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POLISH LOOK AT GEORGE SAND

REC.: Katarzyna Nadana-Sokołowska, *George Sand – polskie spojrzenia*, series 'Lupa obscura,' Wydawnictwo Instytutu Badań Literackich PAN [Institute of Literary Research, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 2022, pp. 512.

Katarzyna Nadana-Sokołowska's monograph entitled George Sand - polskie spojrzenia comes as yet another significant example of the achievements of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Literary Research (IBL PAN) in the research on Sand, understood as modern and interdisciplinary studies on the French novelist, social activist, and politician—as well as keeping up her cult in the cultural area, energetically cultivated across the borders of national cultures, including French, Polish, Swiss, American, and the cultures of Eastern territories. The Institute's previous achievements in the field of Sandism include a Polish translation, by Barbara Głowacka, of the scholarly dissertation penned by Corinne Fournier Kiss, Germaine de Staël et George Sand en dialogue avec leurs consœurs polonaises, published as Literatura, płeć i naród w XIX wieku. Germaine de Staël i George Sand w dialogu ze swymi polskimi siostrami (Wydawnictwo IBL PAN, Warsaw 2021, series 'Lupa obscura'), as well as the international conference The Sun and Her Planets. Around George Sand's Reception in Central and Eastern Europe, held at Warsaw's Staszic Palace on 20th-22nd October 2021, was an event that enjoyed broad public interest. Excellent Sand scholars from Europe and the United States joined the latter. The participating Sand researchers were female, with the appearances of only two male scholars announced-namely, Rayyan Dabbous and Mateusz Kucab. I wouldn't attach significance to this otherwise

This present issue of our journal is an outcome of the conference. The similarity of the names of the author of the book and the reviewer is accidental (Editorial team).

banal observation were it not for the fact that such 'gender inequality,' which manifested itself during the conference, pointed to an essential tendency in the present-day Sand research—. In contrast, significant studies in this field had once been initiated by scholars such as Georges Lubin, Pierre Salomon, Charles Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, and Thierry Bodin, without whom modern Sand studies would be inconceivable. The works by outstanding female Sand scholars, Françoise Sagan and Béatrice Didier, appeared only relatively recently—in 1981 and since the 1970s, respectively.

This review is inappropriate for presenting a complete summary of the submitted and/or delivered papers. Let me, however, highlight that the desire to reach for the essence of Sand's output via modern research instruments enabling the investigation of the reception of these works and their influence on other national literatures was the common incentive behind the activity of the exquisite Sand experts who gathered at the Warsaw symposium. Katarzyna Nadana-Sokołowska has shared this perspective as an author of the monograph above, which came out a year later.

This unprecedented interest in George Sand, recently manifesting itself in the activities of IBL, basically in its two research spots—the Women's Archive and the Romanticist Literature Section—which are supported by the Institute's publishing house (Wydawnictwo IBL PAN), revolves around what the activities developed lately in France, where the springs of Sand research are gushing and flowing the strongest. What I particularly have in mind is the monumental undertaking of a critical edition of George Sand's complete works, engaging a large team of experts run by Béatrice Didier. The team includes experts in the field of, mainly, French nineteenth-century literature: Corinne Fournier Kiss, Francoise Genevray, Isabelle Hoog Naginski, Pascale Auraix-Jonchière, Claire Barel-Moisan, and Damien Zanone, who form the so-called équipe éditoriale. Dominique Fernande's participation in the comité d'honneur has enabled the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) and the Académie française to join the project, along with the strongly represented universities. The project's existing publications include, for example, Spiridion. Roman, edited by Isabelle Naginski, with an introduction by B. Didier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2023, series 'Champion classiques'), or Les Sept cordes de la Lyre, edited by Liliane Lascoux, together with Gabriel, prepared for printing by Lucienne Frappier-Mazur (same publisher, 2013). These volumes contain modern historical-literary forewords, classical breakdowns of the texts' varieties (manuscript versions included), and indices of fictitious characters. Champion, the publishing house that patronizes the project, issued in 2020 an extensive (1260-page-long) Dictionnaire George Sand, compiled by Simone Bernard-Griffiths and Pascale Auraix-Jonchière.

The exhibition of works by the Polish-born, NYC-based artist Piotr Uklański entitled *Il tormento di Chopin*, held at the Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris between 10th June 2022 and 31st March 2023, caused George Sand, whose effigy was featured among the exhibits, has, in a way, symbolically resumed her position at that unique venue—one that was considered almost sacred among the Polish émigrés who arrived in France after the defeat of the November Insur-

rection and Polish-Russian war of 1830-1. It was a milieu with which Sand was friends, profoundly and for a long time, and not only thanks to her contacts with Adam Mickiewicz. Uklański's works displayed at that very place combined, in quite an original and suggestive fashion, the artist's themes of motifs with inspirations from Alina Szapocznikow and mass or popular culture, including Italian (Dario Argento). Sand's plays are continually staged by French theatres, just to mention two recent artistically successful Comédie-Française productions: Gabriela, with George Sand's prose adapted by Laurent Delvert and Aurélien Hamard-Padis, directed by Delvert, featuring Anne Kessler and Claire de la Ruë du Can (the Vx-Colombier stage, Autumn 2022 season); and, the marvellous performative reading of Sand's letters to her daughter, by the leading actresses of Gabriel (George & Solange, artistic direction Anne Kessler, texts selected by Delphine Barret and Monique Nevers, performed at Vx-Colombier, regrettably, only once— 17th October 2022). Those visionary events merged the threads of modern humanities with their strivings for novel interpretations of Sand's works-notably, the questions of sexual/gender identity, sex/gender as a cultural construct, and paths of (mainly, women's) emancipation in the present-day world and society.

Katarzyna Nadana-Sokołowska's scholarly achievements and organizational efforts in the field of the nineteenth-century novel, including the output of George Sand, have rendered the areas of literary scholarship pursued at IBL PAN convergent with the developmental trends in the humanities worldwide. George Sand - polskie spojrzenia is her second original monograph of the like size and vet another book based on the projects (including teamwork ones) in which she has been involved. It reflects her research record in the field of women's fiction writing, which she has deepened-for studies on George Sand-as part of the National Science Centre grant afforded to her in 2011, along with her ambitions as an author who has dreamed about writing a voluminous monographic and biographical study on G. Sand. To my mind, this is the reason behind the secret of the successful outcome of The Sun and Her Planets conference. Sand has finally encountered yet another generation of (female) expert literary scholars who, through exploring her output, seek to define their own cultural identity. Sand's genius has enabled literary scholars and philosophers such as Nadana-Sokołowska to attain their scholarly adulthood and become mature intellectually and in terms of research. This dream is a feature that makes them different from the preceding generations of (female) researchers who sought identification with such fiction authors as Simone de Beauvoir or Colette (Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette). This is also true for Maria Janion, for whom Colette seemed to have been a thought-provoking author to a more significant extent than Sand, in Nadana-Sokołowska's view. Somewhat in defiance of her Mistress and partly out of her scholarly ambition, Nadana-Sokołowska has sought other models of female writing, founding upon them her academic research and her writing activities. The Janion-Nadana-Sokołowska relationship is one of the most fascinating threads in the monograph under review. Although there are few references to Janion's output in this book (the attached index only mentions two citations), they appear essential. In an extensive note reporting on the au-

thor's dependence relationship with Professor Janion, Nadana-Sokołowska reproaches the outstanding Romanticist literature scholar for an almost utter scarcity of her comments on Sand. "The name of Sand is completely ignored in her collection of essays Kobiety i duch inności (Warsaw: Sic!, 2006), pioneering as it was in the feminist criticism in Poland": how bitter this statement (fn. 111, p. 50) is! This is followed by an argument highlighting that Sand's reception in postwar communist Poland was relatively moderate, which gains a pejorative purport in this context: Janion was a scholar active in that period as a scholar and supported the left-oriented dissident movement referred to as the democratic opposition—though the latter is essentially a narrowing-down remark. Nadana--Sokołowska might nonetheless have yielded to the suggestive power of the statistical methods of evaluating one's scholarly output and achievements (number of citations), as tends to be imposed on us, literary researchers. Perhaps Sand ought to be found in Janion somewhere between the lines of her most excellent books, among the ideas of liberty and emancipation she advocated-rather than in the indices attached to those books? Let me remark that 2009 saw the publication (by W.A.B.) of Colette's 1932 novel Le Pur et l'impur in a Polish translation (by Katarzyna Bartkiewicz) and with a foreword by Maria Janion. Hence, George Sand - polskie spojrzenia realizes the idea of emancipating oneself from the ways or methods of literary insight drilled in the past, liberating oneself from the power of the fear of influence and of the dream of a scholarly fulfillment—a dream that has ultimately come true.

The Sand-Colette alternative is peculiar to Polish research on modern French culture—in France, it has never been worded as strongly.

In 2023, *L'Herne* republished its monographic issue on Colette, featuring texts by Samia Bordji (Centre d'études Colette) and Julia Kristeva, the author of *Le génie féminin* trilogy, the third volume of which, repeatedly reprinted since its first appearance in 2002, is devoted to 'Willy.' It is undoubtedly Kristeva, together with Antoine Compagnon of the French Academy, who have contributed to a re-blossoming of the Collette research in France (see Antoine Compagnon, *Un été avec Colette*, Paris: Équateurs/France inter, 2022). Colette's writings have also been published in Robert Laffont's prestigious Bouquins series (vols. 1–3). A Colette biography by Claude Francis and Fernande Gontier was published in Poland in 2014 (translated by Katarzyna Bartkiewicz, published by W.A.B.).

Though the female authors have set, in certain respects, two different directions of female literature—a lesbian one (Colette and Simone de Beauvoir, who was fascinated by the former) and a heterosexual/transsexual one (Sand), Nadana-Sokołowska's opting for the Sandian paradigm does not mean that she has called into question the lesbian tendency.

There has been a writer in Polish culture—in its émigré domain—who has not yielded to the restrictions of such a dichotomy and seconded both Sand and Collette. His name was Władysław Mickiewicz, and Sand, his attitude toward Sand was not only due to his famous father.

The most important statement and fundamental argument of the study in question read: "The idea of happiness of individuals is intertwined in Sand with

her emancipative social thought and even a theological reflection that challenges the concept of God typical of her time" (p. 23). This side remark to the considerations on the state of research clearly shows that the author equates George Sand and values such as freedom/liberty and emancipation, making it even more apparent in the course of her argument that she is concerned with emancipation of women. This stance is reconfirmed in Naomi Schor's proposed interpretation of Indiana as a feminist novel (p. 116). Nadana-Sokołowska's concept is feminism with a slight leftist tint. However, it does not have much to do with the communist period-she sets a definite caesura between these two models of leftism. As she finds, "The desire for a social change, one that would fully implement the ideals of the French Revolution, which meant democratization of society and introduction of fairer, empathy- and solidarity-based laws, is felt by some Sand's characters, even if they are not [...] directly socialists" (p. 137). The author knows Sand's interest in politics; she even describes them as serious (do.) but does not treat her as a politician. This, in turn, leads her to ignore the question of Sand's political nature or bias-which, to my mind, is the crucial issue. In this respect, Nadana-Sokołowska's path deviates from that of her French colleagues, who seem to have been bothered for some time now by this question rather than Sand's écriture or literary craft, even if it means a feminist artistry. It is probably owing to these reasons that Nadana-Sokołowska does not refer to the edition of Sand's political writings which is of fundamental importance for considerations on the French novelist's political attitude-namely, Politique et polémiques (1843-1850), edited by Michelle Perrot (Belin and Paris, 2004; series' Littérature et politique'), where Fanchette (1843) is reprinted, among others. In Sudhir Hazareesingh's Les Intellectuels fondateurs de la République. Cinq études sur la pensée politique du XIXe siècle, recently published in France (Lormont: Le Bord de l'eau, 2023), Sand is shown, along with Georges Clemenceau and Félicité de Lamennais, as a co-creator of the Republic, whose interests and involvements extends not only to female issues. (Though the book is a Frenchlanguage version, translated by Antony Burlaud, of the 2001 study, its publication date is no less important than the date of its original version).

Nadana-Sokołowska has followed the interpretive path commenced by Béatrice Didier in her discourses *L'Écriture-femme* (Paris: PUF, 1981) and *George Sand écrivain. "Un grand fleuve d'Amérique"* (Paris: PUF, 1998), where the French scholar focuses on Sand's writing method, contrasting her fluency and flow against the architectural nature of male writing. The scholar has decided, starting with an analysis of Sand's *écriture*, to explore the essentialities of female writing by evaluating the reach and profundity of the French author's influence on Polish nineteenth- and twentieth-century female literature (Waleria Marrené-Morzkowska, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Irena Krzywicka, Zofia Nałkowska, Maria Dąbrowska, Anna Iwaszkiewiczowa). This implied a temptation to offer generalized views or concepts, to embark on considerations on the general topic of a difference between the (liberal) French culture and the Polish (conservative) culture, a dichotomy that the scholar has aptly avoided, neglecting national stereotypes and including in her reflection also female rightist thinkers,

such as Eleonora Ziemięcka (p. 125), considering their reasons to criticize Sand. Of Ziemięcka, Nadana-Sokołowska says: "[...] a conservative philosopher, she had earlier on openly polemicized with Sand from a Catholic perspective, never ceasing to appreciate the aesthetic as well as the cognitive value of her early works (though never analyzing any of them in detail) and, to a degree, the rightness of social criticism proposed by Sand" (p. 125). Thus, Nadana-Sokołowska was a step away from Sand as a precursor of Christian female literature (somewhat parallel to Caroline zu Sayn-Wittgenstein), but she did not step up.

Sand repeatedly inspired conservative, right-oriented writers on French soil—as Emmanuel Godo argues in his *Maurice Barrès: Le grand inconnu, 1862–1923* (Paris: Tallandier, 2023). These great writers shared a common idea of Venice, among other aspects.

The turn in Sand studies aiming at demonstrating the religious—to be more precise, Christian—character of Sand's writing, was incited by the need to furnish her texts with newly-written introductions and comments as part of the complete edition compiled by Béatrice Didier. In the 2023 edition of *Spiridion* (1839), Isabelle Hoog Naginski, the editor and introduction author, associates Sand's religiosity with her republican bias as manifested in *Engelwald*, a "republican novel" (p. 38). Among the inspirers of such religious attitudes were the scholars named Ballache, Lamennais, and Mickiewicz. Let us note that in the latter's works, a similar convergence appears of the threads of Catholic liberalism and mysticism (Jacob Boehme) as in Sand, who was fascinated by the proto-Romanticist movements in Germany. Hoog Naginski's view, *Spiridion* presents a progressive religion in the spirit of Joachim of Fiore—an engine of social progress and democratization of a national community. Religion counterbalances the "political violence" we are bound to encounter daily (p. 40). As of today, I would place Robert Schuman within the range of influence of these ideas.

Nadana-Sokołowska has doubtlessly succeeded in undermining two painful stereotypes that proved to be prevalent in Polish literary scholarship for decades—those, namely, which situated the French novelist within the circle of acquaintances and (female) friends of two Polish giants, Adam Mickiewicz and Fryderyk/ Frédéric Chopin. A reading that focuses on Sand's contacts with the Polish creative artists considerably limited the cognition of the broad spectrum of the ideas expressed in her novels, enforcing instead to seek allusions to her relationship with the composer and turning Sand into a promoter of the poet's French-language plays, which despite her efforts were finally not produced at Paris theatres. Challenging these stereotypes is doubtlessly an outstanding achievement of the Polish scholar; her detailed analyses of Sand's works, including *Lélia* and *Lucrezia Floriani*, set in a historical context and taking into consideration the history of diverse artistic forms, primarily novel (Honoré Balzac, Victor Hugo), do not leave much room for supplements or criticism.

The history of Mickiewicz—Zygmunt Markiewicz summarised Sand's relationship in his 1961 article on their mutual friendship and its reflection in literary works ('Mickiewicz i George Sand: dzieje przyjaźni i jej odbicie w literaturze,' *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1961, No. 52/3). He reconstructed the origins of her

flagship treatise *Essai sur le drame romantique*. *Goethe, Byron, Mickiewicz* (1839), and strove to identify Mickiewicz as a protoplast of the characters of her novels *Consuelo* and *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt*. Reliably founded upon relevant sources, the essay above contributed considerably to the (re)cognition of Polish-French literary relations in the Romanticist period. However, it has doubtlessly contributed to reinforcing and disseminating the stereotype in the readers' awareness. It also extended the vitality of 'naive comparative studies' consisting of searching illusory similarities between real life and literary protagonists.

There is still a lot to do in this field, as irrefutably demonstrated by Thierry Bodin's edition of George Sand's *Nouvelles lettres retrouvées*. *Inédit* (Paris: Le Passeur, 2023). It is an extremely valuable complementation of the monumental edition of Sand's *Correspondance*, compiled by Georges Lubin. The collected letters—hitherto dispersed, now gathered together but mutually noncontinuous—offer a unique and priceless reading experience. The collection is an indispensable material for studies on Sand's contacts not only with Mickiewicz but also with other Polish émigrés who had settled down in France, among them Charles Edmond (Edmund Chojecki), Aleksander Chodźko and Paul Barwinski. It is a contribution to the biography of Sand not only as a feminist author but as a *par excellence* thinker or even republican ideologist, whose mental horizon encompassed not only the issue of emancipation of women (particularly those of lower social classes) but also the position and rights of émigrés. She saw in them a power that led to the formation of a 'genuine' republic in France.

The works of Ferdynand Hoesick and Professor Mieczysław Tomaszewskiespecially the latter's afterword Czytając Lukrecję in the National Frederich Chopin Institute's Lucrezia Floriani edition, 2009, translated (as Lukrecja Floriani) by Zofia Jedrzejowska-Waszczuk-are considered by Nadana-Sokołowska as a showcase application of comparative studies in the analysis of George Sand's works. Regarding the publication of a Polish version of the novel, which is deemed an autobiographical variation on the theme of Sand's love affair with the composer, as a noteworthy occurrence, the scholar has expressed her astonishment that it came out so late, along with her respect for Tomaszewski's outstanding achievements as a Chopin researcher. Yet, Nadana-Sokołowska reproaches both Chopin scholars, Hoesick and Tomaszewski, for their apparent superstition toward Sand, as they reportedly did not give credence to her assurances that Chopin is not rendered overt through the novel's characters (particularly Charles). Nadana-Sokołowska believes that the commentators superimposed on the novel a network of facts and presuppositions regarding the Sand-Chopin relationship and then proceeded to accuse the novelist of having spoiled the relationship as they sought to purify Chopin of any suspicion of responsibility for its decay. In this way, Nadana-Sokołowska argues, social inequality has manifested in culture: not the man but the woman burdened with responsibility for disintegrating a couple's relationship. No surprise, let me add, that two men have stood up for Chopin, whereas a lone woman has come to Sand's defence.

The author of the book under review draws far-reaching conclusions from this historical and literary lesson: she proposes that comparative studies of the

sort described above be replaced with a different methodology, namely, the *écriture*, in the footsteps of Béatrice Didier. This has enabled her to thematize Sand's output anew and resume comparative research from the so-defined perspective to determine the actual influence of these works on the abovementioned Polish female writers.

According to Nadana-Sokołowska's findings, the central topic in Sand's novels is traditional marriage, against which she opposes a utopian model of matrimony close to a commune (p. 176). As we read in the monograph, "Typically of Sand's plots, such marriages are mesalliances as they linked individuals from diverse social classes and financial positions. Characteristically enough, Sand would not allow her characters to define the rules precisely according to which future communities should be founded. We know that these are spiritual visions of a commune based on the principle of respect for the value of labour, fair exchange, and generosity. The rural aspect is also considered for these communities" (p. 136). These observations are inspired by Didier's findings (p. 17).

Following Didier further on, and building upon Léon Cellier—author of *L'Épopée romantique* (1954), a study on the progressive dimension of Romanticist epic poetry—Nadana-Sokołowska assumes that in Sand's female characters, and thus in the writer herself, the awareness of the situation of women and the necessity of changing it progressed and strengthened. "With her consecutive novels, she made increasingly conscious the romantic, individualistic revolt of her female characters, not only the best-known ones, like Indiana or Lélia" (p. 17). The difference is that, in the scholar's opinion, none rejected romanticist narcissism. Thus, the monograph in question seems to express its author's belief in the potential fulfilment of a utopia.

Nadana-Sokołowska seeks echoes of these dilemmas—the option to fulfil one's potential in love community life as an alternative to marriage regulated by social norms—in Marrené-Morzkowska, whom she describes as a critic of "the patriarchal and conventional model of marriage" (p. 200), or in Nałkowska, whose extremely complicated relation with Sand she defines as follows: "Sand might have been closer to [Marie] Bashkirtseff and Nałkowska in their rebellion against the restrictions imposed on women in marriage and in their restless and spiritually agonized quest for a place in the society [...]" (p. 308).

The selection of the authors whose works are investigated in the monograph is very apt, suggestive, and convincing. One may regret that Aurelia Wyleżyńska, who was closely associated with the Polish émigré circles formed in Paris after 1830–1, in their last phase, has not been included; true, her two-volume war chronicles'—*Kroniki wojenne 1939–1944*, edited by Grażyna Pawlak and Marcin Urynowicz (Warsaw: PIW, 2022), came out after the work on the monograph under discussion was completed. About Sand, Wyleżyńska used the (definitely romanticist) notion of sincerity: "[...] after all, G[eorge] S[and] 's amorous cries addressed to Musset sounded more sincere than the despair of all her female characters. The correspondence of Mrs. Eliza [Orzeszkowa] is still interesting, while the lot of Seweryna [Duchińska] is almost ridiculous today" (*Kroniki wojenne*, vol. 2: 1943–1944, p. 300).

This research attitude is defined by Nadana-Sokołowska, for her purpose, as "Sandism conceived as a biographical pattern" (p. 59), the phenomenon's internal diversity being described as "a woman who, after parting with her husband, enters the path of a literary career, a *femme libre* (i.e., in the author's concept, a free woman, one who enjoys her liberty and lives in a cohabitation), bluestocking, revolutionary, or transvestite/lesbian/bisexual" (p. 59). Albeit the author does not directly mention the notion of feminist mimicry, she notices that the point is to "indicate the very existence of a whole constellation of female writers/publicists who repeated certain life decisions in that period, forming a new pattern of female biography—that of a writing woman, who, thanks to her writing, overtly or discretely expands her area of personal freedom area, including sexual freedom, and is actively involved in the cause of emancipation (not only of women)" (p. 59).

Nadana-Sokołowska thus transforms the *écriture*-based 'policy' anti-biographism of B. Didier into a new biographism (inspired, to an extent, by Anna Nasiłowska's propositions), free of cultural gender inequality. She has not compiled a new typical biography of George Sand or any of her Polish continuators, critics, or disputants. Her analyses of the Sandian *écriture* have turned into fragments of a genuine biography, recounting the life and not just the literary creative activity. This scholar has never been a psychologist or psychoanalyst, and her treatise does not aspire to be a psychoanalytical dissertation. It is not a piece of scholarly writing in the style of Julia Kristeva. *George Sand – polskie spojrzenia* is a modern full-scope comparative dissertation in the field of literature, founded upon its author's exquisite acquaintance with Sand's oeuvre, knowledgeable insight into the realities of the period concerned, and understanding of the methodologies used by the humanities internationally.

As aforesaid, the monograph lacks a critical reflection on Sand's output's political aspect(s). The ongoing publication of Sand's complete writings has already led to a remodelling of the interpretive paradigm of her œuvre; it was heralded in Didier's introduction to the 1984 *Indiana* edition ('Folio classique'). The image of an exemplary female writer, the creator of a female écriture, is gradually replaced by a picture of a political author, a politician involved on the part of the Republic, who encompassed not only the issues of emancipation (mainly, women's) but also the constitutional or political-system affairs of the French Republic (émigrés in France, civil liberties, law, political party system). These issues have been gathered by Nicole Savy under the extensive entry 'Politique' in the *Dictionnaire George Sand*; it opens with the observation (and statement) reading, "Toute l'œuvre de G. Sand est marquée par la politique [...]" (p. 958).

To me personally, the question of whether George Sand is a 'feministic' or republican author—in the time of lurking recurrence of phenomena such as Boulangism, otherwise termed populism, which (according to the most recent interpretations) challenge democracy—remains open.

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ABSTRACT

This is a review of the book *George Sand – polskie spojrzenia by Katarzyna Nadana-Sokołowska* (Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2022). The author discusses it against the broad background of European research on the work of the French author, emphasizing its importance for Polish research in this field.

KEYWORDS

George Sand, Katarzyna Nadana-Sokołowska

