

INTRODUCTION

From Re-establishment to Cooperation

On 27 September 2022, the Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen and her Polish colleague Mateusz Morawiecki along with President Andrzej Duda attended the opening of the “Baltic Pipe Project” which transfers gas from the Norwegian North Sea across Danish territory and the Baltic Sea to Niechorze on the Pomeranian coast. In her statement on the Nordic-Polish venture, Frederiksen stressed European cooperation and the ways the pipeline would facilitate energy independence from Poland’s difficult neighbour, Russia.¹ The project mirrors key traits which have characterized the bi-lateral relationship between the two Baltic Sea neighbours. First, the pipeline has both economic and strategic significance. In this respect, the project is similar to large joint ventures in the interwar period, most notably the construction of the port of Gdynia. Second, the project showed how small and middle-sized states might use their manoeuvring space in the face of larger hostile neighbouring power. And finally, the security dimension aspect of the project underlined the close political cooperation within NATO and the EU that has evolved after the division of the Baltic Sea area during the Cold War.

Throughout the dramatic 20th century, the maritime border in the Baltic Sea determined the relations between the two countries. Danish seafaring knowledge was valuable to the young republic after the re-establishment of Polish independence; Denmark assisted in the problematic international handling of the Free City of Gdańsk/Danzig question and the establishment of the alternative international port of Gdynia; Polish military intelligence agents worked against Nazi Germany around the Baltic straits during the Second World and later against the NATO in the Cold War; for more than a generation, both countries prepared on separate sides for the nuclear battle for control of the landing beaches of Zealand; in 1999 the former adversaries joined forces at the newly established Headquarters of NATO’s Multinational Corps Northeast in Szczecin; and, in 2018, the outstanding question of the common maritime border was peacefully negotiated. Thus, maritime connections played a significant role in the two conferences “Just Across the Sea: 100 Years of Polish-Danish relations” and “Neighbours Across the Baltic Sea – One Century in Polish-Danish Relations”, which took place in Warsaw (25–26 November) and Odense (22 February), respectively. At those conferences, academics from both countries commemorated the centenary of bilateral relations dating back to 30 May 1919. They were supported by the embassies of both countries and the conferences were even attended by the Danish Crown HRH Prince Frederik and HRH Crown Princess Mary during their state visit to Poland. Both royals were able to

1 <https://www.stm.dk/presse/pressemeddelelser/statsminister-mette-frederiksen-deltager-i-aabningen-af-baltic-pipe-i-stettin/> (accessed 12 October 2022)

participate in the conference opening in the Grand Hall of the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw.

In the following years, academic relations were troubled by COVID-19 epidemic and travelling restrictions. However, the cooperation continued digitally, as the articles of this anthology took form and developed based on papers delivered at the two conferences. The subject of bilateral relation is not altogether new. Polish scholars in particular, including Bolesław Hajduk, Eugeniusz Kruszewski, and Jan Szymański have contributed previous important work on the subject.² On the Danish side, very little attention has been previously devoted to relations with Poland. One reason for this is that modern Polish history has only rarely been taught and researched at Danish universities. A notable exception to this rule has been the doyenne of historical studies on 20th century Poland, Kay Lundgreen-Nielsen from the University of Southern Denmark, whose study of the international aspects of Poland's regaining independence has already achieved the status of a classic work in Polish, Danish and world historiography.³

In the past few years, a new generation of researchers has emerged with a keen interest not only in the history of bilateral relations but also with ambitions of developing academic contacts. A young researcher who early on became a communicator between the two research environments was Henry Andreasen. In the early 2000's, he was the first Dane to use the possibilities granted by the so-called "Archival Revolution" to research the Polish-Danish relationship during the Cold War.⁴ Though he himself left academia, his work inspired other Danish researchers to continue his work. A product of these new contacts was, for instance, the annual conference series "Need to Know". This series was started in 2011 by Polish and Danish researchers from Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) in Warsaw and University of Southern Denmark (SDU) in Odense with the aim of bringing European historians and political scientists together on the subject of intelligence history.⁵

In 2018, the first major Danish project on the bilateral relations was initiated, to be carried out by the Langelands Museum, the Danish National Archive (Rigsarkivet), and the Cold War Studies Centre of the SDU. This project has essentially made this anthology possible by supporting academic exchange. It focuses on the Cold War era. However, beyond that scope, it seeks to make Polish sources, in particular from the IPN archive, available to a broader group of Danish researchers. Accessibility also means the creation of translations, since the ability to read and write Polish is still regrettably rare in Denmark, whereas Danish and Scandinavian studies have a much broader interest at several Polish universities, for instance in Gdańsk, Poznań, Toruń, and Warsaw.

The articles of this anthology cover a wide range of aspects in the bilateral relations during the past hundred years. As they reflect the specific research interest in

2 See for instance Jan Szymański (ed.), *Polska-Dania w ciągu wieków*, Gdańsk 2004.

3 Kay Lundgreen Nielsen, *The Polish Problem at the Paris Peace Conference. A Study of the Policies of the Great Powers and the Poles, 1918–1919*. Odense 1970.

4 Henry Andreasen, *Polske arkiver og Danmark*, in: *Arbejderhistorie*, 1, 2006, 48–51.

5 Władysław Bulhak, Thomas Wegener Friis, *Shaping the European school of Intelligence Studies*, in: *The International Journal of Intelligence, Security, and Public Affairs*, Issue 3, 2020, 139–158.

the two countries, there is a specific emphasis on the interwar period and on the Cold War. However, the book starts out with a historiographic analysis as well as an article which looks beyond the aforementioned hundred years. The Danish-Belarussian historian Lizaveta Dubinka-Hushcha from Copenhagen Business School utilizes the methodological tool of chronotypes to establish a grand overview of the long *durée* of the 20th century. By using this methodology, the Polish academic interest in its Baltic neighbour becomes evident. Michalina Petelska from the University of Gdańsk demonstrates how this interest pre-dates Poland's re-established statehood. The renowned Danish intellectual George Brandes, often referred as the "travelling literature critic", visited the Polish lands under partition several times in the late 19th century and became an early advocate for Poland on the international stage, though he was also critical of antisemitism in Poland during the First World War. In her study, Petelska compares Brandes' travels to Polish lands and to Hungary.

Both Paweł Jaworski from the University of Wrocław and Steen Andersen from the Danish National Archives deal with diplomatic relations of the interwar years. Jaworski deals with a broad spectrum of relations, and he points at a central challenge in the bilateral relations. Though the Second Republic had Baltic aspirations, Denmark was often seen as too distant and too weak. Still, mutual relations did develop and, beyond the diplomatic sphere, Jaworski examines trade, culture, education, and sports. From the Danish perspective, studied by Andersen, the development of economic ties across the Baltic Sea in particular played a notable role. In this respect, the voice of the entrepreneur Knud Højgaard, who had been engaged in the development of Polish infrastructure, was crucial as one of the strongest pro-Polish voices in Denmark. The most prominent example of his work was the port in Gdynia, but he also invested in road construction with the Polish subsidiary company "Contractor". Andersen demonstrates how the Danish company "Højgaard and Schulz" managed to remain in Poland even during the German occupation. After the Second World War, the company attempted to remain active with the reconstruction of Gdynia's severely war-damaged port facilities. However, the communist takeover and the deepening East-West conflict ended this chapter of Danish-Polish relations.

An aspect of Polish-Danish relations which is often overlooked are the cooperations between the Polish and Danish national minorities in Germany in the interwar years. Despite the reestablishment of Polish statehood and the Danish-German border revision, minorities remained in the country. Whereas the Danish minority was rather small, with approximately 20,000 members who were largely geographically confined to Southern Schleswig, the Polish minority numbered about two million people. Thus it was a force to be reckoned with, especially in the state of Prussia. Mogens Rostgaard Nissen from the Danish Central Library of Southern Schleswig examines the cooperation between the two minorities that were founding members of the Association of National Minorities in 1924. The Danes and the Poles also cooperated politically and culturally, for instance in the publication of the minority journal "Kulturwehr" (Cultural Protection). However, following the Nazi takeover in Germany, cooperation faded, also due to the German repression focused especially on the Polish minority.

The interwar part of the anthology is rounded off by an article by Jan Stanisław Ciechanowski from the University of Warsaw. He presents the individual Polish envoys in Copenhagen from the establishment of a legation at the noble Hotel Phoenix in 1919 until the last representative of the Second Republic, Jan Starzewski, was forced to leave the country along with his British and French colleagues following the German invasion of Denmark on 9 April 1940. The histories of consecutive envoys reflect the development of newly established interstate relations with Denmark. Another major concern of the envoys was Germany, which bordered with both countries and, for better and for worse, influenced their bilateral relations.

The Second World War and the occupation of both countries naturally led to a near standstill of Polish-Danish relations. A remarkable exception was the Polish intelligence organisation established in Denmark and Sweden during the war described by the editors of this volume. It recruited both Danish and Polish citizens, or the most part beginners in the field of covert work. This kind of intelligence work, which drew on “normal citizens” rather than intelligence professionals, is defined as “Social Intelligence”, or “Socially supported Intelligence” (SOASINT). In Danish historiography, the members of these networks have been recognized as a part of the Danish resistance movement. Annually to this day, their efforts are celebrated by the Polish embassy at the central memorial site of the resistance, Ryvangen. Still, their history is not commonly known in Denmark, and in Poland it has not been studied as an intelligence operation.

The second part of this anthology is initiated by the Gdańsk historian Jacek Tebinka, who provides a *vue d’horizon* of Cold War relations from the Danish recognition of the provisional Polish government in June 1945 to the end of the 1980s. Despite the deteriorating political climate across the Baltic Sea, Denmark was by no means interested in freezing relations, and it continuously sought a dialogue with the communist authorities. Thus, it was no coincidence that the Danish Foreign Minister and later Prime Minister Jens-Otto Krag was the first NATO foreign minister to visit the so-called Polish People’s Republic (PRL) in 1959.

Diplomatic measures and periodical *détente* could not disguise the deep division the communist regimes in Central Europe had created. Offensive military planning of the Cold War made the threat of a warm war very concrete as described by the German military historian Dieter Kollmer, Władysław Bułhak (IPN), and Thomas Wegener Friis (SDU). From the 1960s onwards, the armed forces of the Polish People’s Republic (PRL) became responsible for the so-called Coastal or Polish Front of the Warsaw Pact. This massive military build-up included Polish, Soviet, and East German units prepared for the use of nuclear weapons. A few days after the outbreak of war between the East and the West, they were to launch an offensive through Northern Germany into the Low Countries. An integrated part of the plans of the Coastal Front was a flanking land invasion of the Cimbrian peninsula through Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark, as well as sea and air landings on the Danish Islands. On the Western side, West Germany and Denmark organized a first line of defence within the NATO-command Baltic Approaches.

The threat of war made military intelligence a valued commodity. Przemysław Gasztold of the IPN and the Polish War Studies University examines the residentura

or station of the Polish Military Intelligence Service in Copenhagen. Throughout the Cold War, it became evident that a manifest discrepancy existed between the ambitions of Warsaw headquarters and the actual results that the intelligence officers were able to deliver in the hostile environment of the Cold War. The Danes spoke a difficult language and their counterintelligence service kept the Polish “diplomats” under strict surveillance. Thus, the officers of the stations often needed to resort to second-best solutions and recruited their helpers amongst the Polish diaspora in Denmark.

The Danish historian Marianne Rostgaard devotes her article to more peaceful aspects of the Cold War. In accordance with shifting Danish governments’ wishes for dialogue with the Communist regimes of Central Europe, Denmark sought to develop programs of cultural exchange. A part of these efforts were initiatives to bring selected youth representatives together to discuss Cold War dilemmas. These so-called Youth Leader Seminars had their heydays in the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, following the overall trends of the Cold War. Thus, they slowed towards the end of 1970s and came to a standstill after the introduction of martial law in Poland in 1981.

A different kind of youth encounters that continued throughout the Cold War were students’ interactions with the language and culture of a country on the opposite site of the Iron Curtain. Despite high tensions, language abilities were needed in diplomacy, trade, and security. In these years, one of the centres for Scandinavian studies was the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (UAM). One of this anthology’s authors, Svend Gottschalk Rasmussen, has a special tie to this university as he has been a central figure of the Scandinavians studies environment in Poland. From 1980 to 1988, he held the exchange chair for Danish language studies, provided by the Danish Ministry of Education. His article is a personalized account of his years in Poznań and of his reflections upon reading his surveillance files at IPN archive.

From a Danish perspective, the 1980s were a particularly trying time. The Danish government wanted to stay on friendly terms with the communist government. However, the establishment of the *Solidarność* movement and the subsequent repression after the introduction of the martial law, tested its will to uphold dialogue with the communist regime. Part of Danish society sympathized openly with *Solidarność*, whereas the government was more cautious and anxious not to disrupt the dialogue of the 1970s. The regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski could only count on support from a small minority in Danish politics, namely from the Muscovite loyalists of the Danish Communist Party.

The anthology is rounded off by Niels Bo Poulsen from the Royal Danish Military Academy. He examines the new chapter of the Polish-Danish relations initiated after the fall of communism. These were years when Europe was overcoming political divisions. In the Baltic area, this meant that the former Cold War adversaries Poland and Denmark built a new friendship and partnership within NATO. The road to this new relationship included cooperation within the OSCE and the so-called Partnership for Peace (PfP). At the very end of the 20th century, in 1999, Poland became a member of the Western alliance (NATO). Within this framework

Polish, German, and Danish forces intensified their cooperation both in Europe as well as in out-of-area operations. Poulsen emphasizes the importance of a new phase of military cooperation since the Russian invasion of Crimea in 2014.

Parallel to their cooperation in the realm of security, Denmark and Poland became partners in the European Union (EU). Though, this was not primarily due to Denmark's efforts, Poland's way back into Europe was at least on the symbolic level, tightly associated with its Baltic neighbour. "From Copenhagen to Copenhagen" could be the title of this chapter of the Polish-Danish relationship, since in 1993 the Copenhagen criteria which laid down the rules for European Union Members was decided during the Danish Presidency of the European Council. In 2002, under the Danish presidency, the enlargement of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Malta, and Cyprus was decided at the EU Summit in the Danish capital. "We have an agreement!" were the words of the Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen after what was called the "largest foreign political challenge for Denmark in recent history".⁶

Both for the small and the medium European player, the new multilateral order opened a new chapter in their history where their possibilities of action were not only defined by larger neighbours. Furthermore, the post-Cold War world created possibilities for economic prosperity, freedom of movement, and scientific cooperation.

At the end of this introduction, the Knud Højgaard Foundation, the Royal Danish Embassy in Warsaw, and the Danish Cultural Institute which made this Polish-Danish cooperation project possible receive our appreciation and thanks. We would like to extend similar thanks to the Polish embassy in Copenhagen, to the Faculty of History at the University of Warsaw, and finally to the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw.

6 Nikolaj Petersen, *Dansk Udenrigspolitik Historie, Vol.6 Europæisk og globalt engagement. 1973–2003*, Copenhagen 2004, 596–598.

GEORG BRANDES IN POLAND AND IN HUNGARY

A comparative study

Michalina Petelska

Georg Brandes is sometimes referred to as “a travelling literary critic”. One of the characteristic elements of his activities as a literary critic and as a “critic of reality” were the numerous lectures he gave in many European countries, as well as on his trip to the USA in 1914. The radical from Copenhagen visited the Polish territories six times. His translations, correspondence and friendships with the Poles were quite intensive. His visits and his relation to the Poles have been subject to extensive research.¹ Brandes would also visit other Central European countries and Russia, although the character of those contacts did not reach the intensiveness of his friendships (and conflict) with Poles. However, Brandes’ relations with the Hungarians have also been closely examined.² This makes it possible to compare Brandes’ relations to the two major Central European Nations as well as their reception of the works and views of Brandes.³

The Polish monograph “Georg Brandes and the Poles” from 2017 is in some aspects “very Polish”, just as the study of Hungary in the work by Zsuzanna Bjørn Andersen has a Hungarian perspective. Although Georg Brandes is the main focus in both studies, they also address political and cultural life as well as details of the biographies of the Dane’s friends. This allows the real influence and scale of engagement of the Dane to show in Polish and Hungarian matters. The article reverses the above perspective, which allows broader Central European optics to be adopted. Therefore, the text does not present details of Brandes’ visits or receptions, names, or friendships. Instead, it envisages simultaneously the earlier separated motifs: the Polish one and the Hungarian one.

Another aim of the text is to move beyond the analysis of Polish and Hungarian threads. Based on all the current studies over the legacy of the Danish critic, the article proposes a new look at the place of Central Europe (and Russia) in the life and work of Georg Brandes.

- 1 Michalina Petelska, *Georg Brandes i Polacy czyli o fenomenie wzajemnego zainteresowania z Polską w tle*, Gdańsk 2017. In the ending of the book, while presenting conclusions and formulating further proposals, I signalled several analogies between the Polish and Hungarian visits of Brandes. The article expands the motifs and adds numerous new ones.
- 2 Zsuzanna Bjørn Andersen, *The Voice from Outside. A Study in the Reception of Georg Brandes in Hungary*, Budapest 1994.
- 3 It must be highlighted that the comparative study does not refer exclusively either to the situation of the Poles and the Hungarians nor political history of Poland and Hungary in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century.

THE SIMILARITIES: ACTIVITIES AND RECEPTION

Looking at Brandes' visits to Poland and Budapest, as well as their effects, a series of similarities may be pointed out. One of the characteristic traits of Brandes as a critic and a publicist was his promotion of Scandinavian literature outside Scandinavia and, as though "in the opposite direction", to promote in Scandinavia the literature, culture, and history of the countries he had visited.

In Warsaw during 1885, Brandes lectured on a reading: "Of Spiritual Life in Scandinavia in the 19th Century"⁴. In 1902, a book by Brandes was published entitled "Henryk Ibsen" in Lvov in Galicia.⁵ It had been translated by Józefa Klemensiewiczowa, one of Brandes's correspondents, who also introduced the Polish public to other authors from Norway and Denmark.

Nearly all the relations between Brandes and the Hungarians concentrated around the works of Ibsen. Brandes devoted two lectures in Budapest to the Norwegian playwright (1900, 1907).⁶ Brandes' 1907 visit was organised in order for the Dane to participate in the Hungarian premiere of the play "Hedda Gabler" which Ibsen wrote in 1890.⁷ After the first visit of Brandes to Budapest, interest in Scandinavian literature increased significantly in Hungary and thus, the number of translations and staged plays by Scandinavian playwrights rose.⁸

Brandes' relations with Poles and Hungarians were similarly shaped. In the preparation period for his visits, lectures, and publications, his informer-friends played an important role, as they would send mainly German translations of Polish/Hungarian literature and introduce him to locals. The readings and personal contact with Brandes resulted in increased interest in the famous literary critic. The Polish and Hungarian authors would send their works to Brandes in Copenhagen or visit him personally in the Danish capital.⁹ Editorial cooperation was also vibrant, and both Polish and Hungarian press would often reprint articles by Brandes from various foreign, usually German, magazines. In several preserved letters, the editors of Polish and Hungarian periodicals appealed to the famous Dane to send new and unpublished material.¹⁰ Brandes would, whenever possible, answer such requests.¹¹

The most characteristic similarity in the context of personal relations were the female friends and correspondents of Brandes. His second visit of to Budapest, in 1907, was organised by Hedda Lenkei and Elza Szasz. Elza Szasz was a journalist and translator who knew the Dane.¹² Hedda Lenkei was an actress; during Brandes'

4 Petelska, *Georg Brandes i Polacy*, 74.

5 Jerzy Brandes, *Henryk Ibsen*, Lwów 1902.

6 Bjørn Andersen, *The Voice from Outside*, 87–90; 148–152.

7 *Ibid.*, 146.

8 *Ibid.*, 95. I have already presented the role of Brandes in promoting Scandinavian literature in Hungary in: Petelska, *Georg Brandes i Polacy*, 32–35.

9 See: Bjørn Andersen, *The Voice from Outside*, 141, 142; Petelska, *Georg Brandes i Polacy*, 190–192.

10 See: Bjørn Andersen, *The Voice from Outside*, 49.

11 See: Petelska, *Georg Brandes i Polacy*, 184–188.

12 Bjørn Andersen, *The Voice from Outside*, 115–121.

visit she played the title role in “Hedda Gabler” by Ibsen.¹³ The actress Mari Jaszai also played an important role in the Hungarian reception of Brandes.¹⁴ All three of them corresponded with Brandes. In Warsaw, the circle of people closest to Brandes included Jadwiga Brzezińska and Józefa Szebeko, while during his stay in Lvov the Dane established a longstanding and sincere friendship with the poet, Maryla Wolska.

Bjørn Andersen noticed that when writing to married couples, for instance to Elza Szasz and her husband Zsombor Szasz, Brandes would always write separate letters.¹⁵ The same pattern can be noted in the example of the Dane’s Polish friends. Brandes’ abundant correspondence with Maryla Wolska has been preserved as well as a separate letter addressed to her husband Waclaw Wolski.¹⁶ The Georg Brandes Collection also contains 56 letters from Jadwiga Brzezińska and only as few as nine from Jan Brzeziński.¹⁷

It is worth dwelling on the way Brandes perceived Hungary and (the non-existent) Poland. He readily presented the countries through the prism of their history and national aspirations for freedom. Among the other pieces he wrote is an essay entitled “Arthur Görgei”, dedicated to the general and a leader of the Hungarian uprising of 1848. Brandes praised him, stating that he was: “the man of action that men of letters might envy”.¹⁸ This was in full accordance with the Dane’s critical literary views as well as with his research method (aristocratic radicalism). At the same time, it was convergent with his numerous texts regarding Poland and the Poles. His views could be summed up by the famous sentence: “We love Poland, therefore, not as we love Germany or France or England, but as we love freedom.”¹⁹

For Georg Brandes himself the most difficult similarity in his relations with the Poles and the Hungarians came with the outbreak of the First World War and its consequences. During the bloody conflict the Dane declared neutrality and pointed at the insanity and atrocity of the fighting. At the same time, he found himself in the “trap” of his own views, and extremely broad contacts. Before the Great War, he had travelled all over Europe and had friends in all its corners. He argued for the right to self-determination of nations and opposed the violence inflicted by stronger countries on weaker ones. As a result of First World War, the Hungarians might have gained their own state, yet – from their perspective – it was reduced by the territories where nations developed, among them the Slovaks, Romanians, and Croats. In such a situation some Hungarians considered the neutral attitude of Brandes as inappropriate towards Hungary.²⁰ Some Poles, in turn, held against him

13 Ibid., 129–133.

14 Ibid., 121–129.

15 Ibid., 134.

16 Michalina Petelska, *Listowna przyjaźń. Korespondencja między Georgiem Brandesem a Wandą Młodnicką i Marylą Wolską*, in: *Studia Historica Gedanensia* 3 (2012), 153–181.

17 Petelska, *Georg Brandes i Polacy*, 317.

18 Bjørn Andersen, *The Voice from Outside*, 86.

19 Georg Brandes, *Poland: a study of the land, people, and literature*, London 1903, 48.

20 Bjørn Andersen, *The Voice from Outside*, 206–208.

the fact that during the war he stood in defence of the Jews living in Polish territories.²¹

BRANDES CENTRAL EUROPE AND RUSSIA

In the 19th century there was no independent Polish state: Polish territories were divided among Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. In the three empires and in varying periods of the 19th century, the opportunities for Poles to use their mother tongue in public life were very different. The Hungarians, on the other hand, enjoyed vast autonomy and privileges within the framework of the Habsburg Dual Monarchy. It was the political background which made communication challenging to the Dane, who knew neither Polish nor Hungarian. In Budapest, Brandes began the reading of his lecture with words almost identical to those he had previously used in Lvov. The 1898 reading in Lvov, conducted in German, began with:

The language in which I shall take the privilege of addressing you is undoubtedly not the closest to our hearts, yet I presume, one you shall understand best, since neither am I able to understand your language, nor do you comprehend mine.²²

In 1900 in Budapest, he commenced as follows:

The language in which I am going to address you is not your own language, nor is it mine. I must admit that I have no special affection for the German language and, as far as I have heard, neither have you. Nevertheless, on this occasion, I must have recourse to it since what matters most, after all, is that we should understand one another. I learnt this language at the age of thirty. And although I have full mastery of it, my pronunciation unfortunately leaves much to be desired. It is no empty phrase if I ask for your indulgence.²³

Other quotes are worth paying attention to as well. In 1885, during his first stay in Warsaw, Brandes would send letters home filled with frantic enthusiasm:

Just arrived here. The whole apartment in a private house at my disposal is decorated with paintings, absolutely excellent. I have two servants, of whom one understands German. I have five rooms including a bedroom. My name is written with capital letters on the door. On my desk is a business card of which I enclose a printed sample. Until now I have invitations for the first 8 or 9 days – a number of celebrations with estate owners, counts, literators, and so on all in my honor. As in Vienna I am being titulated as the most important critic of our time.²⁴ Or simply: “I live here in splendor and glory.”²⁵

21 I have devoted a separate extended article to the analysis of articles by Brandes and the reaction of the Poles: Michalina Petelska, *Antypolskie czy antywojenne? Wokół wystąpień Georga Brandesa z 1914 r.*, in: Iwona Sakowicz-Tebinka (ed.): *Rok 1914: jaka Polska, jaki świat?: w kręgu zainteresowań badawczych profesora Romana Wapińskiego*, Gdańsk 2016, 215–236.

22 Petelska, *Georg Brandes i Polacy*, 304. Polish newspapers quoted those words in Polish, currently they have been translated for the purpose of this article.

23 Bjørn Andersen, *The Voice from Outside*, 88. In her book Bjørn Andersen provides a quotation straight in translation to English.

24 Georg Brandes, *Breve til Forældrene 1872–1904, på grundlag af Morten Borups forarbejder udgivet af Torben Nielsen, II 1880–1904*, Copenhagen 1994, 128.

25 *Ibid.*, 129.