złotówka* or *goldwasser*, and the company producing it. The most known ones appeared on the occasion of two anniversaries in the years 1898 and 1923, when also a leaflet in Polish was issued. The author of the first one was the manager of the company at that time, Emil Unruh (died in 1922), of the second one – his son and successor – Walter (died in 1955). Here is how they described the beginnings of the company:

325 years passed since the beginning of production of the famous złotówka following the recipe of Ambrosius Vermöllen, who brought it to Gdańsk in 1598. When in 1567 Prince Alba, ordered by the king of Spain Philip II, started the siege of the Netherlands, and the Council created by him caused riots and the collapse of trade and industry in this blossoming country by inquisition and persecution, a huge mass of protestants escaped abroad, especially Mennonites [...] At that time also Ambrosius Vermöllen, coming from Lier in Holland, received a permission to live in Gdańsk. From the court [...] papers from those times it results that on 6 July 1598 Vermöllen received Gdańsk citizenship and opened a liquor factory, which has been operating continuously since that time till the present day.

The papers mentioned by the author are in possession of the Gdańsk Archives till today. These are the books of acceptance to the town's citizenship. In the fifth of them, concerning the years 1577–1731 we can find a note: *Ambrosiy von Möllen from Lier in Brabant, a merchant*. The differences in name are easy to explain: von Möllen or Vermöllen are the German equivalents for the Dutch Vermeulen, the Polish equivalent would be Młyński. The document allows us to correct the mistake in the leaflet: the city of Lier is not in Holland, but in Brabant, near Antwerp. There is one more intriguing, almost sensational mistake: the authentic inscription in the citizenship book dates not from the 6th, but 18th July 1598. Is it possible that for so many years the anniversary of the company was celebrated on the wrong day? It is true! We have to blame the writer, who put the 1 too far and did not close the upper part of 8, making it similar to 6. The date of the 18 is additionally supported by the fact that it was a Saturday, and the ceremonies of granting citizenship at that time took place every two weeks, exactly on Saturdays, and the 6th July 1598 was a Monday.

Archive sources – church books, population registers, Mennonites lists and others – allow us to reconstruct the genealogy of the family. The father of Ambrosius was most probably Quirin Vermeulen. He arrived in Gdańsk with the first wave of Menno Simons's believers and settled in Stare Szkoty (Old Scotland) belonging to the Kujawian bishop (the surrounding of St. Ignatius' church on the way to Orunia). Since 1568 he was a senior in the Mennonite commune. As an advocate of strict discipline he came into conflict with his group and had to resign in 1588. Since then he earned his living by selling bibles printed at his own expense. One of the preserved copies has an inscription: To be bought from Kwiryn Vermeulen Younger, huckster, residing at the lower part of Szkoty near Gdańsk, 1598.

The Mennonite sect developed around the middle of the 16th century, as opposition to Anabaptists. Its founder was Menno Simons who died in 1561. Apart from a one-time adult baptism, prohibition of swearing or taking part in the public life, and accepting the New Testament as the basis in the community organization, the principle of the movement was pacifism and absence of official clergy. The administration of the community consisted of an elder, a teacher and a deacon. They were chosen by the community. The services consisted of prayers, singing and communion in two forms. The prohibition of marriages with non-Mennonites – under the penalty of excommunication – propagated isolation and creating separate customs. The main occupations among the Mennonites were trade, dyeing, ribbon production, alcohol distilling, and farming. After transferring in the Gdańsk neighborhood they contributed greatly to the development of agriculture in the Żuławy region, which was similar to their homeland.

Ambrosius Vermöllen was born in Lier around the year 1558. Not much is known about the first period of his life. He was a merchant and distiller, so he must have learnt the job somewhere. The first sure information is the mentioning of his obtaining Gdańsk citizenship, the second one – the note in the marriage register of St. Mary's Church, from 22nd February 1599: *Venerable Ambrosius von Möllen with virtuous Miss Anna, the legitimate daughter of Joachim Pein...* It surely must have been a happening:

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Figure 1. "The Salmon" house and its neighbours in the 18th century



Figure 2. The room in the liquor testing part

a "venerable" citizen giving his daughter in marriage to a Mennonite newcomer! At that time the Mennonites didn't have the right to settle in the city. So how was it possible that Ambrosius received citizenship – maybe after Pein's mediation? Surely a great role in it played his own wealth. At the same time he started the production of liquors. We don't know where the first seat of the distillery was, but it surely wasn't the house "Under the Salmon". It was presumably situated in the annex to the Vermöllen's house in St. Spirit's street. Since 1616 he also owned gunpowder mill in the Schwabe Valley (on the way to Joy Valley).

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Figure 3. The entrance hall in "The Salmon" house before the war

Ambrosius and Anna had three sons and a daughter. Anna died in 1627 at the age of 60, Ambrosius in 1632. They were both buried in the main nave of St. Mary's Church, in the Peins' tomb number 93. The factory was inherited by the sons Arnold (Arendt) and Peter. As it seems, Peter was soon paid off by Arnold, who became the only owner. He was about 32 then, and had been married for some 10 years. As we are informed by the anniversary publications, *the 1606 book prepared by Ahrendt, with recipes of production, is kept till this day.* This information can't be exact. A 6 years old boy couldn't be the author of the recipes! They were most probably written down by Ambrosius and given to the son. The book was passed from generation to generation. Each new owner of the factory had to swear solemnly that he would not reveal the valuable recipes to anyone.

The so-called "strangers' registers" give different addresses of Arnold, which can also mean different addresses of the factory: in 1649 he lived in Garbary, a year later at Michael Pantzer's house in Szeroka (Broad) Street, for which he paid not a small sum of 200 zlotys a year. He settled in the city 3 years before the Swedish war, that is in 1623, shortly after marriage. The interesting point is that he is not registered as a distiller, but an "empiric", that is a doctor-practitioner. This fact would explain why the receipts preserved emphasize so often the therapeutic character of the beverages.

The date of death of Arnold Vermöllen is not known. The only thing we do know is that in 1653 he bought a tomb number 31 at New Salvator cemetery on Zaroślak (Petershagen), where Mennonites were usually buried. However, the person buying the tomb could be his elder son, Arnold as well. The factory was inherited by the younger son, Salomon (in the Mennonite register from 1681 he appears as Samuel). Till 1696 he took care of it by himself, and then he gave the charge over to a young Mennonite Isaac Wedling (also written as Wed-Ling), who came from Elblag (Elbing), yet was born in Brunsvick. A year after joining the company Wed-Ling became a member of family by marriage. The details are not clear. As it seems, his wife, Sara Wiebe, was a stepdaughter of the second

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wife of Arnold Vermöllen senior. His sons could consider her to be their stepsister. She had been a Mennonite merchant Albrecht Düren's widow for two years. Her first husband had his own distillery of vodkas, so since then both factories were joined in one hand. In 1704 their common site became the house "Under the Salmon" ("Lachs") in Szeroka (Broad) Street, which was owned by the Oliwa abbots. The previous tenant, Siegfried Sartorius, had his vodkas distillery there for 3 years. The house was rented for 50 years with the inheritance right (a so-called emphyteutic lease). The lease was renewed in the years 1710 and 1791. The company took over also the adjacent houses, so, after street numbering was introduced, it occupied a double estate number 51 and 52. Since those times its fate was connected with that of the "Salmon", which became its emblem. On 16 September 1708 childless Salomon Vermöllen gave the factory over to his "brother-in-law" as recognition of his services. In the emblem, apart from the salmon, a Mennonite David star was added with the initials of the new owner (IWL).

In 1711 Isaac Wed-Ling said his farewell to this world. He was buried in the Vermöllens' family tomb on New Salvator, number 31. The heritage went over to the widow. Wanting to ensure proper succession, in 1730 she married her daughter to a Mennonite Dirck (Theodore) Hecker. From that time comes the label which is used to this day, with the inscription Isaac Wed-Ling's widow and son-in-law Dirk Hecker.

The long siege of the city in 1734 by the Russians and the Saxons, in which gave shelter to King Stanislaus Leszczynski added to the popularity of the liquors with the "Salmon" label. Among the most successful liquors (both among the besieged and the besieging) were: the electors' vodka, the orange vodka, cordial, and above others the golden vodka.

The international fame had also its negative sides: there appeared the first attempts of adulteration. A proof of this can be a complaint of Dirck Hecker because of a harm caused to the factory due to the labels with the emblem of a salmon, reprinted by a liquor distiller from Petersburg. The City Council in Gdańsk issued a memorial in this matter on 15th May 1745 to the Russian Tsar Senate in St. Petersburg.

As we learn from it, the advertisement of the vodkas was printed by a Mr. Octavio Barth Goertzen under the name of the Isaac Wedling's widow and Son-in-law (who is Dirck Hecker mentioned above), together with other labels with the salmon and a double triangle (!), with letters IWL inside, to be placed on bottles and cause the impression that the vodkas were produced in Gdańsk, at the "Salmon" house... The Council asked "kindly" to stop these "not Christian dealings" and to punish the dishonest alcohol-distiller. This is one of the first examples in Poland of officially protecting the brand sign.

Dirck Hecker died in 1758, and Anna – in 1773. According to tradition the company went to their daughter Adelgunda. Since 1759 she was married to a rich Mennonite Dirk Bestvater, a merchant and shipowner, among others of a ship "Jungfrau Susanna". The business was growing. The products from "The Salmon" could be found on the tables of connoisseurs in Poland, France, Sweden, Prussia, and Russia. In 1767 tsarina Elisabeth ordered Gdańsk vodkas for 5152 gld. The high turnover was profitable not only for the company owners, but for the city as well, and the city appreciated it. In 1781 Bestvater was honored by the mayor with a diploma, giving him, as the only Mennonite, the right to own a house in the city.

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After Bestvater died in 1798, the 65 years old widow married 18 years old Karol Gotfryd Henrichsdorff from the famous family of Gdańsk great merchants and shipowners. The bride and groom were married in "The Salmon" house by a parson from St. Bartholomew's church in the Old Town. It was the first time that a non-Mennonite became a co-owner, and after Adelgunda's death in 1809 an owner of the company. He contributed to the company 2 houses in "The Salmon" backyard in St. Spirit's street 85/86 (according to the numbering from before the war).

The partitions of Poland caused a temporary drop in the turnover. Then the Napoleonic times came. Contributions and sieges almost ruined the city. What it looked like from the point of view of the alcohol distiller is proved by the following note from 1813: *The Russians and the Prussians are besieging the city, freeing it from the French. The whole vodka stock has been sold out.* Shortly afterwards Henrichsdorff laid out a huge sum of money to plant the trees cut out by the Prussian soldiers in the Great Avenue from Gdańsk to Wrzeszcz. He died in 1831. Leaving "The Salmon" to his nephew Karl Fredrich, whom he had adopted earlier.

From 1823 Karl Fredrich was married to Maria Angelika from a Mennonite van Almonde family. She was a famous singer, called the "Gdańsk nightingale", and an heiress of Szczerbiecin near Tczew. As it was already a custom, after Henrichsdorff's death in 1836 the company was inherited by the daughter Maria Anna, the authoress of interesting memoirs written on the request of her children. Here is how she describes the funeral of her father, buried in the family tomb number 31 at New Salvator: *the procession started by day from our house. The company workers followed the coffin dressed in green jackets and white aprons, with crape bands on the sleeves, followed by everyone that belonged among the high society in Gdańsk.*

In 1840, after the monastery in Oliwa had been dissolved, "The Salmon" house could finally belong to the company. Seven years later Maria Anna marries Adalbert von der Marwitz, from old Pomeranian nobility, the owner of Nożynko estate near Bytów. His grandfather, the owner of Kashubian Węsiory, *was a catholic, still very Polish, yet very lovable and very musical; he played the violin.* His son, Mary Anna's father-in-law, was a catholic, yet since his marriage to Fryderyka Wilhelmina von Mellenthin he was close to protestant church. Maria Anna describes her husband in the following way: *during their common stay in the country he was a very careful farmer from vocation, and for nine years we lived in friendly relationship with the neighbors.* The company in Gdańsk was run by administrators: Gustaw Adolf Fischer (till 1856), Henryk Adolf Kupferschmidt (till 1884) and Emil Unruh; from the earnings the Marwitz family added to their estates Bedziechow near Slupsk.

Adalbert von der Marwitz died in 1904, Maria Anna in 1909. They left 7 children The company remained entirely in the hands of their descendants till 1972. At present most of the shares belong to Earl von Hardenberg in Germany.

After the first world war there appeared some difficulties connected with the creation of new countries and new borders. They were avoided by opening a branch in 1921 in Berlin-Halensee, which joined the Altvater-Gessler Company. Gdańsk, included in the Polish customs duty area, served the customers in Poland, while the branch was producing for the

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Figure 4. The cellar of the factory

German market. Both firms sent their products abroad – even to the Republic of South Africa.

Till 1937 the main seat of the company was "The Salmon" house. It was enriched and redecorated so many times that it finally became a small museum. Let's imagine that we are standing in Szeroka (Broad) Street, in the times when there were still the rich terraces there. In front of us there are three rococo façades of the tenement houses belonging to the company – two twin ones on the right (N^{0} 51) are slightly higher, the fasted on the right $(N^{\circ} 52)$ is slightly wider. Only the middle façade – recently spoilt by terrible paintings - has a normal entrance and a terrace with a stone balustrade, with four steps of stairs. The terraces of the border houses are built over. The entrance to the annex of the house on the left (Nº 52), adorned with a lantern, seems to suggest that there was a counter there where they probably sold the products and perhaps had a retail of liquor as well. The right half of Nº 51 building does not have a separate entrance. An interesting detail is the fence separating part of the street in front of the houses. On the left there is a post with a signboard with the emblem of Gdańsk, and a salmon under it. After the terraces were pulled down the signboard was mounted on the façade of the reconstructed house N^o 52. This was the original house "Under the Salmon". In a photograph from before the war the other side of the signboard can be seen with painted distilling apparatus, three barrels and a star - the symbol of Mennonite past. Below there is a salmon and a bilingual name "In dem Lachs / Pod Łososiem". There is one more salmon at the bottom, on the chain joined to the corner balls. This time it is a fully artistic, attractively gilded fish, swinging in the wind. So the moving sculptures "mobiles" are not the invention of our times. It should be added that the present signboard is only a near reconstruction of the old one.

Let's come back to the terraces that used to be a characteristic element of the scenery of our city, enriching its unusual beauty. In 1868 there were still 603 terraces and 673 annexes in Gdańsk, and 378 other houses had entrances with stairs. These masterpieces of

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small architecture were then intensively pulled down, in spite of the protests of supporters of the old beauty, and the last war ruined almost totally the rest of them. The preserved remains, together with rich documentation, allowed for partial reconstruction, which did not, however, concern Szeroka (Broad) Street. Such houses as "The Salmon" complex surely should regain their terraces, the more so because their parts still exist in two versions: the copy in front of the house which used to belong to the company in 85 St. Spirit's Street (the present nonsense 101 number), and the original – on the other side of the same street in the place of a still not reconstructed house number 67. They are adorned with a monogram, which is usually read as IWL (Isaac Wed-Ling) or CGH (Carl Gottfried Henrichsdorff). In reality these are symmetrically doubled letters DH, the monogram of Dirck Hecker. The plate must have been created in his times.

Let's enter the house now. In the left (east) side of the detached house number 51 there is the famous 18th century entrance-hall, which was reconstructed after the war, basing on its younger version created in 1912 by the City Architect Richard Dähne. It's a typical representative entrance-hall of a wealthy Gdańsk house, with a mezzanine through the window of which the owner drinking tea or coffee (or maybe Gdańsk liquors?) could look out, if necessary, to see who arrived. Contrary to tradition there is a cloakroom placed in it today. From the outside it is adorned with carved wooden ornaments. A beautiful chandelier hangs from the ceiling of the entrance-hall ornamented with stucco work. The tops of the wardrobes and the shelves are full of precious Dutch vases, on the counter and inside the wardrobes there are characteristic square-edged bottles with the products of the company served by the members of the staff dressed in white trousers and dark green jackets. It was not the present day restaurant or a bar, but a test shop for clients who were entitled to taste the drinks before placing an order.

In the background we can see the stairs with gracefully curved balustrades and the door through which we enter the next room also belonging to the test shop. There are round Biedermeier tables here and chairs with high backs, and between high courtyard stained glass windows with a star and IWL monogram, a huge mirror reflects the figures of the entering guests. A real treasure of the most valuable relics and the heart of the company was the adjacent room inside the house number 52. Here is how Emil Unruh describes the inside: an ancient fireplace with painted Dutch tiles gives away nice warmth, frosted light enters through colored windowpanes. By the walls there are magnificent old chests full of precious documents, and above them there are oil pictures of Gdańsk's councillors, English copperplate engravings, Gdańsk repousse' ornaments, porcelain vases and the utensils of the great grandfathers. Also Stanislaus Tarnowski who visited "The Salmon" in 1881 expressed his admiration: The rooms themselves, with their furniture, are interesting, such are the oak carved doors, such are the tables and stools, and sofas; one could imagine to be in the flat of some Flemish mayor, who left the house to pose for Rubens to paint his portrait. On the tables and cupboards there is such a number of crystal, china, silver, gold, amber and ivory goods, revelry, miniatures, clocks, rare medals, that one can not have enough of looking, nor can remember everything....

At that time "The Salmon" was run by a Mr. Kupferschmidt, a predecessor of Emil Unruh, who was a great admirer of antiquities. He was the person who began gathering



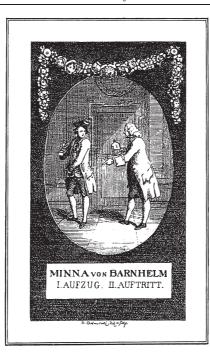
Figure 5. The chest with documents

the collection, which on 19th July 1938 got the official status of a museum, thanks to the efforts of Walter Unruh.

Beautiful furniture, priceless documents, works of art – and where is the place for production processes? The "frosty" windows of both tasting rooms looked into the courtyard, and the real production took place in the annex on the other side. Copper boilers from 1746 were used to produce liquors. Judging from photographs they were something between Pistorius and Savalle's apparatus. They were so precious that when during the first war the "patriotic" owners decided to give them away for the war needs, the conservator of monuments didn't agree for that. They got destroyed, however, during the last war. The company is working at present (since 1972) in Nörten-Hardenberg (Germany). Only that what was in Berlin has been preserved.

The most important treasure of "The Salmon" was kept in a magnificent, historical chest, transferred ceremonially with each owner change. Together with old documents, ownership acts, diplomas of appreciation and the text of the oath of loyalty to "His Majesty King of Poland etc." there was kept the most valuable famous book of recipes from 1606. In spite of all the attempts to keep the secret, it was broken at least once. It happened at the end of the 17th century, in the times of Izaak Wed-Ling – probably during the attempts to renew the license. It is possible that the city authorities might have wanted to receive the copies of the recipes. There are more than 70 of them altogether. Their contents prove that they were written by a professional. It is not easy, however, to decipher them. Among the main difficulties are: the Gothic lettering (German type), archaic German language, old names of components and technological terms, and the old measure units. To read them it was necessary to look into old dictionaries, botanic lexicons, metrological charts, old and new distilling handbooks, and also to the notes and recipes of other distillers, both the ancient and those close to our times. While doing so some funny misunderstandings took place. It also required much effort to decide which of the numerous measurement and

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Figure 6. Chodowiecki's illustration for "Minna von Barnhelm"

weighing systems used in those times was adopted here. It should be enough to mention that in those years different measurement systems were used for different substances, for example there were different units for measuring Rhine wine, differed for French or Spanish wines. Other units, in spite of the same names, differed in the wholesale and in retail sale! Yet finally it was possible to overcome all those difficulties.

Among these 70 priceless recipes there are two for the famous golden vodka (Gülden Wasser). Although I did not swear to keep a secret, I am not going to reveal them here. One thing is clear: the substitute produced in Poland under the name Goldwasser has nothing to do with the real *złotówka*, it is only a so-called "empirical approximation". Among the main drawbacks are: too high sugar content (in the original recipe it says "add sugar to taste") and too much anise, whose fragrance kills other components. Everyone who tried Goldwasser produced according to the old recipe in Germany will see the difference without difficulty: that drink is refined, almost distinguished, the taste and fragrance components are harmoniously blended, and even the flakes of gold look different and settle in a different way! What prevents us to look into the authentic Gdańsk recipes, preserved also in our country, and restore into our city one of its most valuable specialties? More enthusiasm you honorable producers!

Among the preserved recipes there are the ones for electoral vodka, bitter vodka relieving stomach trouble, cumin-flavored vodka, rosolis, aqua-vitae, and the one that used to be the most popular – machandel, that is Gdańsk juniper-flavored vodka (gin). Unfortunately there is no sign of the famous "bloody red" cherry Krambambuli, introduced only in the 18th century. Yet fortunately there are lavender vodka, lily of the valley vodka, and even marjoram and calamus vodka. A lot of place is devoted to liquors that are to cure or help in different illnesses and indispositions: for kidney stones, side aches, cough, "colic or

cold stomach", and menstrual troubles. Even the recipe for machandel stresses its medical influence: *Good during pestilence or bad air. Especially for stones and sand.*

Already in the 18th century the drinks from Gdańsk "Salmon" found their place in literature. The process was begun by famous Luise Adelgunde Viktorie née Kulmus, living in Gdańsk, the wife of a scientist and poet Johann Christoph Gottsched. In 1731 she translated into German for her husband's theatre a play by a famous Danish writer Ludwik Holberg, "The Political Pewterer". Aiming to facilitate the play for her compatriots, she replaced the Genever that appeared in the play with a "Salmon" liquor. In 1745 there was written a lengthy poem praising the Krambambuli liquor. An anonymous author, later revealed to be Christoph Friedrich Wedekind, praises the drink in 101 stanzas, each of which finishes with the word Krambambuli (with the stress falling on "bam").

The Wedekind's poem, together with the added melody, soon became very popular among the students of Leipzig. From among more serious literature we should mention "Minna von Barnhelm" by Gotthold Efraim Lessing, published in 1767 for the first time. In the second scene of the first act of the play the host says to his guest: *And now you should drink, Mr. Just, something, which tastes great and is healthy* (fills the glass with a liquor and serves), *something which has the power to restore order to the overworked stomach.* Just (emptying the glass) says: *Really, I must admit it's good, very good! Is it homemade, Mr. host?* The host replies: *God forbid, its real Gdańsk, real double "Salmon*"; and Just reacts: *Oh, Mr. host, if I were able to pretend, something like that would really be worth it.*

It is not possible to mention here all the literary works where Gdańsk liquors are mentioned. The following writers wrote about them: J.A. Christ, H. von Kleist (in his "Crushed Jug"), E.T.A. Hoffmann, T. Fontane, G. Hauptmann, and M. Halbe, and Maria von Ebner-Eschenbach wrote a story in which the main character is a dog traded from some peasant for "12 bottles of good Gdańsk cherry vodka", and as a remembrance carrying the melodious name Krambambuli.

To Polish hearts, however, the closest is the wonderful piece Book IV from "Pan Tadeusz" by Adam Mickiewicz, in which, after a successful bear hunt: one drinks golden vodka, "a beverage pleasant to Poles", and a toast is raised to "the City of Gdańsk, formerly Polish, which will be Polish again".

May it be possible to honor this famous city, which is again ours, with a real, not fake, Gdańsk liquors, produced in the place, according to the authentic recipes! This I wish to myself, and the readers.

Translation: Anna Kucharska-Raczunas

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