

Beyond the historiographical pantheon. Women and the Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art after 1945*

Patricia García-Montón González

Some years ago, I was writing a paper on María Luisa Caturla when I wondered, paraphrasing Linda Nochlin, why there were no female art historians among the great names of Spanish historiography. Somehow, I was ashamed to admit that, to date, I had contributed myself to a historiographical tradition focused on male scholars' careers. This paper stemmed from a similar reflection but concerning the history of the Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art (CIHA) during the Cold War.

I would like to start by quoting a letter that Millard Meiss sent, a few months before being appointed CIHA president, to André Chastel, scientific secretary, in 1961:

I am as sentimental as anyone and I think Paris is a great center, but when I consider the future of our international society in the light of its recent past, I am moved to write whether you really think, as I hear you do, that Mme Goldscheider should be entrusted with the secretariat. In the last six years correspondence about the society has not been well handled, the minutes have been late, the membership lists very faulty, and the new members have not been properly notified of their election.

I realize this is a somewhat delicate matter, but a good deal depends on this office, and I would like to see Mme Goldscheider honored in some way but not elected as a secrétaire adjoint. We have spoken frankly about such question in the past and I am certain you will understand the spirit in which I write. [...]

P.S. You will recognize immediately that we would be electing not only Mme Goldscheider but also un de ses bons amis.¹

Chastel answered that he put him in 'an extremely delicate position'. The 'Pope Marcel' (as Marcel Aubert, outgoing president, was called) had asked him to keep Cécile 'a small place in the organization' to ensure the Secretariat remained based in Paris. Hence, he could not take a different stance. Nevertheless, if Meiss

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¹ Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Millard Meiss Papers (AAA, MMP), box 1, folder 30, Letter from Millard Meiss to André Chastel, July 20, 1961.

had other views for the CIHA, he trusted his 'diplomatic sense to find a way to improve the situation without hurting anyone'.²

The invisible faithfulness

First of all, it should be noted that Cécile Goldscheider was not a simple secretary, but a curator at the Rodin Museum in Paris. She was 59 years old at that time. I underline this data because during the 1950s a strong debate arose within the CIHA over the proposal to set the age-limit for membership at 70 years old.³ Many members expressed their disagreement. For instance, Léo van Puyvelde argued that 'flexibility and tact' were needed to rejuvenate the Committee. In Władysław Tatarkiewicz's opinion, young people 'did not know the tradition' and CIHA action, according to Reynaldo Dos Santos, was based 'on experience and critical judgment'. Pierre Lavedan stated that 'age-limit could not be confused with activity limit', while Mario Salmi went on to say that reform was 'an attack on freedom'.⁴ Therefore, according to all these arguments, Cécile was in the prime of her career.

Moreover, Meiss blamed Cécile for something that was not completely her fault. Or so it seems. 'I am very sorry to see that organizational questions do not seem clear: for twenty years, all the circular letters were prepared by Marcel Aubert with Mrs. Goldscheider and were sent from Paris to all our members', will write Hans R. Hahnloser, CIHA treasurer, to Chastel in 1963 regarding next CIHA meeting to be held in Madrid and Barcelona.⁵ Aubert was in charge with the Scientific Secretariat between 1952 and 1958. Meiss, however, did not mention nor censure him in his complain two years earlier. Minutes of general assemblies arrived late because in the end she probably handled it without help. Mistakes in the membership list might have two possible explanations: firstly, this list was only reviewed during general assemblies, which took place every three years; secondly, members did not send the requested information on time. So much so that the Bureau at least twice warned national committees because Goldscheider could not update the '*Fichier des Historiens d'art*'.⁶

Certainly, Cécile's role was quite ungrateful: she just assumed administrative tasks within the Committee. In short, she had no say in decision-making. Only once, in the absence of Aubert, she took the floor in a meeting to sum up the requests made to the Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines (CIPSH).⁷ However, it must be recalled that she also attended some CIHA

² AAA, MMP, box 1, folder 30, Letter from A. Chastel to M. Meiss, August 2, 1961.

³ Archivo del Museo de Pontevedra, Fondo Sánchez Cantón (MP, FSC), 35-14, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Venice, September 12, 1955.

⁴ MP, FSC, 35-17, Minutes of CIHA Meeting, Bonn, April 15-17, 1957.

⁵ Archivo del Museo Nacional del Prado (AMNP), Madrid, caja 897, Letter from Hans R. Hahnloser to A. Chastel, Berne, April 23, 1963. Copied to Xavier de Salas.

⁶ MP, FSC, 35-12, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Brussels, July 11-13, 1951; Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Amsterdam, July 22-23, 1952.

⁷ MP, FSC, 63-22, Minutes of CIHA Bureau Meeting, Spiez-Berna, April 22 and 24, 1954.

congresses as a speaker. For instance, she delivered a paper on the likely influence of Palladio in Gabriel's plans for the Versailles Opera in Venice in 1955.⁸

On the other hand, her position as '*secrétaire de séance*' allowed her to travel throughout Europe to those countries, where CIHA meetings were held, even beyond the Iron Curtain. Thus, on the occasion of the meeting held at the Nieborów Palace, over an hour from Warsaw, she went to the Polish People's Republic in the spring of 1960.⁹ According to the guest list, the wives of Meiss, Hans Kauffmann, and Murk Daniël Ozinga, were expected to join. Only Ozinga's wife did, since the other two academics cancelled their trip. The seven foreign art historians who did attend, including Goldscheider, also visited Krakow for a couple of days.¹⁰ 'Thanks to your knowledge, to your kind vigilance', wrote Cécile to Lech Kalinowski, Professor at the Jagellonian University, upon her return to Paris, 'my short stay in Krakow was very pleasant and I was able to get an idea of your archaeological and historical treasures'.¹¹

Hence, during the 1950s, all CIHA members were male or, to be exact, western white men from Europe and North America. We have no record of the presence of another woman in official meetings, except 'the wife of Byvanck' during a Bureau session in 1954.¹² That is, Hortense Anne Louise Elisabeth (known as Lili) Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, who, apart from being married with the CIHA president, was a renowned classical archaeologist, held a doctorate, and participated in *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* research project.

The pioneers

In 1964, however, a change arose. During the general assembly in Bonn, for the first time, two women were named to join as full members. Still, only one was chosen: Else Kai Sass, Professor at Aarhus University,¹³ representing Denmark (fig. 1).¹⁴ Her name had been suggested some years earlier. In 1961 the wife of the Danish

⁸ Biblioteca del Museo Nacional del Prado (BMNP), Madrid, sig. 19/3591, XVIII Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art. Venise, 12-18 septembre 1955, Programme.

⁹ MP, FSC, 35-18, Minutes of CIHA Meeting, Nieborów, Poland, April 4-5, 1960.

¹⁰ Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU w Krakowie (AN PAN i PAU Kr), KIII-192 (Spuścizna Lecha Kalinowskiego), Korespondencja, Letter from Stanisław Lorentz, director of the National Museum of Warsaw and Polish CIHA member, to Adam Bochnak, director of the National Museum of Kraków, Warsaw, March 24, 1960; Władysław Tatarkiewicz, *Dzienniki. Tom II. Lata 1960-1968* (eds. Kuliniak, Radosław et alii), Kęty, Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki, 2021, 191.

¹¹ AN PAN i PAU Kr, KIII-192, Korespondencja, Letter from Cécile Goldscheider to Lech Kalinowski, Paris, April 19, 1960.

¹² MP, FSC, 63-22, Minutes of CIHA Bureau Meeting, Spiez-Berna, April 22 and 24, 1954.

¹³ Here she founded the Institute of Art History. Erik Fischer, 'Mindeord over Else Kai Sass', *Oversigt over Selskabets Virksomhed 1988-1989*, Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1989, 203-204; 'Nouveaux membres du Comité', *Bulletin du CIHA*, 1-2, 1965, 6, 13-14

¹⁴ Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art (BINHA), Paris, Collections Jacques Doucet, Fonds Jacques Thuillier, 51, 91, 11, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Bonn, September 14-19, 1964.

representative, Ejnar Dyggve, had told Hahnloser about her husband's plans to retire from the CIHA and to put Kai Sass forward to succeed him—that year she had become his successor as a member of the Ny-Carlsberg Foundation board of directors as well—. The Committee agreed to consider this decision after Stanisław Lorentz spoke briefly in favour of her candidacy during the New York assembly¹⁵.



Figure 1 The Danish art historian Else Kai Sass. Copenhagen, May 16, 1975.

Photo: Rigmor Mydtskov

In 1966, when the CIHA decided not to hold the next colloquium in Montreal (given the unlikelihood of travelling of most Eastern bloc delegates), Jacques Thuillier, scientific secretary, conveyed Kai Sass the decision of Herbert von Einem, CIHA president, supported by Chastel, for Denmark to host it. However, after being also asked by the Danish Ministry of Education for her opinion, she dismissed this proposal for several reasons: the Museum of Fine Arts would be closed for three years, the lack of financial support from Danish authorities (the 1967 Ministry budget was already closed) and, finally, charismatic Christian Elling's chair succession at the University of Copenhagen and, therefore, his imminent exit of the Committee was up in the air. Even though Thuillier's insistence and that, a few

¹⁵ BINHA, 51, 91, 4, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, New York, September 7 and 11, 1961.

months later, she was called to occupy the aforementioned chair, she considered that there was not enough time to organize it.¹⁶

The Bureau did not give up and managed to get Copenhagen to host a CIHA colloquium entitled *Les pays du Nord et l'Europe. Art et architecture au XVIIe siècle* (at first it was going to address neoclassicism) in 1975. Kai Sass led its organization.¹⁷ This role forced her to become even more involved in the Committee decision-making, attending even the critical meeting of the CIHA Reform Commission as a member of it —the only woman.¹⁸ Hence, she had a key role to place Denmark on the international scene regarding intellectual cooperation in the field of Art History.

The second female art historian to enter the CIHA as a full member was Anna Maria Brizio, Professor at the University of Milan, in 1967. Her name had come out in Bonn when Italy gave four names for two vacancies: hers, Roberto Salvini, Edoardo Arslan, and Cesare Gnudi. However, until the general assembly in Venice, it was not confirmed: Brizio and Gnudi were the chosen ones. A year earlier, in July 1966, the Italian national committee had been established thanks to Brizio's endeavours, who was appointed its chair.¹⁹ For that reason, she led the organization of the Venice CIHA colloquium, including the search for financing sources. In this regard, she expressed her concern to guarantee the travel expenses reimbursement at least to 'the colleagues from the East', who were under 'more difficult conditions'.²⁰

From that moment on, Brizio was very involved in CIHA action. So much so that she supported, like Gnudi, Giulio Carlo Argan in his disapproval of Lisbon hosting a CIHA colloquium after Portugal's withdrawal from UNESCO in 1972.²¹ For the three of them, it was unacceptable that an international event took place in a country with a 'blatantly racist policy' and bent on prolonging a 'bloody colonial war'. UNESCO had advised cultural organizations to avoid holding their meetings in that country. This discussion was crucial since it compelled the CIHA to clarify that national committees were not government bodies and CIHA meetings did not imply an ideological or political endorsement to the host countries. The Lisbon

¹⁶ BINHA, 51, 96, 13, Letters from Jacques Thuillier to Else Kai Sass, Paris, October 24, and November 4, 1966; Letters from E. Kai Sass to J. Thuillier, Aarhus, November 2 and 9, 1966; 51, 97, 6, Letter from E. Kai Sass to J. Thuillier, Aarhus, November 9, 1967; Fischer, 'Mindeord over Else Kai Sass', 206.

¹⁷ BINHA, 51, 98, 5, 1, Programme of the CIHA Colloquium in Copenhagen, September 1-6, 1975.

HAFNIA. Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art, journal of the Institute of Art History of Copenhagen published on her initiative, edited a special issue in 1976 with the contributions of the colloquium.

¹⁸ BINHA, 51, 118, 17-1, Minutes of the Reform Commission Meeting, Paris, April 3-5, 1975.

¹⁹ BINHA, 51, 97, 6-7, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Venice, June 18-21, 1967; 51, 103, 3, List of members of the Italian national committee; 'Comité national Italien', *Bulletin du CIHA*, octobre-décembre 1967, 13.

²⁰ BINHA, 51, 97, 2, Letter from A. M. Brizio to A. Chastel, April 20, 1967.

²¹ BINHA, 51, 97, 24, Letter from A. M. Brizio to the CIHA Secretariat, February 16, 1972.

colloquium, however, was held but under the patronage of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.²²

Another example of Brizio's commitment was her opposition to the terms set by the Confédération Internationale des Négociants en Œuvres d'Art (CINOA), regarding the creation of an international art history prize awarded by a commission emanated from the CIHA. The restriction of the prize to the 12 countries that belonged to the CINOA aroused strong criticism among some Committee members, such as Jan Białostocki, François-Georges Pariset, Atanas Stoikov and, above all, Brizio. Firstly, this condition was contrary to its international vocation and, even more, with the openness policy fostered at that time by UNESCO among the CIPSH member NGOs. Secondly, as Brizio stated, there was the risk of giving too much weight to the idea that art historians lent their support to the interests of commerce and not to those 'of science, in principle, without borders'. Nevertheless, the CINOA prize, with no rule changes, was established in 1976. Yet, Brizio at least succeeded in getting Italy to host again, after 24 years, a CIHA congress in 1979.²³ Unfortunately, by then, Brizio was an honorary member. Otherwise, she could have been the first female president of the CIHA. According to the custom, the president of the national committee of the host country held the CIHA presidency until the next congress. Therefore, Giulio Carlo Argan, who had replaced Brizio in that position, was appointed²⁴.

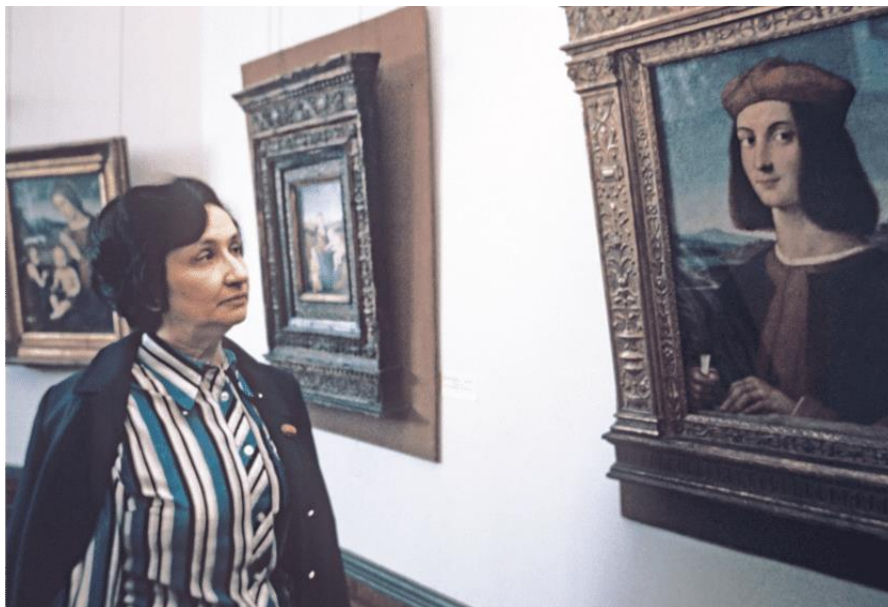


Figure 2 The Hungarian art historian Klára Garas, director-general of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, in front of the *Portrait of the Young Cardinal Ippolito d'Este*, by Raphael.

MTI Photo/ Lajos György.

²² Patricia García-Montón, '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, 165-166.

²³ BINHA, 51, 98, 5, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Copenhagen, September 1-6, 1975.

²⁴ BINHA, 51, 93, 11, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Bologna, September 10 and 16, 1979.

Museums directors

In 1969 two more female art historians with outstanding careers in the world of museums joined the CIHA as full members: Klára Garas, director-general of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, who specialised in Central European Baroque art and the history of collecting (fig. 2),²⁵ because the Bureau agreed to increase the number of Hungarian representatives to two; and Jean Sutherland Boggs, director of the National Gallery of Canada since 1966²⁶ and expert on Degas, at the proposal of Paul H. Walton, president of the Universities Art Association of Canada (UAAC).²⁷ Overshadowed the first by Lajos Vayer and the second by the American leadership with the omnipresent Meiss, their roles within the CIHA cannot be compared to those of Kai Sass and Brizio.

Nevertheless, four years later, Garas became chair of the national committee, and in 1989 she was again in the spotlight. That year, after Białostocki's death, Albert Châtelet, scientific secretary, suggested filling his vacancy in the Bureau by electing another representative of the Eastern countries. 'Only one name' seemed suitable: 'that of Klára Garas'. However, by then, she had resigned from her position at the museum, although she became an ordinary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Irving Lavin, CIHA president, recommended Stanisław Mossakowski, but he could not be eligible as he was not a member of the Committee. Polish committee had to present his candidacy and be approved by the general assembly. Therefore, after a long discussion, the Bureau found out the Hungarian art historian preferable and proposed her candidacy for vice president.²⁸ A few months later, during the general assembly in Strasbourg, took place a discussion in relation to this decision. According to Henry Millon, Garas' candidacy 'did not meet the desire for rejuvenation'. She was 70 years old. No one had objected, however, to Argan becoming president at the same age. Châtelet, as incoming president, mentioned 'the difficulty of proposing another personality from the Eastern countries given the current state of the delegations' there. Voting took place, and Garas obtained only nine votes out of 20.²⁹

In 1977 Sutherland Boggs (coinciding with her resignation from the National Gallery) and Philippe Verdier left the Committee. Canada no longer had any representatives. Xavier de Salas, CIHA president, agreed to personally make the necessary contacts on the spot, since he planned to attend the next CIPSH general

²⁵ Géza Galavics, 'Klára Garas (1919-2017) in memoriam', *Acta Historiae Artium*, 59, 1, 2018, 7-12.

²⁶ The first woman to hold this position. Regarding the gender aspect of her appointment as director, see Diana Nemiroff, *Women at the Helm. How Jean Sutherland Boggs, Hsio-yen Shih, and Shirley L. Thomson Changed the National Gallery of Canada*, Montreal; Kingston; London; Chicago, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021, 29-31.

²⁷ BINHA, 51, 91, 24, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Budapest, September 15 and 20, 1969.

²⁸ BINHA, 51, 96, 1, Minutes of CIHA Bureau Meeting, London, April 2, 1989; Informations, May 1989; Galavics, 'Klára Garas', 13.

²⁹ BINHA, 51, 96, 1, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Strasbourg, August 31, September 5 and 7, 1989.

assembly in Montreal.³⁰ After his trip in September, he wrote to Jean d'Ormesson concerning this issue. In July, Sutherland Boggs had been named director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Hence, Salas ruled her out and mulled over different options: Robert Hamilton Hubbard, cultural advisor to the Governor General; David Carter, former director of the Museum of Fine Arts of Montreal; Richard Wattenmaker, chief curator at The Art Gallery of Ontario; and, finally, Sutherland Boggs' successor as director of the National Gallery. 'Chinese-speaking, but American, therefore, English-speaking, her name is Hsio yen-Shih,³¹ of a certain age, ugly,³² intelligent, expert in Chinese issues, but apparently with an extensive experience in Museum administration', wrote Salas about the last one. He did not describe the three male candidates in such terms. Salas's order of preference in the candidacies to CIHA membership was: firstly, Hubbard, secondly, '*la chinoise*' (thus written), and, thirdly, Wattenmaker³³. In any case, all negotiations failed.

A Mexican in the Bureau

Beatriz Ramírez de la Fuente, specialist on Pre-Columbian art and researcher at the Institute for Aesthetic Research of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (its director between 1980 and 1986), deserves a special place within CIHA history (fig. 3). In 1973 she was elected full member. The fifth woman. During the same general assembly, Jovanka Maksimović, Professor at the University of Belgrade, was chosen full member for Yugoslavia, while Kai Sass and Brizio became honorary members.³⁴ Beatriz's appointment was welcome news for George Kubler. In addition, in his letter to Thuillier, he wrote that it was 'most gratifying to learn that Mexico will organise a national committee, which should help satisfy the requirements of UNESCO'.³⁵ The Mexican committee was founded, in fact, thanks to Ramírez de la Fuente's tenacity. She chaired it from 1977 to 1984.³⁶

In 1979, after being appointed CIHA vice president, Ramírez de la Fuente was the first woman to enter the Bureau.³⁷ A milestone. The question is whether she was chosen only for her professional merits. Since the 1970s, the CIPSH began harshly criticizing the CIHA because its action was not in line with UNESCO's

³⁰ BINHA, 51, 98, 14, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Antwerp, June 27-29, July 1, 1977.

³¹ Her appointment represented an achievement not only in terms of gender but also of race. See Nemiroff, *Women at the Helm*, 143-149.

³² Sutherland Boggs, in opposition, was 'attractive', according to Barry Hale's description in the *Toronto Telegram*. Indeed, he highlighted her 'beauty and intelligence'. Nemiroff, *Women at the Helm*, 29.

³³ BINHA, 51, 113, 3, Letter from X. de Salas to J. d'Ormesson, Madrid, September 20, 1977.

³⁴ The Swedish art historian Ingrid Sjöström, secretary of the national committee, attended exceptionally, because Patrik Reuterswärd, representative of Sweden, could not. BINHA, 51, 92, 6, Minutes of the CIHA General Assembly, Granada, September 3, 4 and 7, 1973.

³⁵ BINHA, 51, 98, 6, Letter from George Kubler to J. Thuillier, New Haven, Connecticut, July 17, 1975.

³⁶ Verónica Hernández Díaz, *Beatriz de la Fuente o el arte como vía regia*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2018, 18.

³⁷ BINHA, 51, 93, 11, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Bologna, September 10 and 16, 1979.

program. It was 'too western'. Except for Mexico, Brazil, Japan, and Israel, all other countries were European or North American. Furthermore, CIHA statutes stated that its scientific scope was studying the postclassic West and its links with universal art.³⁸ After several warnings, in 1975, during the CIPSH general assembly in Dubrovnik, Ronald Syme, president, and Jean d'Ormesson, general secretary, laid the cards on the table.³⁹ According to UNESCO, the new geographical horizon was Asia, Latin America, and, in particular, Africa. Consequently, the CIHA, like all CIPSH member NGOs, must pursue this goal. A first step should be to increase the geographical representation of the *bureaux*, including representatives from all regions, especially from 'the Third World'.⁴⁰



Figure 3 The Mexican art historian Beatriz Ramírez de la Fuente. Photo: Paulina Lavista, ca. 1986. Photographic Archive, Institute of Aesthetic Research, National Autonomous University of Mexico.

³⁸ BINHA, 51, 102, 3, CIHA Statutes drawn up by the commission appointed in New York in September 1961, chaired by George Kubler.

³⁹ BINHA, 51, 113, 8, Minutes of the 13th CIPSH General Assembly, Dubrovnik, September 23-25, 1975.

⁴⁰ BINHA, 51, 112, 14, Minutes of the 11th CIPSH General Assembly, Salzburg, September 22-24, 1971. Instead of Global South, I keep the original term '*tiers monde*' as it appears in the documentary sources of the time quoted.

Thus, Ramírez de la Fuente's profile responded to UNESCO demands. 'I am glad — for the reasons that you know and that are sometimes a bit irritating— to see a Mexican and a Japanese in the Bureau', wrote D'Ormesson four years later to Thuillier when Shūji Takashina was appointed vice president as well.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Beatriz took the baton. In 1980 she got Mexico to host a CIHA colloquium on funerary art, and in 1986 she filed a motion to promote the opening of the Committee beyond the Western world by developing contacts with non-European organizations and by inviting scholars from other continents to CIHA meetings.⁴²

The eighties seemed a more promising decade. In 1983, Angiola Maria Romanini, Professor at the University of Rome La Sapienza, joined the CIHA representing Italy. In 1986 the accessions of Great Britain and Australia were approved. As a result, three other women entered the Committee: Marcia Rachel Pointon, Margaret Manion, and Virginia Spate, Professors at the Universities of Sussex, Melbourne, and Sidney, respectively. During this decade, there were also more women as alternate members, such as the Mexican art historians Elisa García Barragán and Elisa Vargaslugo, or the Brazilian museologist Lygia Martins Costa.⁴³

In 1992 Romanini could be the second woman to enter CIHA Bureau. Oreste Ferrari had reached retirement age, and the Italian committee had not submitted any candidacy for his replacement. Consequently, as Châtelet, CIHA president, informed, the Bureau had to address two issues: firstly, whether Italy should continue being represented in the Bureau, and, secondly, whom to choose among Italian full and alternate members to replace Ferrari. In his opinion, the first thing it was necessary, given the importance of Italy in the History of Art, and Romanini was the best candidate to represent Italian Art History 'at an international level of competence and reputation'. The downside was, maybe, that she was 'extremely busy with her responsibility as editor of the Encyclopaedia of Medieval Art'.⁴⁴ Against all odds, after the vote in Berlin general assembly, Alessandro Bettagno was elected as Ferrari's successor, albeit on the condition that the Italian committee confirmed its support for his candidacy.⁴⁵ Four years later, in 1996, two female academics, the Mexican Rita Eder and the Czech Eliška Fucíková, entered as vice presidents in the Bureau.⁴⁶

On the other hand, one might wonder what the percentage of women was compared to men within national committees. In the late 1960s, for example, French and Italian committees had four women each, the Finnish and the Polish three, the

⁴¹ BINHA, 51, 113, 14, Letter from J. d'Ormesson to J. Thuillier, Paris, December 2, 1983.

⁴² BINHA, 51, 95, 5, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Washington, August 10, 11, 14 and 15, 1986.

⁴³ BINHA, 51, 95, 4, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Wien, September 4, 1983; 51, 95, 5, Minutes of the CIHA General Assembly, Washington, August 10, 11, 14 and 15, 1986.

⁴⁴ BINHA, 51, 96, 2, Circular letter from Albert Châtelet, CIHA president, to the members of the Bureau, Strasbourg, April 27, 1992.

⁴⁵ BINHA, 51, 96, 2, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Berlin, July 15 and 19, 1992.

⁴⁶ BINHA, 51, 95, 4, List of CIHA members established after the General Assembly held in Amsterdam, September 6, 1996.

Austrian two, and the Swiss, the Danish, or the Japanese just one.⁴⁷ In general terms, a poor representation. It is worth also remembering that, although the USSR did not join the CIHA, Irina Antonova, director of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, was among the four names suggested by Chastel in 1968 as potential Soviet members.⁴⁸ The decision to form a committee of Soviet art historians, however, depended only on the Ministry of Culture.⁴⁹ The CIHA never achieved an affirmative answer from Soviet authorities.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, Soviet scholars were 'sent' to some CIHA congresses (e.g., Granada 1973) by the Ministry. Antonova, as ICOM Soviet Committee president, was in charge of reporting such participation.⁵¹

Female voices at CIHA congresses and colloquia

The situation was quite different regarding the international congresses and colloquia under the auspices of the CIHA. Women's attendance was higher. For example, Maria Luisa Caturla, an expert on Zurbarán and baroque painting in Spain, was among the Spanish delegation that went to the first post-war congress in Lisbon because the Francoist dictatorship facilitated the procedures to get a broad representation.⁵²

Over time the number of women increased in these events, except at the New York congress in 1961. None of them participated either as a speaker or a disputant. Female scholars were not usually suggested as speakers when preparing the congresses. During the Bureau meeting before the Amsterdam congress of 1952, for instance, among the over 60 experts proposed to take part, there were only two women: Brizio for the panel on the contribution of 18th and 19th centuries to artistic heritage and Giusta Nicco-Fasola for that devoted to theoretical and methodological issues.⁵³ Neither went to this congress, but seven (versus seventy-six men) did: Mary

⁴⁷ 'Comités Nationaux', *Bulletin du CIHA*, 4 (1967), 7-11; *Bulletin du CIHA. Annuaire*, 1 (1970).

⁴⁸ BINHA, 51, 103, 1, Letter from A. Chastel to Vladimir Popov, USSR Deputy Minister of Culture, Paris, January 12, 1968.

⁴⁹ BINHA, 51, 117, 35, Letter from Irina Antonova to A. Chastel, Moscow, April 1, 1968.

⁵⁰ After the Soviet Union collapsed, in 1990, a Russian interregional committee (Moscow-Saint Petersburg-Yekaterinburg) was created. Yuri Zolotov, as chairman, delivered the statutes and suggested two full members and two alternates. The CIHA requested a 'more representative' list since they were all Muscovites. In 1993, Zolotov and Sergei Androsov were appointed CIHA full members. García-Montón, 'Una geografía académica', 159-161; BINHA, 51, 96, 2, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Berlin, July 15 and 19, 1992; 51, 99, 14, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Zacatecas, September 23 and 27, 1993.

⁵¹ BINHA, 51, 104, 5, Letter from I. Antonova to L. Vayer, CIHA president, Moscow, July 12, 1973. See Virve Sarapik, 'CIHA Congresses and Soviet Internationalism', in Kristina Jõekalda, Krista Kodres, and Marek, Michaela, eds., *A Socialist Realist History? Writing Art History in the Post-War Decades*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2019, 246-247.

⁵² MP, FSC, 48-4, Official note from the Cultural Attaché of the Spanish Embassy in Lisbon to the Spanish Ambassador, Lisbon, February 8, 1949.

⁵³ MP, FSC, 35-12, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Brussels, July 11-13, 1951.

Chamot, Jeanne Hugueneay, Jeanne Maquet-Tombu, Michèle Beaulieu, Henriëtte van Dam van Isselt, Marguerite Charageat, and Anna Maria Cetto⁵⁴.

What is more, until 1973, no woman chaired a panel. The first one was Brizio at the Granada congress.⁵⁵ She also carried out personally the paper selection process.⁵⁶ Moved by Picasso's death that year, she proposed a plenary session with a lecture devoted to him.⁵⁷ Although organizers had taken precautions to avoid the congress having 'any political resonance',⁵⁸ Salas, as Spanish committee president, enthusiastically agreed to pay homage to the artist during her session on art from Neoclassicism to modern days.⁵⁹ For some unknown reason, however, it did not happen.

Even more surprising is that, until 1980, only men delivered plenary lectures, such as Lionello Venturi, André Chastel, Anthony Blunt, Erwin Panofsky, Kenneth Clark, Giulio Carlo Argan, Nikolaus Pevsner, or, in other words, the star system of the History of Art. And who changed this dynamic? De la Fuente during the CIHA colloquium held in Mexico⁶⁰. Three years later, in 1983, the organizers of the Vienna congress invited her to deliver another plenary lecture on the reception of pre-Columbian art in Europe.⁶¹

Dames et Mesdemoiselles within CVMA

I would like to briefly recall those female experts linked to *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* (CVMA), an international research project led by the CIHA (in its beginnings by Aubert, Hahnloser, and Johnny Roosval) and under the intellectual aegis of the Union Académique Internationale (UAI) but funded by UNESCO.⁶² Research on stained-glass windows was not new, but after World War II it gained a renewed interest as many of them were disassembled, while others were photographically documented. Therefore, specialists had an unprecedented chance for analysis.

The first names of women that appear mentioned in relation to CVMA in the minutes of CIHA meetings date back to the late 1950s. In 1957, for instance, Hahnloser informed that 'Mlle Beer' had published the first volume devoted to the

⁵⁴ *Actes du XVII^e Congrès International d'histoire de l'art. Amsterdam, 23-31 juillet 1952*, La Haye: Imprimerie Nationale des Pays-Bas, 1955, 610-613.

⁵⁵ BINHA 51, 92, 5, Programme of the 23rd CIHA, Granada (Spain), 1973.

⁵⁶ AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Letter from José Manuel Pita Andrade to A. M. Brizio, Granada, June 12, 1973.

⁵⁷ AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Letter from A. M. Brizio to X. de Salas, Milan, April 9, 1973.

⁵⁸ BINHA, Collections Jacques Doucet, Fonds André Chastel, 90, 341, 100, Letter from A. Chastel to J. Białostocki, Paris, March 29, 1973.

⁵⁹ AMNP, caja 445, leg. 11.52, exp. 1, Letter from X. de Salas to A. M. Brizio, Madrid, May 4, 1973.

⁶⁰ BINHA, 51, 99, 2, Programme of CIHA Colloquium, Mexico City, October 6-10, 1980.

⁶¹ BINHA, 51, 99, 4, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Zurich, September 6-11, 1981; 51, 95, 4, 25th International Congress of Art History, Vienna 1983, Circular 2.

⁶² MP, FSC, 35-12, Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Brussels, July 11-13, 1951; Minutes of CIHA General Assembly, Amsterdam, July 22-23, 1952; See Eva Frodl-Kraft, 'Das Corpus Vitrearum, 1952-1987: Ein Rückblick', *Kunstchronik*, 41, 1988, 1-12.

medieval stained-glass windows preserved in Switzerland, while 'Mlle Matthes' (after Kunack) and 'Mme Frodl' were working on the works from Erfurt and Austria, respectively.⁶³ In 1960, he reported that Frodl-Kraft was about to publish a volume for Vienna, while Beer's second one would appear at the end of that year.⁶⁴ In 1965, according to the Corpus Vitrearum membership list, eight female researchers worked on the project at the time: the Germans Gisela Kunack, Marie-Louise Hauck and Elisabeth Schürer-von Witzleben, the Austrian Eva Frodl-Kraft, the American Jane Hayward, the Italian Caterina Gilli Pirina, the Polish Hanna Pieńkowska, and the Swiss Ellen Judith Beer.⁶⁵ Although more would join in the following years, others left.

Many of these women, however, remained blurred in historiography by the intellectual leadership of Louis Grodecki, 'a rising star in international art history', as described by Madeline H. Caviness.⁶⁶ He deservedly succeeded Hahnloser as president when he died in 1974 (it was ratified a year later at the CVMA Colloquium in Paris by all members).⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Grodecki, as Caviness wrote, 'never betrayed any bias in favour of male students or colleagues', and he 'named his heirs before he died: he was to be succeeded by Eva Frodl-Kraft and then me'.⁶⁸ And so it was, but both were chosen in open elections in 1983 and 1987, respectively. As a result, 'the epoch in which a man was identified with the CVMA (who for a long time did not even need the formal legitimation of a title for his leadership role)', wrote Frodl-Kraft in this regard, 'was naturally followed by a phase of democratic decision-making'.⁶⁹

Before that happened, Eva had achieved the position of member of the CVMA Technical and Editorial Committees, and, from 1972, she served as president of the Austrian committee. Over time she became an international authority in the field of stained-glass. The same success awaited Caviness, despite Grodecki's prediction in 1962 when she meant to get married and return to the United States. He told her that it would be the end of her career, because 'American wives did nothing but cook for their husbands' friends'.⁷⁰ He failed.

Dismantling the historiographical pantheon

The initial challenge posed by the CIHA after World War II was the alleged absence of women. Now we can assert that there were, but overshadowed by men, who were the majority and held positions of greater responsibility. In my opinion, the main obstacle to addressing this topic is that, even when female art historians began

⁶³ MP, FSC, 35-17, Minutes of CIHA Meeting, Bonn, April 15 and 17, 1957.

⁶⁴ MP, FSC, 35-18, Minutes of CIHA Meeting, Nieborów, Poland, April 4-5, 1960.

⁶⁵ BINHA, 51, 116, 9, CVMA List of national committees' directors and authors, 1965.

⁶⁶ Madeline H. Caviness, 'Encounter: Louis Grodecki', *Gesta*, vol. 57, 2, 2018, 120.

⁶⁷ BMNP, sig. 19/4186, Report to the Union Académique Internationale on the activity of Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi during the year 1974-1975, by Louis Grodecki, Paris, May 5, 1975; Frodl-Kraft, 'Das Corpus Vitrearum', 7.

⁶⁸ Caviness, 'Encounter', *Gesta*, 121.

⁶⁹ Frodl-Kraft, 'Das Corpus Vitrearum', 9.

⁷⁰ Caviness, 'Encounter', 120.

to assume prominent positions within the CIHA, historiography continued highlighting only the milestones of male scholars. Probably, it has something to do with what Caviness tells us about her experience as a delegate of the United States in a general assembly of the UAI⁷¹ in 1984 (one of the two women among eighty men from forty-five countries):

At first, many of my colleagues treated me like a woman — that is, like the wife of someone. Just three or four men addressed me politely, but also as a colleague with whom they could express themselves on the values of a new project, the shortcomings of an old one, or the general problems of human sciences, as they would have done with their male colleagues⁷².

One of these unusual men was Ramon Aramon i Serra, of whom Caviness says: 'He did not distrust me, neither as a young person, nor as an Anglophone, nor as an art historian — nor as a woman'⁷³. Her statement is brave and hits the nail on the head. The history of historiography has recently focused on recovering great female art historians and pointing out those male scholars who accepted them, but few times we dare to give the names of those who did not. Hence, much remains to do concerning the inherited historiographical pantheon.

Patricia García-Montón González is Margarita Salas Postdoctoral Fellow/UCM and Affiliated Researcher at the Institute of Art History of the University of Warsaw, where she carries out her project 'A Geography of the Discipline. The Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art, 1945-1989' (AGeoHA). She received her Ph.D. from the Complutense University of Madrid with a thesis on the Prado Museum and the history of Art History during the 20th century.

pgarci01@ucm.es



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⁷¹ She was the first woman to serve as president of the UAI (1998-2001). 'I have been very happy', she wrote years later, 'that after I arrived as a delegate from the ACLS [American Council of Learned Societies] a decade earlier, the number of women delegates rose from one to two, to eight or more by 2001. Knowing how lonely they might feel on arrival, I always made a point of taking them to lunch or supper'. Madeline H. Caviness *et al.*, 'Views from Past Presidents', in Jean-Luc De Paepe, Pierre Jodogne, and Isabelle Algrain, eds., *From a Republic of Scholars to a Community of Researchers. Perspectives on the History of the International Union of Academies (UAI), 1919-2019*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2019, 131.

⁷² Madeline H. Caviness, 'Ramon Aramon i Serra et l'Union Académique Internationale', in Núria Aramon i Stein, ed., *Jornades d'homenatge a Ramon Aramon i Serra en el centenari de la seva naixença, 1907-2007*, Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2011, 125.

⁷³ Caviness, 'Ramon Aramon i Serra', 125.