

“Aucune résonance politique”. Polish Art Historians and Franco’s Spain, 1958–1973*

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ABSTRACT The 23rd CIHA Congress, held in Granada in 1973, marked a turning point in the relationships between art historians who carried out their professional activity in the Polish People’s Republic and Franco’s Spain. First contacts began as early as the 1950s, thanks to Jan Białostocki and Lech Kalinowski’s trips to Madrid and Barcelona, among other cities, strengthened in the 1960s by the organisation of two exhibitions in Cracow and Poznań devoted to Spanish art. Nevertheless, the Granada congress became a new experience for the Polish delegation. This paper aims to delve into these contacts that have not been taken into consideration before, perhaps due to the “peripheral” position of both historiographies in the geography of the history of art history during the Cold War.

KEYWORDS transnational history of art history, academic geography, horizontal history, scholars, art historians’ networks, Polish People’s Republic, Franco’s Spain, Comité International d’Histoire de l’Art (CIHA)

ABSTRAKT „*Aucune résonance politique*”. *Polscy historycy sztuki i Hiszpania za czasów Franco, 1958–1973*. XXIII Międzynarodowy Kongres Historii Sztuki, który odbył się w Granadzie w 1973 r., stanowił punkt zwrotny w stosunkach między historykami sztuki z Hiszpanii czasów generała Franco i ich kolegami z PRL. Pierwsze kontakty zostały nawiązane już w latach 50. XX w. dzięki wyjazdom Jana Białostockiego i Lecha Kalinowskiego m.in. do Madrytu i Barcelony. Ich wzmocnienie nastąpiło w latach 60. dzięki organizacji dwóch wystaw poświęconych sztuce hiszpańskiej w Krakowie i Poznaniu. Dopiero jednak kongres w Granadzie pozwolił polskiej delegacji zyskać nowe istotne doświadczenia. Artykuł analizuje polsko-hiszpańskie relacje w zakresie historii sztuki, które wcześniej pomijano zapewne ze względu na „peryferyjne” położenie polskiej i hiszpańskiej historii sztuki w geografii dyscypliny z okresu zimnej wojny.

SŁOWA-KLUCZE transnarodowa historia historii sztuki, geografia akademicka, historia horyzontalna, uczeni, kontakty historyków sztuki, Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa, Hiszpania Franco, Comité International d’Histoire de l’Art (CIHA)

SOME years ago, skimming through the book *El arte del siglo XV. De Parler a Durerro*, by Jan Białostocki, I realised that it had been translated by my former PhD advisor, Professor Miguel Morán Turina. I was so intrigued that I called him. He told me that he had bought the original edition, a posthumous one, published in Italian in 1989, at a second-hand bookshop during a trip to Rome in the 1990s. Having read it, he suggested translating it to a publishing house, since at the time, no comprehensive handbook that would encompass the Renaissance in Central and Eastern Europe was available in Spain. The first Spanish edition appeared in 1998.

This conversation always comes to mind when I think about the relationship between Polish and Spanish art historiographies in the last century. Thus, I was not surprised when I first read Białostocki's impressions of Spain after his trip to this country in 1958. "In Poland, Spain is surrounded by a halo of legend and mystery. The same happens with Spanish museums", he wrote upon his return in an article published in *Muzealnictwo* journal.¹ Aware of the exceptionality of this journey, he explained: "Since the time of the civil war of 1936–1939, our contact with this rather distant

country was almost entirely interrupted; the lack of normal diplomatic relations,² the long distance, and the different political principles prevailing there mean that in recent years only a small number of Polish citizens have been to the Spanish territory. Therefore, as one of the few art historians who managed to travel through this fascinating country, I consider it necessary to share my experiences with Polish art historians and museologists".³

SPAIN 1958/1959, FROM ALGECIRAS TO BARCELONA

"I will probably leave at the beginning of September, and I would like to visit Spain, stay briefly in Paris and longer in Italy", wrote Białostocki to his colleague Lech Kalinowski in the spring of 1958, from Princeton.⁴ Thanks to the support of Erwin Panofsky, he was carrying out a stay at the Institute for Advanced Study at the time with a grant awarded by the Ford Foundation.⁵ However, he decided to change his plans. Upon his return to Europe, he would visit art centres and museums in Western bloc countries.⁶ "My boat leaves on September 4th (SS Independence)⁷ for Algeciras", he

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1. Jan Białostocki, "Muzea w Hiszpanii 1958", *Muzealnictwo* 10 (1961): 94; all excerpts from Polish-language texts have been translated solely for the purpose of the present article.
2. The Polish People's Republic (PRL) did not have diplomatic relations with Franco's Spain; they were reassumed in 1977, when the dictatorship ended. However, in 1969 consular and commercial relations were established, and representations were opened in both Madrid and Warsaw. See Bartłomiej Różycki, *Polska ludowa wobec Hiszpanii Frankistowskiej i hiszpańskiej transformacji ustrojowej 1945–1977* (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2015), 208–218, 361–362.
3. Białostocki, "Muzea w Hiszpanii", 94. He was chief curator of the European painting gallery at the National Museum of Warsaw.
4. Archiwum Nauki Polskiej Akademii Nauk i Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie (AN PAN i PAU Kr), sign. KIII-192 (Spuścizna Lecha Kalinowskiego), Letter from J. Białostocki to L. Kalinowski, Princeton, 25 March 1958.
5. AN PAN i PAU Kr, KIII-192, Letter from J. Białostocki to L. Kalinowski, Warsaw, 6 November 1957.
6. For that reason, he requested an extension of his grant. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Erwin Panofsky Papers (AAA, EPP), box 1, folder 34, Letter from Jane Addams, Polish Exchange Program Specialist, Institute of International Education, to J. Białostocki, New York, 8 May 1958.
7. The route of this ocean liner was New York–Mediterranean.

wrote to Panofsky in August, from the farm of some friends in Vermont.⁸

The following letter did not arrive until November, from Rome. Białostocki took stock of his journey up to that moment. He had been travelling for almost three months. “I was especially delighted to see the Spanish collections – van der Weyden in the Prado is ‘*inoublable*’”, he wrote.⁹ Interestingly, when in Madrid, he even managed to access the Liria Palace and see the stunning art collection gathered by successive dukes and duchesses of Alba. “It is a private collection, which can only be visited with the special permission from the owners.¹⁰ However, this distinction is worth striving for”, he explained, impressed by the Northern and Italian paintings, to the readers. In his opinion, the strength of Spanish museology did not reside in the modernity of its presentation but in “the immeasurable, still inexhaustible, artistic wealth of this extraordinary country”. The Prado seemed to him a static institution in this regard, while the Marés Museum in Barcelona was “an excellent example of a modern exhibition, good taste in the selection of objects and their presentation”. His experience, nonetheless, had been limited to “Andalusia, Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia”.¹¹

During his stay in the capital, Białostocki visited the Instituto Diego Velázquez (IDV) of the Spanish Council for Scientific Research (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, CSIC) and personally met its director, Diego Angulo Íñiguez, collaborating researchers, such as Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño and, although this is less likely, a then-young intern and PhD candidate, Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez. This is indicated by, firstly, the accurate information on the History of Art in Spain he provided in his text, where he mentioned the major research centres, such as the IDV and its projects, the

most relevant journals (e.g., *Archivo Español de Arte*, edited by the CSIC, or *Goya*, by the Lázaro Galdiano Foundation), or the art monographs collection “Artistas andaluces” edited by Angulo, initially published by the Laboratorio de Arte of the University of Seville, and later, since 1953, by the CSIC under the title “Artes y artistas”.¹²

His links with Spanish academic circles can also be deduced from the article on the *Last Supper* by Eugenio Cajés in Obrzycko, which Białostocki published in the *Goya* journal in 1959.¹³ In his own words, Poland was not particularly rich in Spanish painting, but thanks to Count Atanazy Raczyński, a collector and diplomat in the service of Prussia in Lisbon and Madrid in the 19th century, it held some great examples of the art of Antolínez, Zurbarán, or Carreño de Miranda. Gaya Nuño had included all these paintings in his book *La pintura española fuera de España (Historia y catálogo)* (Madrid, 1958), except the one from Obrzycko. Gaya Nuño’s prologue is even more noteworthy, however. He explains there that writing his book was possible thanks to a “truly international, borderless collaboration”. As the acknowledgements confirm, Białostocki had helped him in his research in relation to Polish art collections. The book was printed on 3 January 1958.¹⁴ Therefore, Gaya Nuño and Białostocki would have exchanged correspondence, at least from 1957, and they knew each other before the latter’s trip to Spain. For that reason, Białostocki knew that the Obrzycko painting was missing in Gaya Nuño’s book, and he wanted to make it known to Spanish historiography.

And finally, his probable time at the CSIC and his contacts with scholars from Spain is corroborated by the books he brought to Poland. “To the friend and colleague, Jan Białostocki, with true affection” can be

8. AAA, EPP, box 1, folder 34, Letter from J. Białostocki to E. Panofsky, Cuttingsville, Vermont, 15 August 1958.

9. AAA, EPP, box 1, folder 34, Letter from J. Białostocki to E. Panofsky, Rome, 20 November 1958.

10. The owner was Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, 18th Duchess of Alba since 1955.

11. Białostocki, “Muzea w Hiszpanii”, 96, 100, 104.

12. Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, “Biografía de Diego Angulo Íñiguez”, in *Diego Angulo Íñiguez, historiador del arte*, ed. Isabel Mateo (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), 34; Białostocki, “Muzea w Hiszpanii”, 94, 104.

13. Jan Białostocki, “Noticias de arte. Un cuadro de Eugenio Caxés en Polonia”, *Goya. Revista de arte* 6, no. 32 (1959): 130.

14. Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *La pintura española fuera de España (Historia y catálogo)* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958): 11–12. Białostocki corroborated this collaboration in the Polish version of his article, see Jan Białostocki, “«Ostatnia Wieczerza» Eugenio Caxesa w Obrzycku”, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 22, no. 2 (1960): 199.

read in one of them, *Claudio Coello* (1957), dedicated by its author, Gaya Nuño, in Madrid on 18 September 1958 (Fig. 1).¹⁵ This book and many others devoted to Spanish art, guides to museums in Spain, as well as tourist brochures of Spanish localities with hand-written annotations of names, addresses, train schedules, and check marks on lists of monuments and museums, or even some misplaced tickets (for example, to access the Cathedral of Tarragona for 20 pesetas) are today in the Library of the Association of Art Historians (Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, SHS).¹⁶ Its most important holding is the nearly ten thousand volumes that belonged to Białostocki, donated by his wife in 1991;¹⁷ a unique collection in the heart of Warsaw, testimony to his incessant international activity.

On a map of Europe, included in a Spain tourist brochure from the 1950s, Białostocki traced the route of his journey through the Peninsula from the south to the northeast (Fig. 2).¹⁸ Behind a brochure of Madrid, we find written “Pensión Talero, Atocha 75”, and “Gaya Nuño” or “Angulo Íñiguez”,¹⁹ while days of the week, some opening hours, and check marks in another, devoted to Barcelona museums.²⁰ “The sky seems to be XIXth cent.”, can be read hand-written in English below the plate of the *Pietà* by Van der Weyden, in the book *The Prado Museum: pictures, statues, drawings & jewels* (1955) by Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón. “Now as Joos v[an] Cleve”, Białostocki noted down in the *Portrait of an Old Man*, still attributed to Hans Holbein when the book was printed. Perhaps the label had been updated in the museum room. The same probably happened regarding an anonymous triptych from the Antwerp School. “Ps[eudo]. Blesius”, wrote Białostocki. “(Detail)”, he added, because only the panel

of *The Queen of Sheba before Solomon* was included in the plates, while he was probably looking at the three panels in person in the Prado.²¹ “Too weak for Gossaert. A series of mediocre Mannerist Flemish paintings”, he wrote down, this time in Polish, in a leaflet of the Cathedral Treasures of Zaragoza, where an *Adoration of the Kings* was attributed to that painter.²² Between the pages of the *Guía ilustrada de la Catedral de Sevilla* (1930), by Balbino Santos y Olivera, he kept a ticket for 25 pesetas that gave the holder the right to see the Treasury, the Royal Chapel, the Sacristy of the Chalices, and the Chapter House of that cathedral.²³ These ephemeral papers are today a fragment of his experience frozen in time, a pilgrimage through a Spanish heritage full of contrasts, where even “Moorish” architecture (from the Mosque of Córdoba to the synagogue of Santa María La Blanca in Toledo) left an indelible impression on him.²⁴

Intending to get acquainted with Romanesque sculpture in Western Europe and complete his book in progress, Lech Kalinowski, assistant professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, also travelled to Spain in the late 1950s. In addition, he took advantage of his trip to gather comparative data on medieval stained-glass windows, since the international publishing project *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* (CVMA) had commissioned him to write the volume devoted to Poland. He could carry out this stay thanks to a one-year grant awarded by the Ford Foundation, which began in October 1958. As he reported once back in the Polish People’s Republic, besides working at some of the most prestigious art history institutions in France, Italy, West Germany, and England, he did so at the IDV of the CSIC in Madrid and at the Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico in Barcelona.²⁵

15. He also dedicated to him a copy of *Después de Justi. Medio siglo de estudios velazquistas* (1953) and another of *Francisco Mateos* (1957). Biblioteka Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki im. prof. Jana Białostockiego (BSHS), Warszawa, sign. B 2191, 2201, 6217.

16. He was the president of the SHS between 1963 and 1979 and, since that year, vice president.

17. Alicja Krystyna Zaráś, “Biblioteka Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki im. prof. Jana Białostockiego”, in *Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki 1934–2014. Historia – Ludzie – Siedziby*, ed. Artur Badach, Anna S. Czyż (Warszawa: SHS, 2014), 75–76.

18. BSHS, sign. BP 338.

19. BSHS, sign. BP 358.

20. BSHS, sign. BP 345, 347.

21. BSHS, sign. BK 374.

22. BSHS, sign. BP 366.

23. BSHS, sign. BP 374.

24. Białostocki, “Muzea w Hiszpanii”, 99; BSHS, sign. BP 368, 370.

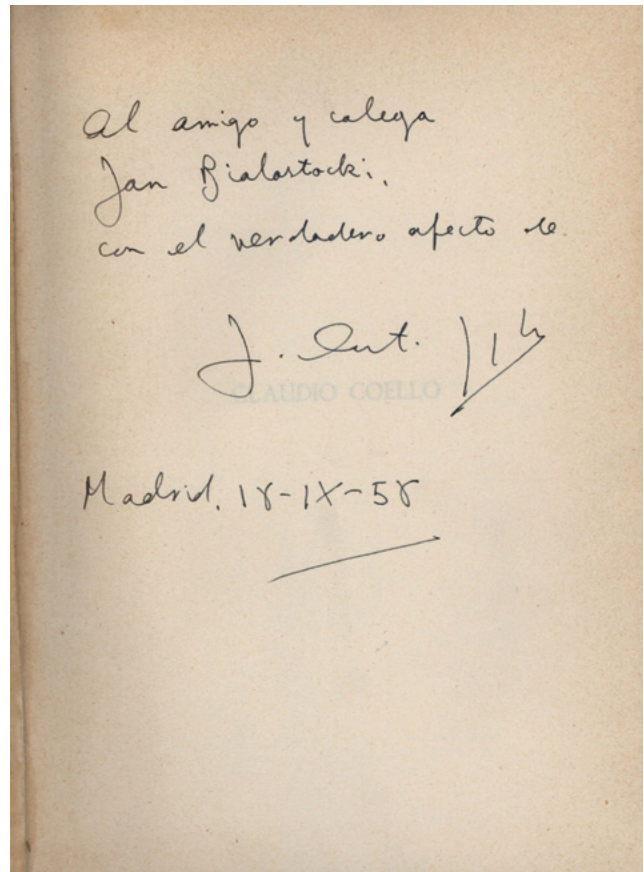
25. Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (AAN), sign. 2/2521/0/1/1968, Request for a sabbatical year addressed to the Rector of the Jagiellonian University by L. Kalinowski, Cracow, 28 August 1958; Życiorys, 1960.

Unfortunately, it is not known which scholars he may have met at these Spanish institutions. Nor did he leave any comment of political nature, although the country was immersed in a dictatorship. "In 1959, I had the opportunity to ascertain the similarity of both Silesian sculptures to the Celtic sculptures located in front of the Archaeological Museum in Madrid", wrote Kalinowski in 1965, referring to the *verracos* on display in the gardens of the MAN at the time. Those sculptures were a characteristic cultural manifestation of the Vettones, a pre-Roman people in the Iberian Peninsula. He related them to the bear and boar on the top of Mount Ślęza²⁶. According to this remark, his stay in the above-mentioned Spanish research centres must have taken place sometime between January and July (in that month, he was already in Rome) of 1959.

POLAND 1966/1967, "EN UN PAÍS DISTANTE Y APARENTEMENTE DISTANCIADO"

These timid interactions between art historians from both countries strengthened in the following decade due simply to the need to catalogue works of Spanish art preserved in Poland. Such was the case in 1966, when Marek Rostworowski decided to organise an exhibition at the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the death of Cervantes. He was not an expert on the subject, although having been to Spain twice, he had had "the chance to obtain an initial orientation in the art of this country".²⁷ For that reason, he contacted, among others, the medievalist Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, director of the Barcelona Art Museums, to inquire about two paintings of Catalan primitives. He owed him the information about the content of the distiches.²⁸

A few days after sending the catalogue to the printer, Rostworowski received a letter dated 21 November from Pérez Sánchez, who was already an adjunct professor at the University of Madrid and in charge of the Prado Museum's deposits. It was the reply to the letter that Rostworowski had sent him via Antonio



1 Copy of the book *Claudio Coello* (1957), dedicated by its author, Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, to Jan Białostocki, in Madrid, 18 September 1958, Biblioteka Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki im. prof. Jana Białostockiego, Warsaw

Bonet Correa, a professor at the University of Murcia, enclosing the photographs of eight works of art without attribution that were going to be exhibited in Cracow. Pérez Sánchez made some observations with due reservations. Rostworowski included them in the catalogue, but maintained his own attributions when they differed. In his opinion, knowing the originals gave him "the right of discussion".²⁹ Thus, a *Satirical Genre Scene* was attributed to the 17th-century Sevillian school, although Pérez Sánchez considered it to be by a Lombard artist – "perhaps from Cremona, of

26. Lech Kalinowski, "Treści ideowe sztuki przedromańskiej i romańskiej w Polsce", *Studia Źródłoznawcze. Commentationes* 10 (1965), 19.

27. The National Museum in Cracow Archive (Archiwum Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, AMNwK), sign. 71/99, Draft letter from the National Museum in Cracow to J. Szablowski, 19 September 1966.

28. *Wystawa sztuki hiszpańskiej w 350-tą rocznicę śmierci Cervantesa. Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Zbiory Czartoryskich, grudzień 1966 – luty 1967*, ed. Marek Rostworowski (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1966), 10, 15.

29. *Ibid.*, 10–11.

SPAIN'S POSITION IN RELATION TO EUROPE



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2 Detail of a Spain
tourist brochure, with
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by Jan Białostocki,
September 1958, Biblioteka
Stowarzyszenia Historyków
Sztuki im. prof. Jana
Białostockiego, Warsaw

the type popularised by Campi”, while the *Portrait of a Man with a Shield* was doubtfully ascribed to the Madrid school, albeit according to Pérez Sánchez it was Lombard or Venetian. On the other hand, Pérez Sánchez dated the *Beheading of John the Baptist* from the Burgos school, confirmed the authorship of a painting by Eugenio Lucas, and corrected the date of a Castilian *bargueño*.³⁰

“The question of whether we had anything to show was often heard” Rostworowski wrote in the catalogue.³¹ The truth is that the exhibition, which was quite heterogeneous, managed to bring together some seventy pieces (not on display at the same time), both from state institutions and private collections, including paintings, illuminated manuscripts, engravings, sculptures, craft-works and weapons, dating from the Middle Ages to the contemporary art of Picasso or Saura. As far as we know, the exhibition aroused great interest among the

public, so the museum decided to extend it until the spring of 1967.³²

Not long after, in the autumn, the exhibition *Malarstwo hiszpańskie XIV–XVIII wieku w zbiorach polskich*, curated by Anna Dobrzycka, was opened at the National Museum in Poznań.³³ The choice of the venue seemed natural, since this gallery held the art collection assembled by Atanazy Raczyński, in which Spanish paintings featured prominently. Dobrzycka, overwhelmed by some dubious attributions, asked the Spanish art historian Angulo for help. She already knew his research because three years earlier, he had published an article in *Studia Muzealne*, a journal edited by this Polish museum, about the *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Antolínez, a painting from its collections.³⁴

“I received the photographs, which I viewed with the greatest interest, and about which I have the pleasure of sending you the enclosed note”, Angulo wrote back to

30. Ibid., 16, 17–20, 29.

31. Ibid., 5.

32. AMNwK, sign. 71/99, Draft letters from the National Museum of Cracow to lending institutions and private collectors, 31 March and 1 April 1967.

33. *Malarstwo hiszpańskie XIV–XVIII wieku w zbiorach polskich*, ed. Anna Dobrzycka (Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 1967).

34. Diego Angulo Íñiguez, “José Antolínez y la Adoración de los Pastores del Muzeum Narodowe de Poznan”, *Studia Muzealne* 4 (1964): 62–67; Archivo del Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales del CSIC, Madrid, Fondo Instituto Diego Velázquez (ACCHS-CSIC, IDV), caja 20, leg. 5, Letter from A. Dobrzycka to D. Angulo, Poznań, 8 September 1965.

Dobrzycka on 27 July 1967. “Not Spanish. Original or good copy after Scipione Pulzone or by his school”, he stated, for instance, about a *Saint Praxedes*. Dobrzycka included his comment in the catalogue. The painting, however, remained as Spanish, from the 17th century. “It is not Meneses,³⁵ but a partial copy of the great painting by Guido Reni in the Bologna Museum”, specified Angulo regarding the *Saint Francis*. Dobrzycka accepted his suggestion. She did not do so concerning the *Adoration of the Shepherds*. Angulo had suggested that it might be “Neapolitan from the circle of M. Stanzione”, but it was displayed as Sevillian. The same happened with respect to the *Adoration of the Child or Holy Family with an Angel*. It was ascribed by Dobrzycka to the Spanish school, even though Angulo had stated that it was probably Flemish. Indeed, this painting reminded him “somewhat of Coffermans” and, in his view, its connection with Morales was “less clear”. In other cases, the catalogue agreed with Angulo’s remarks on authorship, for example when asserting that the *Prayer in the Garden* from the Archbishop Palace in Poznań had not been painted by Ribalta albeit it was Spanish from the last third of the 16th century, or that the *Christ on the Cross* belonged to the Andalusian School. “It is not related to any of the Murillesque [works] I know. The loincloth is more reminiscent of Cano than of Murillo”, explained Angulo to Dobrzycka about the latter painting³⁶.

Angulo, as a member of the Honorary Committee, and Pérez Sánchez, who had also contributed to the cataloguing work,³⁷ were invited to the opening of the exhibition.³⁸ They both travelled to the Polish People’s Republic. As Angulo replied to Kazimierz Malinowski, director of the Poznań Museum, he did not want to miss the opportunity to “study this important collection of Spanish paintings assembled for the first time”. The Polish Ministry of Culture and Art (MKiS), as Malinowski had guaranteed, covered the stay expenses for about a week, but not the flight from Madrid. Someone met them at the Warsaw airport.³⁹ Taking advantage of their stay in the capital, the two Spanish scholars visited the Drawing Room of the University Library, accompanied by the chief curator, Stanisława Sawicka,⁴⁰ and the storerooms of the National Museum, invited there by its management,⁴¹ where Pérez Sánchez luckily and unexpectedly discovered a hitherto unknown work by the Madrilenian painter Matías de Torres, the *Presentation of the Child in the Temple*, wrongly attributed to Bassano.⁴² After its restoration, this painting joined the exhibition in Poznań “as the latest novelty out of the catalogue”.⁴³ At some point during their trip, Angulo and Pérez Sánchez visited Cracow.⁴⁴ This is also inferred from a letter, where Angulo asked Rostworowski about an *Annunciation* from the Czartoryski collection that he had seen reproduced and attributed to Murillo on a postcard some years earlier

35. Francisco Meneses Osorio, disciple, and follower of Murillo, to whom it had been attributed by Juliusz Starzyński and Michał Walicki.

36. ACCHS-CSIC, IDV, caja 21, leg. 1, Letter from D. Angulo to A. Dobrzycka, Madrid, 27 July 1967; *Malarstwo hiszpańskie XIV–XVIII wieku w zbiorach polskich*, catalogue entries 63, 52, 61, 47, 48, 57.

37. *Malarstwo hiszpańskie XIV–XVIII wieku w zbiorach polskich*, 18.

38. Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, “Pintura española en las colecciones polacas”, *Goya. Revista de arte* 15, no. 83 (1968): 291.

39. ACCHS-CSIC, IDV, caja 21, leg. 1, Letters from K. Malinowski to D. Angulo, Poznań, 2 June and 6 October 1967; Replies from D. Angulo, Madrid, 19 June and 27 October 1967.

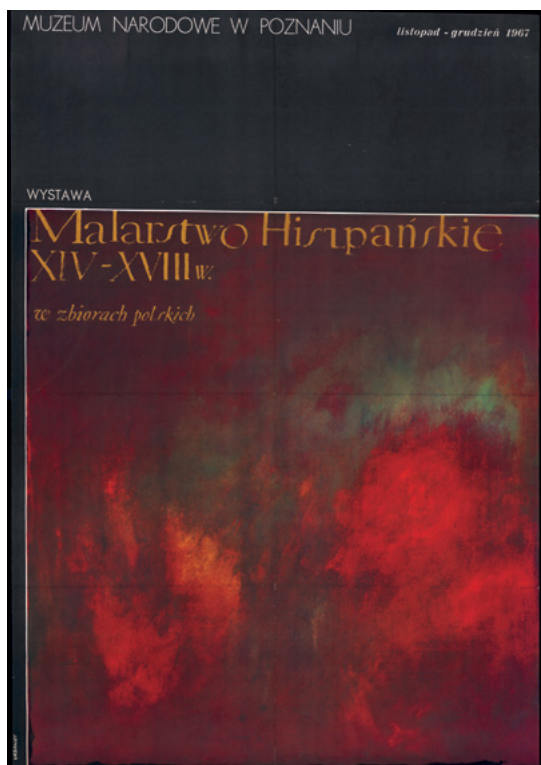
40. ACCHS-CSIC, IDV, caja 21, leg. 1, Draft Letter from D. Angulo to S. Sawicka, Madrid, 6 December 1967. Today, in the CCHS-CSIC Library (with holdings of the former IDV Library), there is a copy of the catalogue of the exhibition *Rysunki z kręgu manierystów niemieckich XVI i początku XVII wieku* (1967), curated by Sawicka.

41. He probably referred to the director, Stanisław Lorentz. Białostocki must have accompanied them.

42. It was a version of the painting on the same subject kept in the Hermitage. Just two years before, Pérez Sánchez had published an article on this painter. See Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, “Don Matías de Torres”, *Archivo Español de Arte* 38, no. 149 (1965): 36–37, fig. 11.

43. Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, “Una obra de Matías de Torres en el Museo Nacional de Varsovia”, *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 11 (1970): 19.

44. Pérez Sánchez, “Biografía de Diego Angulo Íñiguez”, 38.



3 Maciej Urbaniec, poster of the exhibition *Malarstwo hiszpańskie XIV–XVIII w. w zbiorach polskich* (1967), held at the National Museum in Poznań. Photo. Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw

at the Courtauld Institute. “I probably saw it in your Museum as Italian”, he wrote.⁴⁵

In Poznań, Angulo and Pérez Sánchez, as well as other invited personalities, such as Eduard A. Šafařík, curator at the National Gallery in Prague, or Marianna

Haraszti-Takács, curator at the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts and specialist in Golden Age Spanish painting, stayed at the avant-garde Hotel Orbis-Merkury, built for the 1964 International Fair.⁴⁶ The exhibition poster, designed by Maciej Urbaniec (Fig. 3), was just as modern and groundbreaking as the hotel chosen by Polish authorities to host foreign guests, even though there were Old Masters on display.⁴⁷ The opening ceremony, held on 20 November at noon, consisted of a series of lectures by Białostocki, Dobrzycka, Rostworowski and Zofia Karczewska-Markiewicz, on topics like the theory of Spanish Baroque art, Zurbarán, the Catalan primitives, or the affinities between theater and painting in the 17th-century Spain. The event ended with a concert of Spanish Renaissance music by composers such as Antonio de Cabezón, Miguel de Fuenllana, Luis de Milán, or Tomás Luis de Victoria.⁴⁸

What did this trip to the other side of the Iron Curtain mean for these scholars? As Pérez Sánchez highlighted in his review for *Goya*, it allowed them to calibrate “the lively, intense, and open interest in the things from Spain in that Republic”,⁴⁹ and most importantly, to conduct a direct study of works of art and look over some hasty attributions, such as, for example, *Two Female Saints*, conjecturally attributed to Pedro Atanasio Bocanegra. Angulo showed the Polish curators that Juan de Sevilla had signed it with his monogram, S A V.⁵⁰ In other cases, they confirmed that the painting was not Spanish; a *Landscape with a Pair of Shepherds* is an example. In fact, Pérez Sánchez had even earlier related it to the Roman landscape painting.⁵¹

45. ACCHS-CSIC, IDV, caja 21, leg. 2, Letter from D. Angulo to M. Rostworowski, curator at the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, Madrid, 20 March 1968. In the last century a postcard of an *Annunciation* circulated, with the caption “Kraków. Musée Czartoryski, Cracovie. Krakau” on its obverse and on its reverse “Murillo. Zwiastowanie. Verkündigung. Annonciation”. A copy of it is held, for example, at the National Library of Poland. Biblioteka Narodowa (BN), Warsaw, sign. DŹS XII 8b/p.36/24.

46. Archiwum Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu (AMNwP), sign. 3836, Reservation of accommodation in the Hotel Merkury, signed by the deputy director of the National Museum in Poznań, Józef Iwaszkiewicz, 7 November 1967. There was also an accompanying person from the MKiS.

47. BN, sign. DŹS XIX 2a.

48. Diego Angulo Íñiguez, “Exposición de pintura española en Poznań, Polonia”, *Archivo Español de Arte* 40, no. 159 (1967): 272; Ludgarda Talarowska, “Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu w roku 1967. Sprawozdanie”, *Studia Muzealne* 6 (1968): 211–212; Pérez Sánchez, “Pintura española en las colecciones polacas”, 299.

49. Pérez Sánchez, “Pintura española en las colecciones polacas”, 291.

50. *Ibid.*, 296. According to the catalogue, “A. S. V.”, see *Malarstwo hiszpańskie XIV–XVIII wieku w zbiorach polskich*, catalogue entry 5.

51. *Malarstwo hiszpańskie XIV–XVIII wieku w zbiorach polskich*, catalogue entry 74.

Upon seeing it, he reaffirmed: “It is Roman, by an imitator of Gaspard Dughet, close to Van Bloemen.”⁵²

In addition, Angulo and Pérez Sánchez had a chance to examine some “absolutely masterful” works of art, such as the *Assumption* by Carreño or the *Virgin of the Carthusians*, which had not been loaned to the Zurbarán exhibition held at the Casón del Buen Retiro in 1964.⁵³ Both paintings were “worthy of appearing in the most restricted anthology of Spanish painting”, as Angulo stated in his review for *Archivo Español de Arte*.⁵⁴ However, they did not see the Greco discovered by Izabella Galicka and Hanna Sygietyńska from the Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, IS PAN) three years earlier.⁵⁵ The researchers cherished the hope that it would be exhibited in Poznań and that the two specialists from Madrid could give their opinion.⁵⁶ This did not happen. Nonetheless, Pérez Sánchez ventured to express his view based only on the black-and-white illustration. He thought that it was just a late copy of the one from the National Gallery in Dublin.⁵⁷ Dobrzycka also dismissed the possibility that it was an original,⁵⁸ despite the fact that José Gudiol had admitted this as possible.⁵⁹

The Cracow and Poznań exhibitions fostered an exchange of publications, photographs and opinions. In 1968, for instance, Dobrzycka asked Pérez Sánchez

for an image of the *Calvary* by Juan Correa de Vivar held in the church of El Salvador in Toledo to prove the authorship of the version from the Cathedral Basilica of Włocławek.⁶⁰ “The Warsaw picture did not come out well”, she apologised in her letter, but she expected to meet Białostocki and send a new one. She had also sent Pérez Sánchez photographs of some Spanish paintings from Polish collections, which he had requested.⁶¹ Pérez Sánchez downplayed the shortcoming. Regardless of the quality, the photographs would be, in his opinion, “very useful for our archive”.⁶² “I have prepared a small article about the painting by Matías de Torres, which I would like to see published in Poland”, he also commented in his reply. Dobrzycka suggested the *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, where it appeared in the 1970 issue.⁶³ “Mr. Angulo asks me to remind you”, Pérez Sánchez added in his letter, “that it would be very useful for all those who deal with Spanish art to have copies of the excellent exhibition catalogue in the Spanish University Libraries”.⁶⁴

A year later, Angulo also received *Galeria Malarstwa Obcego. Przewodnik* (1969), a guide to the foreign painting of the Poznań collection. “I see that you continue working very efficiently on the cataloguing tasks of the Museum”, he wrote to Dobrzycka in his letter of thanks, and considering that this book would be “of great use for all its readers”, he gave it to the IDV

52. Pérez Sánchez, “Pintura española en las colecciones polacas”, 298.

53. Given the fear of the communist authorities that, if the painting left the country, it would be claimed by his heirs in exile. On this failed loan, see Patricia García-Montón González, “Los escombros de Clío. Franquismo e Historia del Arte”, *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 96 (2020): 161–165.

54. Pérez Sánchez, “Pintura española en las colecciones polacas”, 291; Angulo Íñiguez, “Exposición de pintura española”, 270.

55. Izabella Galicka, Hanna Sygietyńska, “Nieznany obraz w Kosowie z serii franciszkańskiej El Greca”, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 28, no. 3–4 (1966): 346.

56. Izabella Galicka, Hanna Sygietyńska, *El Greco z Kosowa Lackiego* (Siedlce: Siedleckie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2014), 40.

57. Pérez Sánchez, “Pintura española en las colecciones polacas”, 293.

58. *Malarstwo hiszpańskie XIV–XVIII wieku w zbiorach polskich*, catalogue entry 15.

59. Galicka, Sygietyńska, *El Greco z Kosowa Lackiego*, 20; Katarzyna Kowalska, *Polski El Greco. „Ekstaza św. Franciszka” niezwykła historia odkrycia i ocalenia obrazu* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Iskry, 2018), 60–61.

60. Anna Dobrzycka, “Juan Correa de Vivar z Włocławskiej Katedry”, *Studia Muzealne* 8 (1970): 18–27.

61. ACCHS-CSIC, IDV, caja 3, leg. 4, Letter from A. Dobrzycka to A. E. Pérez Sánchez, Poznań, 10 September 1968.

62. He referred to the IDV photographic collection focused on Spanish artistic heritage.

63. Pérez Sánchez, “Una obra de Matías de Torres”, 19–22.

64. ACCHS-CSIC, IDV, caja 3, leg. 4, Letter from A. E. Pérez Sánchez to A. Dobrzycka, Madrid, 4 December 1968.

Library.⁶⁵ He did the same after receiving *Arcydziela malarstwa Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu* (1971). These additions to the CSIC bibliographic holdings are thus explained by that occasional Spanish-Polish collaboration.

In the following years, the CSIC received queries from other Polish experts. For instance, Jerzy Szablowski, director of the State Art Collections at Wawel Royal Castle, wrote to Angulo to request information regarding a Spanish majolica and bibliographic guidance. He wanted to delve into the history of Spanish workshops and to learn more about other old pottery pieces in collections in Spain. According to Angulo, the piece in question was a jug from Talavera de la Reina. “The activity of the Talavera potteries dates back to the 16th century”, he told Szablowski, “[and] the production continues there, without interruption, until the present day”. Angulo recommended to him, among others, the book by Balbina Martínez Caviro, published by the CSIC a year earlier.⁶⁶ Bożena Steinborn, a curator at the National Museum in Wrocław, also sought Angulo’s help a few years later when she was looking for iconographic references to catalogue a series of portraits painted around 1570.⁶⁷

GRANADA 1973, „NAJSILNIEJ UTKWIŁO MI W PAMIĘCI”

“In 1973, the Spaniards organised a great congress of art historians in Granada”, recalled Zdzisław Żygulski Jr. in

2004: “The dictatorial rule was coming to an end, and General Franco, while maintaining the monarchy, had already appointed his successor, Juan Carlos I. More than a thousand people came from all over the world. [...] The Polish delegation was led by the unforgettable Jan Białostocki, who enjoyed international authority”.⁶⁸

The 23rd International Congress of Art History undoubtedly marked a turning point, since a group of Polish art historians travelled to Spain (some of them for the first time). It is not surprising that Franco’s Spain hosted an international event with participants from the Eastern Bloc. Since the post-war period, the Comité International d’Histoire de l’Art (CIHA) had stood firm in its decision not to get involved in the ideological tensions of its time⁶⁹ and had encouraged the participation of academics from both blocs in its meetings.⁷⁰ For this reason, Xavier de Salas Bosch, the chairman of the Spanish committee, took all possible precautions to ensure that the Granada congress did not have any political resonance.⁷¹ However, the publication of the sentence against the art critic José María Moreno Galván for the incidents that occurred in 1971 had an unexpected international echo. Moreno Galván had given a spontaneous speech in the bar of the Faculty of Science on the occasion of a tribute to Picasso at the Complutense University, which had been cancelled just before starting. His speech, which included allusions to Picasso’s affiliation with the Communist Party, was interrupted by the police, triggering a demonstration.⁷²

65. ACCHS-CSIC, IDV, caja 28, leg. 3, Letter from D. Angulo to A. Dobrzycka, Madrid, 26 November 1969.

66. ACCHS-CSIC, IDV, caja 21, leg. 4, Letter from J. Szablowski to D. Angulo, Cracow, 12 December 1969; Reply from D. Angulo, Madrid, 4 February 1970.

67. ACCHS-CSIC, IDV, caja 29, leg. 2, Letter from B. Steinborn to D. Angulo, Wrocław, 10 January 1975.

68. Zdzisław Żygulski Jun., *Sztuka mauretańska i jej echa w Polsce* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2005), 12.

69. See Patricia García-Montón González, “Una geografía académica. Reuniones del CIHA en la Europa de la Guerra Fría, 1948–1972”, *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie VII, Historia del Arte* 10 (2022): 165–167.

70. Furthermore, in this effort to break down borders, the Radziwiłł Palace in Nieborów hosted a CIHA colloquium in 1960, while Madrid and Barcelona a general assembly in 1963. Strikingly, no Spanish member attended the meeting in Poland, and vice versa, no Polish members, attended the one held in Spain on that occasion.

71. BINHA, Collections Jacques Doucet, Fonds André Chastel, Archives 90, 341, 100, Draft letter from A. Chastel to J. Białostocki, Paris, 29 March 1973.

72. Archivo del Museo Nacional del Prado (AMNP), caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Information note on the judicial process against J. M. Moreno Galván; Sentencia n.º 40/1973 del Tribunal de Orden Público del sumario seguido contra José María Moreno Galván y Gonzalo Moure Trenor por reunión no pacífica, atentado y lesiones: Noemí De Haro García, “José María Moreno Galván y Valeriano Bozal. Historia del arte, compromiso y control estatal”, in *La*

As a result, on 8 March 1973, the German art historian Martin Warnke wrote to Salas and Białostocki, CIHA vice president, to state that he would not attend the congress as a sign of his rejection of the sentence. In his opinion, the CIHA should take a stand on this matter. Białostocki, however, was convinced that the Spanish government would not change “its political attitude” just because of the fact of hosting or not hosting an International Congress of Art History. Even so, he wondered if, in this situation, they should accept the invitation from Spain.⁷³ André Chastel, also a vice president, replied to Białostocki that “more serious reasons” were needed to cancel all the work already done.⁷⁴ Indeed, Salas wrote back to Warnke: “It cannot be stated, I believe, that our great painter is ignored or silenced in Spain or that someone is persecuted for speaking or writing about him. [...] The prosecution [was] for carrying out a political act. [...] If you wish, you can address a topic on Picasso in Granada. If [Moreno Galván], as an art critic, wishes to speak at the Granada congress, I will be the first to rejoice.”⁷⁵

A few days later, moved by the news of Picasso’s death on 8 April, Anna Maria Brizio, a CIHA member from Italy, wrote to Salas. In her opinion, a congress of an international organisation could not overlook that occurrence, even more so in his homeland. Hence, she suggested devoting a plenary conference to Picasso within the frame of the congress.⁷⁶ Despite

the enthusiastic reception of this proposal by Salas,⁷⁷ the tribute was limited to an anecdotal mention at the end of his opening speech⁷⁸ and the five papers on Picasso, delivered by Jiří Kotalík, José Luis Barrio-Garay, Marilyn McCully, Mieczysław Porębski, and Franco Russoli.⁷⁹ But it must be said that on 11 April, José Manuel Pita Andrade, the secretary of the congress, had written to José Camón Aznar: “Picasso’s death has astounded all of us, and the Department of Art would like to do something, even if modestly.”⁸⁰ At local level, the University of Granada held an event in memory of Picasso on 25 May.⁸¹ Salas, Camón Aznar, or even Gaya Nuño, whose political stance was – according to Pita Andrade – similar to that of Moreno Galván, took part. What is more, Pita Andrade had explained to Louis Grodecki, who chaired a panel at the Granada congress: “I am truly sorry for everything you tell me regarding Moreno Galván matter. But I deeply regret that this could affect the Congress. 99% of Spanish art historians live on the sidelines of politics. We also deplore the conviction of this art critic (who, by the way, is a good friend of mine), and we hope that he does not set foot in jail. But if international congresses are organised depending on these regrettable facts, I think they could be suspended indefinitely, starting with the countries that are considered more democratic, such as the United States, which have behind them facts as shameful as those of Vietnam.”⁸²

Historia del Arte en España. Devenir, discursos y propuestas, ed. Álvaro Molina (Madrid: Polifemo, 2016), 409.

73. BINHA, 90, 341, 100, Letter from J. Białostocki to A. Chastel, Princeton, 21 March 1973.

74. BINHA, 90, 341, 100, Draft letter from A. Chastel to J. Białostocki, Paris, 29 March 1973.

75. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from X. de Salas to M. Warnke, Madrid, 16 March 1973.

76. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Letter from A. M. Brizio to X. de Salas, Milano, 9 April 1973.

77. “I think it is interesting and compulsory that your panel deals with Picasso [...] as a tribute session”. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from X. de Salas to A. M. Brizio, Madrid, May 4, 1973.

78. BINHA, Collections Jacques Doucet, Fonds Jacques Thuillier, Archives 51, 92, 5, Opening speech of the 23rd International Congress of Art History by X. de Salas.

79. *XXIII Congreso internacional de Historia del Arte. CIHA. Ponencias y comunicaciones* (Granada: Universidad. Departamento de Historia del Arte, 1973), 195, 205, 207, 210, 214; Muzeum Sztuki Współczesnej w Krakowie, Archiwum Mieczysława Porębskiego (MSWK, AMP), 2/73/20/4, Typescript of M. Porębski’s presentation.

80. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from J. M. Pita Andrade, Head of the Department of Art History at the University of Granada, to J. Camón Aznar, Granada, 11 April 1973.

81. All papers were published in a monographic issue of the journal *Cuadernos de arte* 21 (1974).

82. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from J. M. Pita Andrade to L. Grodecki, Granada, 27 June 1973.

Grodecki also agreed to separate political affairs from CIHA meetings.⁸³ Accordingly, the preparations for this congress ran their course (Fig. 4). “I hope to go to Spain next year for the congress, but even earlier, upon my return from America”, Białostocki had already written to Salas in the summer of 1972. “In May, I will go to Madrid”, he confirmed in September.⁸⁴ And so he did. “Białostocki has been here. He has solved the problems of his section by a drastic selection”, wrote Pita Andrade to Grodecki afterwards.⁸⁵ Białostocki, then a professor at the University of Warsaw, had been elected chairman of the session devoted to the problems of historical interpretation and classification at the Granada congress. He had the impression, however, that most of the sessions were devoted to Spanish art. He, therefore, asked to Salas to extend the duration of the session he was chairing so as not to close the possibilities to non-Hispanist colleagues⁸⁶. According to CIHA guidelines, each session had to be chaired by a foreign scholar and a representative of the organising country. Białostocki did it along with Camón Aznar,⁸⁷ who seemed very concerned about the language, and Salas had to reassure him: “Professor Białostocki speaks all languages, as a good Pole”.⁸⁸ If Żygulski’s memoirs are to be trusted, the professor was indeed fluent in Spanish.⁸⁹ In any case, simultaneous translation was

provided because, as Pita Andrade admitted, “most of those from outside find it difficult to speak Spanish, and those from inside (at least it happens that way to me) would be distressed by using another language”.⁹⁰

“I attended the 23rd Congress of Art History in Granada in the first days of September 1973, after which I travelled for a month around Spain, from Andalusia and Jerez de la Frontera to Valencia, Barcelona, and Oviedo”, recalls the medievalist Piotr Skubiszewski, currently a Professor Emeritus at the Institute of Art History of the University of Warsaw.⁹¹ “As far as I remember”, he answers the question of what language he used at that time, “I spoke mainly French during the congress, while I sometimes used Italian when travelling in Spain, which – surprisingly enough – was generally understood”.⁹² Polish attendance at the congress was relatively high. Białostocki had suggested some scholars, such as Porębski, a Professor at the University Jagiellonian, for the “Art of the 19th and 20th Century” session, Żygulski Jr., a curator at the Princes Czartoryski Museum, for the Islamic art session, Skubiszewski for the session on methodology, or Dobrzycka to address the figure of Raczyński and his Spanish acquisitions.⁹³ Zygmunt Świechowski and Adam Miłobędzki, Professors at the University of Wrocław and Warsaw, respectively, attended without giving a paper.⁹⁴ According to

83. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from J. M. Pita Andrade to L. Grodecki, Granada, 12 July 1973.

84. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Letters from J. Białostocki to X. de Salas, Warsaw, 17 July and 17 September 1972.

85. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from J. M. Pita Andrade to L. Grodecki, Granada, 26 May 1973.

86. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Letter from J. Białostocki to X. de Salas, Warsaw, 17 September 1972.

87. In the first draft, Białostocki appeared with Ainaud de Lasarte. BINHA, 51, 97, 26, The first preparatory meeting for the International Congress of Art History in Spain, Palacio de Fuensalida, Toledo, 30 September and 1 October 1971.

88. Meaning “as the Polish people usually do”; this was what Spanish art historians thought. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from X. de Salas to J. Białostocki, Madrid, 12 January 1973.

89. Żygulski Jun., *Sztuka mauretańska*, 12. In his own opinion, Białostocki had a poor knowledge of Spanish. Archiwum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (AUW), Teka akt osobowych Jana Białostockiego K 17.271, Kwestionariusz osobowy, 17 May 1970.

90. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from J. M. Pita Andrade to J. M. Azcárate, Granada, 13 March 1973; BINHA, 51, 92, 5, Informative brochure of the 23rd CIHA Congress, Granada 1973.

91. Private correspondence with Professor Piotr Skubiszewski, 21 March 2023.

92. Private correspondence with Professor Skubiszewski, 25 August 2023.

93. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Letter from J. Białostocki to X. de Salas, Warsaw, 17 September 1972; Draft letter from J. M. Pita Andrade to J. Białostocki, Granada, 12 January 1973.

94. MSWK, AMP, 2/73/20, Photographs of the Polish delegation during the trips to Jaén and Toledo organised in the framework of the 23rd CIHA congress, September 1973; Zygmunt

Żygulski Jr., two young researchers Juliusz Chrościcki and Józef Grabski joined later, travelling from the Netherlands by car.⁹⁵ Maria Rzepińska did not go to Spain in the end, even though she had showed interest in participating.⁹⁶ Białostocki, a full member and vice president of the CIHA, and Skubiszewski, a substitute member (in the absence of the other Polish member, Kalinowski), also participated in the general assembly held within the framework of the congress. It is worth noting that the appointment of Salas as the new CIHA president strengthened his relationship with Białostocki in the following years.⁹⁷

The Spanish organising committee covered the expenses of the Polish academics' stay (accommodation and trips), while the Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk, PAN) funded the flight tickets. In the case of Białostocki, who was invited as a session chairman, the CIHA also paid for his flight from Warsaw to Madrid. To facilitate the procedures, Pita Andrade sent the pertinent invitations to the PAN.⁹⁸ "Apart from rare exceptions", as Skubiszewski has explained, "only those obtained the passport for whom a host institution – university, museum, organisers of scientific meetings – covered the travel and living expenses during the time of their stay abroad".⁹⁹ According to him, there were no difficulties with the granting of passports by the communist authorities for the scholars to attend

the congress in Granada: "Professor Białostocki, who promoted the participation of Polish art historians, did not have any connection with the communists,¹⁰⁰ but due to his international position, he did not encounter any difficulties [...]. Professor Białostocki presented the participation [...] in the congress to the authorities as proof of the prestige enjoyed by Polish science. The communists were sensitive to such an argument".¹⁰¹

The congress venue was the Hospital Real, while the evenings were spent in the Carmen de los Mártires, the Generalife, or the Alhambra, where the participants enjoyed, for example, a flamenco performance or a classical guitar concert (Fig. 5), as recalled by Żygulski: "The Spaniards gave a wonderful reception in the gardens of Generalife. Hundreds of tables covered with red tablecloths were set with the best drinks and fruits of their charming country. The wind from the Sierra Nevada mountains cooled the summer evening. Below, the Alhambra shone brightly. So I nodded to my son, and we went down between the supple columns of the arcades and the stunning Moorish walls under the stalactite vaults. The Alhambra was empty, but it lived its secret life. The fountain gushed, and the water flowed in an incessant stream through channels carved in the rooms. Late in the evening, everyone went to the Patio de los Leones to listen to a guitar concert by the master of this art, Andrés Segovia himself".¹⁰²

Ważbiński, review of *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition*, by Francis Haskell, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 64, no. 1–4 (2002): 307.

95. Żygulski Jun., *Sztuka mauretańska*, 12.

96. MSWK, AMP, 2/73/20/3, Registration form of M. Rzepińska to the 23rd CIHA Congress, Cracow, 18 January 1973.

97. BINHA, 51, 92, 6, Minutes of the CIHA General Assembly, Granada, 3, 4 and 7 September 1973.

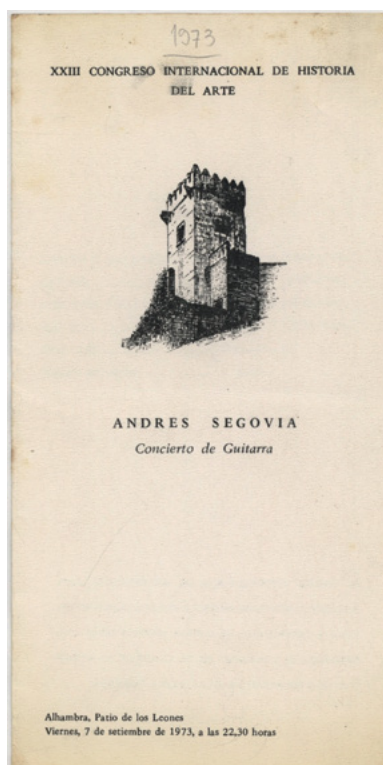
98. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from J. M. Pita Andrade to J. Białostocki, Granada, 25 April 1973; Invitations to the 23rd International Congress of Art History addressed to the Polish Academy of Sciences, by J. M. Pita Andrade, Granada, 25 June 1973.

99. Piotr Skubiszewski, "Przed dziełem sztuki. Wspomnienia ze studiów", *Artium Quaestiones* 30 (2019): 313. English version of this article is available in the same issue ("Facing the Work of Art. Memories of my Student Years": 7–20).

100. Among the Polish participants, only Porębski was a member of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) from 1954. According to the documents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW), Białostocki was "non-partisan and emotionally connected with the political opposition". AAN, sign. 2/2521/0/1/4741, Kwestionariusz osobowy, 20 June 1972; Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Warszawie, IPN BU 01224/1905/J, MSW Dep. III Wydział IV, Notatka, 31 January 1982.

101. Private correspondence with Professor Skubiszewski, 25 August 2023.

102. Żygulski Jun., *Sztuka mauretańska*, 12. Segovia played pieces by Weiss, Bach, Haydn, Sor, Torroba, and Albéniz. Programme of the guitar concert by Andrés Segovia, 23rd CIHA Congress in Granada, 7 September 1973. Lajos Vayer's bequest. Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS) – Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Art History, Archive, MKI-C-I-195/15.



4 Brochure of the 23rd CIHA Congress, held in Granada in 1973, Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, collections Jacques Doucet, Archives 90, 76, 12. Crédit photo: INHA

5 Programme of the classical guitar concert by Andrés Segovia, organised within the frame of the 23rd CIHA Congress in Granada, 7 September 1973, art historian Lajos Vayer's bequest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS) – Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Art History, Archive, MKI-C-I-195/15

The programme also included visits to monuments and museums in Granada, and excursions to discover other treasures of the Andalusian historical and artistic heritage. For example on 6 September, a Thursday, the Polish scholars made a scheduled excursion to Jaén (Fig. 6), Baeza and Úbeda. They probably visited Guadix and the castle of Calahorra on the morning of the following Saturday, 8 September. On the 9th, after visiting Osuna and Antequera, they travelled to Seville to attend the closing ceremony at the Reales Alcázares the following day. During that event, after the speeches by Salas and Angulo, Białostocki, read a few pages on behalf of all the participants, with flattering words for the organisers. The floor was then given to the Director General of Fine Arts, Florentino Pérez-Embid, and the Minister of Education and Science, Julio Rodríguez Martínez. The event ended with the opening of the exhibition *Caravaggio y el naturalismo español*, curated by

Pérez Sánchez.¹⁰³ On Monday the 11th, the participants visited Jerez de la Frontera and Cádiz. The following day, they left Seville and after a brief stop in Eciija, they arrived in Córdoba, where they spent two nights. On Friday the 14th, they spent a night in Toledo (Fig. 7). Porębski bought there a postcard with the *View and Plan of Toledo* by El Greco. He sent it to the poet Tadeusz Różewicz. Despite the tourist madness, he wrote, it was “certainly one of the most beautiful cities in the world”.¹⁰⁴ The following afternoon, they finally arrived in Madrid to attend the opening of another exhibition, one celebrating the first centenary of the death of Eduardo Rosales, at the Prado Museum and a farewell reception for all the congress participants.¹⁰⁵

Andalusia, flamenco, the Muslim heritage – this must have been a quite exotic experience for most participants. What impact did this stay have on Polish art historians? “Back in Poland, I remember the days spent

103. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from X. de Salas to J. Camón Aznar, Madrid, 14 June, 1972; “El Ministro de Educación y Ciencia clausura el Congreso de Historia del Arte”, *ABC*, Madrid, 11 September 1973, p. 51; “Clausura en los Reales Alcázares”, *ABC*, Seville, 11 September 1973, front page.

104. Anna and Mieczysław Porębscy, Wiesława and Tadeusz Różewiczowie, *Pisanie jest tylko dodatkiem. Korespondencja 1946–2011*, ed. Krystyna Czerni (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Warstwy, 2023), 220.

105. BINHA, 51, 92, 5, Informative brochure and 23rd CIHA Congress Programme, Granada, 3–8 September / Seville, 10 September / Madrid, 15 September 1973.

in Granada and travelling as an extremely interesting time”, wrote Białostocki to Salas. “The monuments of Spanish art and the artistic attractions of the congress will remain in our memory for a long time”.¹⁰⁶ The already mentioned SHS Library holds numerous tourist brochures for Spanish localities published in the 1960s and 1970s by the General Directorate for Tourism Promotion,¹⁰⁷ as well as copies of *La Capilla Real de Granada* (1972), by Pita Andrade, or *Granada. Guía del viajero* (1973), by Antonio Gállego Burín.¹⁰⁸ Białostocki most likely brought these publications with him in his suitcase. Today, they are witnesses of a new experience in Spain, which he began in the *carmen* of the Rodríguez-Acosta Foundation.¹⁰⁹

“I returned many times afterwards, trying to discover the secrets of the Alhambra”, wrote Żygulski years later. Thanks to Ruth Calandre and her brother-in-law, Pita Andrade, Żygulski was hosted twice, with his wife Ewa, at the House of Artists and Art Historians.¹¹⁰ “And yet”, he admitted, “that experience of the first encounter during the congress remained most strongly etched on my memory”.¹¹¹ Over time, these experiences, together with other influences, such as the catalogue of the exhibition *Al-Andalus. The Art of Islamic Spain* (1992),

given to him by Philippe de Montebello, the director of the Metropolitan, crystallised in his monograph *Sztuka mauretańska i jej echa w Polsce* (2004).¹¹²

“I would say that what fascinated me the most were those provinces [sic], such as Andalusia or Asturias, where the genius of Spanish art expressed itself in an original way, often different than in the rest of Europe”, recalls Skubiszewski today regarding his experience.¹¹³ “I have never dealt with Spanish art separately”, he recognises, “except that, of course, I included Visigothic and Asturian art in my book on art of the Early Middle Ages”.¹¹⁴ When asked what impression a country like Spain under the Franco dictatorship made on him and what differences he noticed compared to the Polish People’s Republic at the time, Skubiszewski reflects: “It is obvious that I did not sympathise with Francisco Franco’s dictatorship, just as I never sympathised with any dictatorship, including the communist dictatorship. But being in Spain in 1973, I saw that at least there the economy was functioning normally, because there were goods in the shops and people were not standing in a queue to get a stick of butter. Of course, I guessed that in Spain, power was in the hands of one party. But that did not interest me at the time. I wanted to see as

106. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Letter from J. Białostocki to X. de Salas, Warsaw, 19 September 1973. Cited previously by Pilar Mogollón Cano-Cortés, *Francisco Xavier de Salas Bosch (1907–1982)* (Granada: CEHA, Editorial Atrio, 2020), 66–67.

107. It is difficult to date the brochures in some cases. In addition to the brochures from localities already mentioned, there are others from Andalusian villages such as Martos, Orcera, Segura de la Sierra or the Sierra de Cazorla natural park, which Białostocki may have visited, and Segovia, Burgos, León, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Oviedo, or Santiago de Compostela, which may correspond to an extension of his trip. BSHS, sign. BP 339-341, 343, 351-355, 357, 359–365, 369, 371-372, 494, B 2156-2158, 2160, 2162, 4215.

108. BSHS, sign. B 2159, BP 356.

109. AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Draft letter from J. M. Pita Andrade to J. Białostocki, Granada, 25 April 1973. According to this letter, the organisers thought he will attend the congress with his wife, the art historian Jolanta Maurin-Białostocka, and their daughter.

110. Likely Żygulski referred to the Rodríguez-Acosta Foundation. “Tomorrow”, reads a card sent from this institution to him, “I will pick you up to visit the Gómez-Moreno Institute, in which, according to Professor Pita Andrade, you were very interested”. AMNwK, Spuścizna Zdzisława Żygulskiego jun., Card from Cristina Rodríguez-Acosta, general secretary of the Rodríguez-Acosta Foundation, 23 September [from 1992].

111. Żygulski Jun., *Sztuka mauretańska*, 12.

112. *Ibid.*, 12.

113. Private correspondence with Professor Skubiszewski, 25 August 2023.

114. Private correspondence with Professor Skubiszewski, 21 March 2023. Professor Skubiszewski refers to his book on early medieval European art, *L’arte europea dal VI al IX secolo* (Torino: UTET, 1995), first published in Italian and later translated into French [*L’art du Haut Moyen Âge. L’art européen du VIe au IXe siècle* (Paris: LGF – Livre de Poche, 1998)] and Polish [*Sztuka Europy łacińskiej od VI do IX wieku*, tłum. Jadwiga Kuczyńska, Edward Zwolski (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2001, reprinted in 2015, including an afterword)].



6 From left to right, Jan Białostocki, Piotr Skubiszewski, Zdzisław Żygulski Jun., Larissa and Francis Haskell, Anna Dobrzycka, Adam Miłobędzki, Mieczysław Porębski, and on the ground, Zygmunt Świechowski, in Plaza Coca de la Piñera in Jaén during the excursion organised within the framework of the 23rd CIHA Congress, 6 September 1973. Photo. Archiwum Mieczysława Porębskiego, Muzeum Sztuki Współczesnej w Krakowie



7 The Spanish medievalist Isidro G. Bango Torviso (in the centre) with Zdzisław Żygulski Jun., Mieczysław Porębski and Adam Miłobędzki in the Puerta del Sol in Toledo, during the excursion organised within the framework of the 23rd CIHA Congress, 14 or 15 September 1973. Photo. Archiwum Mieczysława Porębskiego, Muzeum Sztuki Współczesnej w Krakowie

much as possible of Spanish art, which was very little known in Poland".¹¹⁵

The congress, as already mentioned, brought together a large number of art historians, and yet Skubiszewski acknowledges that, in his case, it did not serve to establish closer contacts with foreign scholars, not even with others from socialist countries. "To be honest", he admits, "during the congress I was mainly focused on learning about the fascinating art of Granada".¹¹⁶

On his return to Poland, Skubiszewski wrote an extensive and erudite review of the exhibition *Silos y su época* opened that September in the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, where he saw it in the company of Father Rafael Torres Carot. The historian Carme Batlle Gallart helped him to locate the most difficult bibliographical references. Before publishing the review in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Skubiszewski presented it to other colleagues at one of the scientific meetings of the SHS Warsaw Section, held on 10 April 1974. His lecture introduced the audience to a completely new subject because, as he highlighted in his text, "Spanish topics, apart from a few exceptions", were "unknown to Polish art history". This experience served him to reflect on how the thematic and geographical limitation of the discipline in Poland represented an obstacle when integrating into the global scientific movement. For that reason, he concluded that Silos's exhibition should interest not only Hispanists but all medievalists.¹¹⁷ Skubiszewski visited Spain for the second time in the mid-1990s, invited to give a lecture on the iconography of the *Maiestas Domini* at the University of Zaragoza by Professor Juan Francisco Esteban Lorente. Afterwards, he stayed for a few days, during which his host took him by car to visit the most important Romanesque monuments in Aragon.¹¹⁸

"To Jan Białostocki, an undisputed master despite the distance. With total admiration for his work", reads

the dedication in another book held by the SHS Library, *La iglesia del colegio de San Buenaventura: estilo e iconografía* (1976), signed by its author, Antonio Martínez Ripoll, 3 on January 1977.¹¹⁹ Białostocki was undoubtedly the Polish art historian who aroused most interest in Spanish historiography. The explanation for this interest may be linked with his extraordinary international standing and the fact that he had been a disciple of Panofsky at a time of fury for the iconological method in Spain, triggered by the release of the Spanish translation of Panofsky's epoch-making book, *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939), in 1972. It was no coincidence that *Estilo e iconografía. Contribución a una ciencia de las artes* (1973), a volume that brought together a selection of texts written by Białostocki, was published a year later. Nevertheless, the official recognition of his career in Spain came amid the transition to democracy. On 26 June 1978, Białostocki was appointed corresponding academician in Poland of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando, following a proposal from Salas,¹²⁰ José María Azcárate and Luis Díez del Corral.¹²¹ Further evidence of this esteem was the participation of Bonet Correa and Pérez Sánchez, with other foreign scholars, in the tribute book *Ars Auro Prior. Studia Ioanni Białostocki Sexagenario Dicata* (1981). When I began this research, I deliberately chose two historiographies traditionally considered "peripheral" in the (Western) history of art history. An addition to this circumstance was the exceptionality of relating a socialist state of the Eastern bloc with a right-wing dictatorship in Southern Europe. The first objective was to contribute to the idea of the permeability of the Iron Curtain, the second to dismantle the hegemonic (vertical) interpretation of the history of art historiography during the Cold War in Europe in favour of a horizontal one – a methodological approach indebted

115. Private correspondence with Professor Skubiszewski, 25 August 2023.

116. Ibid.

117. Piotr Skubiszewski, "«Silos i jego epoka». Wystawa w Silos i w Madrycie 1973", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 36, no. 3 (1974): 327.

118. Private correspondence with Professor Skubiszewski, 25 August 2023.

119. BSHS, sign. B 2169.

120. A few months earlier, Salas had asked Białostocki for a brief curriculum to defend his candidacy. Archivo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (ARABASF), Madrid, Leg. 7-121-1-7, Letter from J. Białostocki to X. de Salas, Warsaw, 29 November 1977.

121. ARABASF, Leg. 7-121-1-7, Proposal for appointment of Jan Białostocki as a corresponding academician, Madrid, 3 June 1978; Letter from Enrique Pardo Canalis, RABASF secretary, to J. Białostocki, Madrid, 30 June 1978.

to Piotr Piotrowski.¹²² The results presented in this article shed light not only on cultural transfers and exchanges between art historians from the Polish People's Republic and Franco's Spain, but on a geography of the discipline "in practice", which extended to those places where meetings, congresses or exhibitions took place and which overlapped the conventional geographies of the countries, the powers, or the economy – although it was inevitably linked to and conditioned by these other

spheres. This was a geography that, despite this, did not seem divided into East and West but transnational. Some of the main obstacles to understand this reality in its complexity have been the categories of centre and periphery, the dominant languages of scholarship, and, consequently, the lack of research that would allow to establish more ambitious connections. Hence, this study represents an encouragement to continue working in this direction.

122. See Piotr Piotrowski, "On the Spatial Turn, or Horizontal Art History", *Umění/Art* 56, no. 5 (2008): 378–383; Piotr Piotrowski, "O horyzontalnej historii sztuki", *Artium Quaestiones* 20 (2009): 59–74.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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