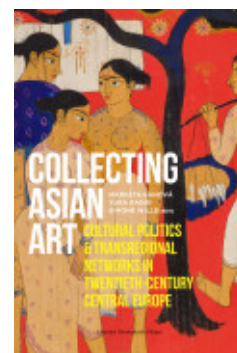




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COLLECTIONS AND COLLECTORS, NETWORKS AND DISPLAY

TWENTIETH-CENTURY CULTURAL POLITICS AND NETWORKS: THE GENESIS OF THE ASIAN ART COLLECTION AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY IN PRAGUE*

Markéta Hánová

Within the historical context of museum collecting of Asian art in the Central European region, a prestigious collection department was established in the second half of the 20th century – within the historical territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (also known as the Czech Lands) – focusing on the art of Asian and Islamic cultures, which was housed at the National Gallery in Prague (NGP). From a methodological perspective, we are embarking upon a historiographical analysis of the origin of this new state collection, which assesses not only issues related to the function of the museum as a tool for legitimising collections, but also those concerning the art historical field of Asian and Islamic cultures within the context of the social and political conditions of post-war Czechoslovakia.¹

It is necessary to mention as an introduction that the department – at the time named the *Department of Oriental Art* – was founded in 1951.² This occurred not only within a different cultural and political context and with a different social demand, but also with a different collection concept in comparison with older museum institutions in the Czech Lands that housed art collections of Asian provenance. Specifically we can mention the Náprstek Museum in Prague, with collection acquisitions dating back to the 1860s; it was nationalised in 1932 and subsequently, in 1943, became a subsidiary of the National Museum in Prague.³ Alongside this museum, in the second half of the 19th century, further museum collections, focusing on artefacts of Asian provenance and other subject matters, were established under the influence of international exhibitions in London (1862), Paris (1867) and Vienna (1873), as well as the Arts & Crafts movement. In the Czech Lands, which from 1526 until 1918 were subjugated to the Austro-Habsburg empire, interest was awakened in the collection of artistic products of Asian and Islamic cultures and the founding of applied arts museums especially as a result

of the Vienna Weltausstellung in 1873. Following the model of the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry (Kunstgewerbemuseum, today's MAK),⁴ a series of non-state museums were established featuring collections of Asian art, such as the Moravian Industrial Museum in Brno (1873),⁵ the North Bohemian Museum in Liberec (1873), or the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague (1884).⁶ With regard to their significance, museum institutions functioned as a platform for disseminating artistic values and education, thereby developing a territorial and national identity, a modern society, and, last but not least, also industry.

When reflecting upon the establishment of a new collection department at the NGP, it is therefore essential to consider the broader historical context and the socio-economic circumstances of inter-war Czechoslovakia. These factors set the stage for the founding not only of another museum collection, but also for the establishment and development of a field of art history focusing on Asian and Islamic cultures in the post-war period in Czechoslovakia. Thanks to the close co-operation between orientalists and art historians working in state administration, as well as museum and monument care institutions, the academic sphere, and schools, a new disciplinary platform was established. This platform enjoyed a network of contacts with the art scene of the time, which the NGP systematically cultivated.

THE FIRST ACQUISITIONS AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF THE CULTURAL POLICY OF THE FIRST CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

Within the framework of the political and economic strategy of inter-war Czechoslovakia⁷ an important theme was its economic and cultural orientation towards the geographical and geopolitical territory of the Orient.⁸ The term 'Orient' was de facto adopted from the vocabulary of European historiography, free from the political connotation of colonial expansion by Czechoslovakia.⁹ In *Masarykův slovník naučný* (Masaryk's Encyclopaedia), the term 'Orient' is geographically delineated as the region extending from the eastern Mediterranean, encompassing Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, to the eastern parts of the Middle East.¹⁰ Nonetheless, scientific and economic interests actively expanded through Central to East Asia, and the concept of the Orient gradually came to include these regions as well.

One of the tools deployed for commercial expansion involved organising exhibitions of Asian art. They were hosted by First Czechoslovak Republic institutions such as the company *Pražské vzorkové veletrhy* (Prague Sample Fairs) in the building of the Trade Fair Palace (opened 1929), the Czechoslovak-Japanese Chamber of Commerce (established 1928), and the Japanese Section of the Oriental Institute (established 1933).¹¹ These institutions systematically cultivated commercial and cultural contacts, which supported exports of Czech firms to East Asia. Incidentally, the Oriental Institute, which was founded in 1922¹² by the renowned orientalist Alois Musil (1868–1944),¹³ received financial and political support from President Masaryk, who had been engaged in an endeavour

to develop cultural and political relations with Japan since the end of the First World War.¹⁴ Thanks to the establishment of the Czechoslovak-Japanese Chamber of Commerce in 1928, which represented prominent enterprises and cultural institutions including the Oriental Institute, Count Gerolf Coudenhove-Kalergi¹⁵ cultivated cultural contacts as a member of its committee.

At the turn of 1930, the Trade Fair Palace became the venue for the first exhibition of Asian art aimed at fostering commercial interest in Asian destinations. This was the grandiose *Exhibition of Art from Outside Europe*¹⁶ from the private collection of the celebrated Czech collector and writer Joe Hloucha (1881–1952).¹⁷ The exhibition was opened with a speech by Václav Boháč (1874–1935), the then president of the Trade Fair Palace, relating to the programme of Czechoslovak exports to East Asia:

In the East I see our salvation. We must therefore welcome all that is associated with the East. We ourselves must find our own path there. The birth of a young China is just beginning, and Siam, Japan and other Eastern states are gaining importance for our industry. We must take advantage of this opportune moment for us and establish both friendly and business contacts with the East, so that we may become firmly anchored there in the future. We are embarking on our first auspicious beginnings with Japan, which shall officially come to our country in the spring as an exhibitor. This exhibition also is important, and I therefore wish it every success in awakening a love for the East.¹⁸

Evidently it made little difference that the exhibits originated from a private collection, not to mention the fact that they also featured art works from Asia as well as Africa (fig. 1).¹⁹ In short, Hloucha's exhibition fit in with the state cultural policy, which was also followed by the spring trade fair of Japanese firms from the art export industry.²⁰

Hloucha primarily intended to make money from his collection, which he had amassed over the course of more than 30 years.²¹ And here we find the source of the first acquisitions of Asian artworks for the future collection of the NGP and de facto also for the Náprstek Museum. Due to the global economic crisis that erupted only a few weeks before the opening of the exhibition,²² in terms of sales the exhibition did not live up to Hloucha's expectations. Consequently, Hloucha offered his collections for auction in Berlin, which took place in December 1930. However, the Berlin auction also was far from unambiguously profitable for Hloucha, and it was mainly his collection of African sculptures that sold successfully. The situation was exploited by the then director of the Picture Gallery of the Society of Patriotic Friends of Art, Vincenc Kramář (1877–1960),²³ who was instrumental in founding the collections of the State Collection of Old Masters and attempted to acquire works of Asian provenance from private collections in order to establish the 'Orient' collection. He had incidentally maintained business contacts with Hloucha



Štíty z Oceánie.

Z VÝSTAVY JOE HLOUCHY

Výstavou mimoevropského umění a uměleckého průmyslu, otevřená ve Velitřním paláci v Praze VII. dáno bylo pražskému občanstvu nahlédnouti do nového estetiického světa. Než v Praze veřejná sbírky, které by obshovala to, co nám předvedí tato výstava, uspořádána zřizovatelem Joe Hlouchou z věcí, které během let nasbíral na svých cestách světem.

Po prvé může tu naše obecenstvo vedle krásných ukázek umění čínského a japonského, jako malby, dřevorytů, porcelánu, bronzu, výševků, viděti skvělé výtvary tibetské a tunkinské, podivuhodné řezby afrických černochů a lidovějšť Oceánie a zejména hluboké nábohy staroperuánské. Také náboženské umění buddhistické jest na výstavě zastoupeno nadoutu bohatě a právem budí nadšený obdiv všech čtených návštěvníků.



Figury dřevě z Oceánie.

Vádné sochy Buddě.



Z výstavy mimoevropského umění a uměleckého průmyslu. Ze sbírky zřizovatele Joe Hlouchy ve Velitřním paláci: čínský náboženský obraz, originál (expozice), pod ním socha čínského taoistického genua.

Figure 1. From Joe Hloucha's collection at the *The Exhibition of Art and the Art Industry from Outside Europe*, Trade Fair Palace, Prague 1929–1930, *Rozkvět* (obrázkový čtrnáctideník) [Heyday, illustrated biweekly magazine], No. 51, An. 22 (1929).

since the early 1920s, when he purchased eight works of old European masters²⁴ for the Picture Gallery of the Society of Patriotic Friends of Art.²⁵

Kramář had good knowledge not only of domestic but also of foreign collections of Asian art through his personal contacts. One of these was none other than the prominent banker Baron Eduard von der Heydt (1882–1964), whose collections became the foundation of the Museum Rietberg Zurich, established in 1952.²⁶ In a letter to Kramář, besides his interest in Kramář's collection of paintings,²⁷ which he viewed during a visit to Kramář in the Dejvice district of Prague, Baron Heydt also mentions a catalogue of his collection of East Asian art:²⁸

Ich gestatte mir, Ihnen mit gleicher Post einen Katalog meiner ostasiatischen Sammlung zuzusenden. Die Stuecke befinden sich zum Teil als Leihgabe im Ostasiatischen Museum in Berlin, zum Teil an meiner obigen Adresse [in Ascona, Monte Verità, Schweiz, author's note], wo ich mich im Sommer aufzuhalten pflege.²⁹

Although Kramář received a personal invitation from Hloucha to attend the exhibition in the Trade Fair Palace,³⁰ due to the impact of the global economic crisis it was manifestly difficult to obtain sufficient funding from the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment (MŠANO)³¹ for the purchase of works from Hloucha's collection.³² Furthermore, after the end of the exhibition, Hloucha intended to sell his collection to the Náprstek Museum, but ultimately no agreement had been reached at the point.³³ An extraordinary situation helped persuade the ministry, which subsidised purchases for national collections, to purchase the first acquisitions of Asian art for state collections, because Hloucha's Asian collections for the greater part remained unsold after the Berlin auction. The Ministry of Culture took advantage of this opportunity in order to purchase from Hloucha's collection at least a fragment of Buddhist art, as well as art from China, Japan and Southeast Asia, that had originally been designated for the State Collection of Old Masters,³⁴ and became a part of the collections of the NGP (established 1949).³⁵

Another distinguished collector from the First Czechoslovak Republic from whom Kramář acquired art of Asian provenance for the future state gallery (i.e. later NGP) was Josef Martínek (1888–1976). Similarly to Hloucha, he obtained artworks in Asia, specifically in China, where he was employed during the second decade of the 20th century at the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, and where he gained experience as an expert and collector, which he described colourfully to readers of the magazine *Světobzor*:

During the process of customs clearing, it was made possible for me to familiarise myself with all the objects of artistic value that were exported from China, and this provided me with the impetus to start my own collection of antiques. The outbreak of the revolution in 1911 and the subsequent disorder

that ensued throughout the whole of China caused objets d'art to be offered for sale; otherwise they would have remained forever in Chinese collections.³⁶

He also relates fascinating observations of how tourists purchased Chinese antiques, unwittingly paying for overpriced goods 'in American dollars, [...] although we in China always paid the same prices in Chinese dollars, the exchange rate of which was 4.70 to the American dollar. Tourists therefore often purchased worthless items for prices several times higher than us collectors,³⁷ and, in addition, they also had to pay export duties on their purchases.

Martínek's exhibition in the Trade Fair Palace, which followed Hloucha's extensive presentation, was thematically focused on old Chinese art (fig. 2).³⁸ Despite the persisting economic crisis and the limited state subsidy, Kramář was successful in securing financial resources from the private sector in order to purchase Chinese paintings and sculptures from Martínek's collection – a plan he executed to some degree:³⁹ 'it would be useful if our economic contacts with the Orient, the importance of which for us is ever-increasingly emphasised, were also more deeply reinforced in the spiritual field.'⁴⁰

It is necessary to add that additional artworks from the Martínek collection, which were on sale in the Mánes building, where in 1930 Martínek opened a



Figure 2. From Josef Martínek's collection at the *The Exhibition of Old Chinese Art: The Collection of J. Martínek*, Trade Fair Palace, Prague 1930, *Prager Presse*, No. 12, An. 10 [1930].



Figure 3. Bronze ritual vessel *gui*, Late Western Zhou dynasty, 9th century BC. Bronze, H. 14 cm, W. 30 cm. Originally Josef Martinek's collection, now the National Gallery in Prague, inv. no. Vp 2662. Photograph © National Gallery in Prague 2023. (See plate 6, p. 245)

specialised shop selling the Art of China and Japan, and some of which were originally purchased by the National Masaryk Fund established by President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk,⁴¹ also eventually became housed in the future NGP (fig. 3).

THE ASIAN COLLECTIONS UNDER THE POWER OF NAZI PROPAGANDA

During the period of the Second World War, when the Czech Lands were under the rule of the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (1939–1945), exhibitions of Japanese art from the state collections of Bohemian and Moravian museums served the purposes of showcasing friendly German-Japanese relations. Let

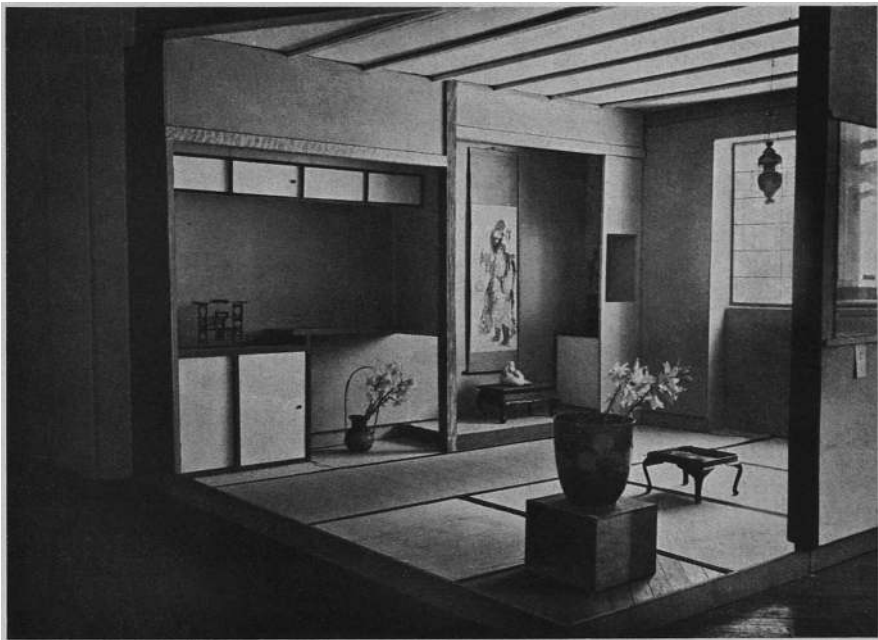


Figure 4. Photo from the installation of the exhibition of the *Art and Art Industry in Japan* exhibition at the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague in 1943. *Umění*, An. 15, no. 1-2 (1943).



Figure 5. Actor Segawa Kikunojo III in the Role of Oshizu, the Wife of Tanabe Bunzo by Toshusai Sharaku, 1794. Woodblock print *Nishiki-e*, 33.7 × 23.5 cm. Originally from the collection of Wakai Kenzaburo, T. Straus-Negbauer, E. and F. Portheim, and Graphische Sammlung, now the National Gallery in Prague, inv. no. Vm 100. Photograph © National Gallery in Prague 2023. (See plate 7, p. 246)

us present as an example the exhibition of the *Art and Art Industry in Japan* exhibition at the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague in 1943 (fig. 4) which was employed as part of the propaganda policy of the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and had to be prepared in accordance with the orders of the office of the Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia.⁴² The exhibition displayed the collections of Graphische Sammlung (fig. 5),⁴³ the Náprstek Museum, the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, the Waldes Museum and a few private collectors.⁴⁴ Joe Hloucha's original collection of Japanese art, which was eventually purchased in 1942 by the Náprstek Museum, happened to be displayed at this exhibition. Exhibitions of Japanese art were thus to present 'a striking testimony to the high standard of Japanese creative activity and to the spirit that governs the entire Japanese nation, a faithful friend and ally of the Reich in our common struggle,' as this official formulation of the Czech Press Agency was stated in a series of newspapers.⁴⁵

POST-WAR TRANSPORTS AND THE PROGRAMME OF CENTRALISING MONUMENTS

During the post-war confiscation of the property of the German Reich or private individuals of German and Hungarian nationality within the territory of Czechoslovakia, transports of artistic objects took place, including works of Asian provenance, under the supervision of the National Cultural Commission.⁴⁶ After 1948, when the communist government took power, these were joined also by artefacts from confiscated and forfeited estates.

In 1951 the Oriental Institute launched negotiations at the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture concerning the establishment of an institution 'which would concentrate our monuments of the fine arts of oriental cultures, attend to their scientific processing and sorting, their study and publication.'⁴⁷

The proposal to assign the Asian art collections of the NGP to the Náprstek Museum was rejected on the grounds that the museum should focus on ethnographic tasks. A valid ideological argument, which was supported by both the academic community of orientalists, headed by professors Jaroslav Průšek and Vincenc

Lesný, and by art historians headed by the director of the NGP Vladimír Novotný, was an assessment of the artistic monuments of Asian cultures from the perspective of their equal status alongside European art, which have their rightful place in the NGP. This mission was eventually realised during the tenure of the first head of the Department of Oriental Art, Lubor Hájek (1921–2000), in the years 1952–1986.

As Hájek later commented, the proposal for the establishment of an institution that would collect, study, and provide access to oriental art had already been tabled in 1950 by professor Průšek.⁴⁸ In addition, Hájek recalled the fact that the first working editorial office of the journal *Nový Orient* (New Orient), of which he was a founder member and also editor-in-chief after the 2nd issue of the first year,⁴⁹ had been established shortly after the liberation in May 1945.⁵⁰ He considered it important to establish a science of the arts of 'oriental' cultures within the framework of oriental studies as a separate discipline, and also within the journal *Nový Orient*, where disputes ensued concerning the 'focus of the journal; pressure for the expansion of the political-propaganda function of the magazine; professional disputes [...]'.⁵¹

Among other things, Hájek based his argument upon the programme of state cultural policy, interlaced with the rhetoric of the time:

[Art history, author's note] is a question of support for the liberation struggles of colonised nations and support for the emancipation of the nations of the East. However, the strongest argument in favour of the establishment of such an institution was the founding of the People's Republic of China, which has become one of the most important pillars in the peaceful bloc of people's democracies.⁵²

Another no less important and practical reason for the establishment of a new Department of Oriental Art at the NGP was the fact that the ministry had legitimised the concept of concentrating artworks of Asian provenance from private collections of confiscated property estates within the NGP.⁵³ In fact, a series of confiscated artworks were also transferred to other museum institutions, including the Náprstek Museum and the Museum of Decorative Arts.

In addition to the organised transports, another auspicious factor was the successful purchase of works from prestigious private collections dating from the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic, connected in particular with the names of Joe Hloucha, Josef Martínek and Vojtěch Chytil,⁵⁴ all of whom were members of the Oriental Institute.⁵⁵ Hloucha also became a member of the advisory group for the collecting activity of the newly established Department of Oriental Art, which was headed by Lubor Hájek. A no less fundamental task was that of establishing an academic discipline for the study of collections of Asian art, supported not only by orientalists but also by the community of art historians.

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL WITHIN A COMPLICATED NETWORK OF CULTURAL POLITICS

The starting point for an objective evaluation of the intentions of political power and actual practice is de facto the individual strategy of a historian in response to the commands of the ruling power.⁵⁶ Hájek's primary task in his capacity as the head of the Department of Oriental Art, designated by ministerial decree, consisted in compiling an inventory of the oriental artistic monuments deposited in its warehouses.⁵⁷ These were mostly located in the North Bohemian châteaux of Sychrov, Hrubý Rohozec and Mnichovo Hradiště, and in Moravia in the châteaux of Lednice, Buchlovice, Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou and Vranov. During the years 1952–1953 he therefore compiled an inventory of approximately 6,000 items, of which he earmarked approximately 500 artistic objects for transfer to the collection in the NGP. In the following years, certain sets of Asian art were also transferred from collections of museums and institutions, including the Oriental Institute, Prague Castle, Charles University, and the North Bohemian Museum in Liberec.⁵⁸

It was a certain paradox that the planned programme of permanently exhibiting the amassed artistic monuments of Asian provenance could not be implemented primarily due to insufficient financial resources. The planned exhibition of Chinese art at the Troja château, which was intended to demonstrate the ideological



Figure 6. Photo from the installation of *Chinese Art*, Kinský Palace, June 1954–February 1955. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, Documentation of the NGP exhibitions (1945–1958), inv. no. 183. Photograph © National Gallery in Prague 2023.

propaganda of cultural relations with China, ultimately had to be installed within the framework of the temporary exhibition of Chinese art at the Kinský Palace in 1954 (fig. 6). On the occasion of the exhibition opening, Hájek formulated the objectives of the Department of Oriental Art at the NGP within the official rhetoric of the cultural-political propaganda – ‘to provide access to the artistic wealth of the great cultures of Asia, above all the culture of our brother nation China, and to intensify friendly bonds with the nations of the East’⁵⁹ – though without any tangible result in the form of a permanent display of the Asian art collection.

The NGP also collaborated on exhibitions held by other institutions, headed by the Náprstek Museum in Prague. In the autumn of 1955, the museum prepared the exhibition *Unknown Tibet*, which aimed to present a unique collection of photographic images and film documenting the construction of the mountain highway to Tibet, obtained by two members of the army film crew, director Vladimír Sís and cameraman Josef Vaniš,⁶⁰ who in 1954 were the first travellers from Europe to go there after the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950. At the same time, the exhibition aimed to present the ‘first overview of all the available Tibetan material in our country,’⁶¹ with the organisers applying for loans both from the museum and from private collectors, for example from the art historian Václav Vilém Štech (1885–1974) (fig. 7). Štech became a source of professional support for Hájek, not only for new acquisitions as a member of the purchasing commission at the NGP, but also for the promotion of Asian art in publications (see below). In addition to the traditional art of Tibet and photographic material from Sís and Vaniš, the exhibition also provided space for the media promotion of official political-economic interests: both the technical accomplishments of the Chinese project for the construction of the Sichuan-Tibet Highway from Xikang to Lhasa and the Czechoslovak motorcycle Jawa, manufactured by the Motokov company.⁶²

Even Czechoslovak Communist Party voices occasionally noted the apparent deviation from the original conception of the NGP exhibition of oriental art. On the occasion of the congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956, for example, attention was drawn to the significance of Chinese culture, with a call for art historians to focus greater attention on the study and interpretation of the artistic values of artworks from the oriental world, including the provision of access to the collection of oriental artefacts



Figure 7. *Tsongkhapa*, Tibet, 2nd half of the 19th century. Colours and gold on canvas, 63.5 × 43 cm. Originally V. V. Štech's collection, now the National Gallery in Prague, inv. no. Vm 6023. Photograph © National Gallery in Prague 2023. [See plate 8, p. 247]

located here.⁶³ Of course, this rhetoric at the same time provided a background also for dramatically presented propaganda of the socialist Eastern bloc, directed against the colonialism of the Western superpowers:

It is truly breathtaking when one considers that a country which only a few years ago liberated itself from the yoke of the colonisers, this enormous state – the largest in the world in terms of its population – is already sending forth such spiritual powers that shine as a beacon, illuminating the pathway to the future for all the oppressed nations of Asia and Africa. [...] And one cannot even imagine what wealth of wisdom and culture the other nations of Asia and Africa shall send forth once they liberate themselves from colonial oppression and embark upon a similar path. [...] The history of art and scientific aesthetics are finding ever deeper connections between the cultures of Europe and Asia. [...] And if Marxism-Leninism is the culmination of all European culture, the roots of which reach back to antiquity, then antiquity shows us its connections with the Orient.⁶⁴

Hájek, nevertheless, made use of this polemic in order to draw attention once again to the programme of the Department of Oriental Art. In 1957, in the pages of *Nový Orient* magazine, he referenced earlier art historical studies on the significance of the art of Asian cultures (especially the Middle East),⁶⁵ but concentrated the main focus on the stagnant state and the passive approach of the ministry in addressing the situation concerning providing access to the collection in a permanent exhibition.⁶⁶

Today the situation is such that the Oriental Department of the National Gallery has two professionals, one office, an insufficient depository on the outskirts of Prague, no exhibition halls and several thousand exhibits in its collection, which though fragmentary, in terms of its quality form a quite solid foundation.⁶⁷

Moreover, the department was struggling with understaffing in combination with a rapid increase in publication and exhibition responsibilities. As Hájek commented,

If only a few years ago this mostly concerned events inspired by the official cultural policy, we can now observe how interest in oriental art is spreading to all strata of society, and that the tasks assigned to the Oriental Department of the National Gallery are spontaneously growing out of this new soil.⁶⁸

THE PROMOTION OF ASIAN ART

From the second half of the 1950s, Hájek therefore organised not only exhibitions of Chinese art, which acquiesced to the official propagandistic programme, but also exhibitions focused on other Asian countries, which were held in the NGP or within the limits of institutional co-operation.⁶⁹ For example, these included the exhibition *Hokusai and His School* in the hall of the Purkyně Association of Artists in Prague,⁷⁰ in which he welcomed collaboration with the First Czechoslovak Republic collector Joe Hloucha, who loaned works from his collection to the exhibition.⁷¹ Hloucha, who, among other roles, served on the purchasing commission of the Department of Oriental Art, then published a volume on Hokusai in English via the Artia publisher, which specialised in foreign distribution.⁷² In 1960, Hájek organised another exhibition on Hokusai, this time within the premises of the Kinský Palace.⁷³ Concurrently, he prepared the exhibition *Indian Sculpture* (featuring artistic photographs and small sculptures) in 1955, and *Classic and Contemporary Indian Fine Art* at the turn of 1956, by which he de facto opened a platform for contemporary artists from India (see also the articles by Z. Klimtová and S. Wille in this publication). Hájek organised the first of the monographic exhibitions of contemporary artists on Slovanský Island in Prague in July 1955, presenting the work of the Indian painter Ram Kumar (1924–2018).⁷⁴

Hájek realised that any lasting art historical interest in Asian art would require the engagement not only of art historians and collectors, but also artists,⁷⁵ whom he endeavoured to engage in publishing and exhibiting activities. He was aware that the standard of expertise was not everything. His interest lay in applying the Panofsky iconological method in order to evaluate the significance and original context of an artwork, and to identify the correlations between a work and its social context. Although he attended lectures in art history and classical archaeology at Charles University with professors Oldřich Blažíček (Proseminar of Art History), Jaroslav Pešina (Byzantine Art), Antonín Matějček (Art History seminar), Jindřich Čadík (Greek Art) and Bedřich Svoboda (Classical Archaeology proseminar),⁷⁶ Hájek approached the formulation of an art historical methodology rather unsystematically, and as a result his analyses frequently create a fragmentary impression as a certain ‘antithesis of a scientific history of art’.⁷⁷ A certain role-model for Hájek in a methodological approach was the art historian Václav Vilém Štech, who during the inter-war period held a position in the cultural department of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment (MŠANO), in charge of the cultural agenda, and later from the 1930s as a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague. In his emphasis on the intuitive experience and perception of a work of art, Štech succeeded not only in providing an erudite analysis of the work, but also in identifying its purpose and aesthetic function. He also approached Asian art, with which he was less familiar, in this manner.

In the second half of the 1950s, Hájek edited the two-volume publication *Umění čtyř světadílů z českých sbírek mimoevropského umění* (The Art of Four Continents

from Czech Collections of Non-European Art) for the foreign distribution of the Artia publisher,⁷⁸ which was published in several foreign languages: German,⁷⁹ French,⁸⁰ English,⁸¹ Italian,⁸² Spanish⁸³ and Finnish.⁸⁴ In addition to Štech, who wrote the introductory text, Hájek invited a number of other collaborators to work on the publication, including not only orientalists but also artists such as the photographers Werner and Bedřich Forman, Norberd Frýd, the writers and collectors Joe Hloucha and Adolf Hoffmeister, the scholar of Indonesia Miroslav Oplít, the ethnographer of South American Indian tribes Václav Šolc, and the Egyptologist professor Zbyněk Žába. Hájek's ability to present themes and exhibitions of Asian art to a wider audience was not limited to the journal *Nový Orient* and its later English version *New Orient Bimonthly* (1960–1968), targeted at foreign readers. He found a publication platform also in the academic periodicals *Výtvarné umění*, *Tvorba* (journal for criticism and art), and even in the pages of the army magazine *Československý voják*.⁸⁵ He opened the weekly *Kultura* in 1959 in a special appendix devoted to the cultural-political theme of the cultures of the East.⁸⁶ Under the influence of the critical stance of the socialist bloc towards colonial domination in Asia and Africa, the term Orient represented the colonial expansion of the Western capitalist powers, and now appeared outdated.⁸⁷ The aim was therefore to arrive at a new conception of this theme in a debate with experts from the cultural sphere, expressing it through the question *Does 'oriental culture' exist?*⁸⁸ The debate among orientalists, art historians, and artists ultimately reached a consensus that the term 'oriental culture' was a vague and meaningless construct (Lubor Hájek, the architect Václav Hlinský, the art historian and director of the Collection of Modern Art at the NGP Jan Marius Tomeš). The Indologist Dušan Zbavitel contemplated the meaning of the word 'oriental' from the perspective of its use which automatically evokes the meaning of 'foreign', thus something far removed from our comprehension and taste: 'Instead of common traits and features we emphasise peculiarities and differences, [...] we should not take the word oriental in a qualifying sense, as a synonym for remoteness and foreignness.'⁸⁹

And Adolf Hoffmeister added that the expression 'oriental culture' was also problematic, because it does not express cultural diversity.

It was therefore a certain paradox that the term 'oriental' persisted in the official title of the collection department throughout Hájek's entire tenure as head of the Collection of Oriental Art.

THE TRAGIC CHAPTER OF THE 1960S

In addition to a relaxation of social relations, the 1960s also finally brought the possibility of displaying Asian collections in a permanent exhibition. After ten years of its existence in the NGP, in 1961 the collection department succeeded in opening the permanent exhibition *Masterpieces of Chinese Art* at the château in Benešov nad Ploučnicí.⁹⁰

A review of the exhibition was written by an equally respected figure from the community of Czech art historians, V. V. Štech (fig. 8), who expressed his aesthetic feelings and impressions of Chinese fine art:

In every piece, the style resonates as an intensive relationship to work, an inner respect for the world and for life. The paintings are the product of long observation and a sum of experiences. [...] Small, everyday life is linked together with a fantasy of monsters, dragons and celestial guardians perched on rooftops, [...] We feel that this great work has grown out of a different concept of time than that which has governed Western art. Statues of the Buddha exist and operate outside of time. Through their silence, they comment on our restlessness and haste.⁹¹

Hájek conceived the installation in co-operation with Czech artists as a specific *Gesamtkunstwerk*. For the architectural design he invited collaboration from the artist Květa Horáková (1927–1981), who accentuated the economy of the installation with the aid of lightweight glass display cases and separately placed exhibits, which appeared to be levitating on metal rods (fig. 9). The author of the design of the promotional graphic prints was the artist Václav Rykr (1927–1991). Hájek was



Figure 8. Václav Vilem Štech at the storage of the chateau in Benešov and Ploučnic on 19 August 1960. Archive of Masaryk Institute and Archive of Czech Academy of Sciences, fonds: V. V. Štech. Photograph © Archive of Masaryk Institute and Archive of Czech Academy of Sciences.



Figure 9. Photo from the installation of *Masterpieces of Chinese Art*, the château in Benešov nad Ploučnicí, 1961–1969. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, Documentation of the NGP exhibitions (1959–1964), inv. no. 165. Photograph © National Gallery in Prague 2023.

suitably proud of this artistically conceived installation, which he also declared in *New Orient Bimonthly*:

The conception underlying the exhibition is not to crowd the area and not to weigh down the installation furniture. Thus they succeeded in utilising the artistic qualities of the space itself, to the same degree as the Chinese exhibits. [...] Pursuing the aesthetic aspect rather than the didactic approach (which is traditionally used in museums) brought good result. The visitor does not mind that the beauty of the European Renaissance construction speaks to him along with the beauty of the ancient relics of Chinese art; their combination seems to enhance aesthetic receptivity and create an unexpected harmony.⁹²

This exhibition was meant to be followed by an additional installation of Asian art in the upper château, which unfortunately was never realised. On 19 December 1969 a fire at the château destroyed more than 2,000 artistic objects,⁹³ marking a culmination of the national tragedy following the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The subsequent period of stagnation was foreshadowed also by the announcement of the discontinuation of the *New Orient Bimonthly*:

Due to the generally known tragic events in our country, beginning with August 21st 1968, the regular publication of our international journal has become impossible. In this situation, the editorial board has decided to discontinue the production of *New Orient* Bimonthly immediately. We hope that our friends all over the world will understand.⁹⁴

Hájek's interdisciplinary interest in the art of Asian cultures was founded upon a need to understand artistic expressions within a horizontal perspective, i.e. to conceive of the history of art from a global as well as contemporary perspective. His relationship towards the contemporary art world both in this country and abroad, which he developed both through publications and exhibitions, remained his motto throughout his subsequent years at the NGP.

NOTES

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1. On the relationship of the academic history of art and institutional practice in post-war Czechoslovakia see, e.g., Lucie Storchová et al., *Koncepty a dějiny: proměny pojmů v současné historické vědě* (Prague: Scriptorium, 2014), Milena Bartlová, *Dějiny českých dějin umění 1945-1969: dějiny umění slouží vědě o člověku* (Prague: UMPRUM, 2020).
 2. Today's Collection of Asian Art. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: National Gallery (1945–1958), Collection of the Oriental Department, Ministry of Education, Science and Art Decree of 16 November 1951 on the Establishment of the Oriental Department at the National Gallery in Prague, ref. no. 142.477/51-V/2.
 3. The museum was originally established as the Czech Industrial Museum in Prague in 1874. Today it bears the title of the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures of the National Museum in Prague.
 4. Museum für angewandte Kunst (Museum of Applied Arts).
 5. Today, the museum is a part of the Moravian Gallery in Brno.
 6. As early as 1880, the museum obtained Chinese porcelains as a donation from Vojtěch Lanna, and in 1885, it made substantial acquisitions of Chinese and Japanese art of all types. See Emanuel Poche, 'Sbírkyně umělecké výroby orientální', in *Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, k 70. výročí založení ústavu*, (Prague: Čedok Publishing House, 1955), 255–282.
 7. The period of the 'First Czechoslovak Republic' refers to the inter-war period of the independent Czechoslovak state (1918–1938) before its occupation by Nazi Germany. The president during this period was Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937).
 8. For more on this topic, see Adéla Jünová Macková and Libor Jün, eds., *Czechoslovakia in the Orient: The Orient in Czechoslovakia 1918–1938* (Prague: Masaryk Institute and Archive, Czech Academy of Sciences, 2022).
 9. For more on the subject of non-colonial colonialism in relation to the Czech Lands, see Sarah Lemmen, 'Noncolonial Orientalism? Czech Travel Writing on Africa and Asia around 1918,' in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: from Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. James R. Hodkinson, John Walker, Shaswati Mazumdar, Johannes Feichtinger (Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2013), 209–227; Markéta Křížová and Jitka Malečková, eds., *Central Europe and the Non-European World in the Long 19th Century* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2022) 25, 69.
 10. *Masarykův slovník naučný – lidová encyklopedie všeobecných vědomostí* (Prague: Československý Kompas, 1931), 394.
 11. In 1933, the Japanese Section was formed as part of the Oriental Institute (*Toyo kyokai nichu bunka kyokai* 東洋協会日致文化協会), Archive of Masaryk Institute and Archive of Czech Academy of Sciences, fonds: the Czechoslovak-Japanese Society, Japanese Section, Reports on Activities 1935–1938.

12. The Oriental Institute was founded in 1922 by the Law on the Oriental and Slavic Institute, Collection of Laws and Regulations, no. 27/1922 of 25 January 1922.
13. Alois Musil, 'Naše úkoly v orientalistice a v Orientě, *Naše doba* [Our Time] XXVII, (1920): 176–182, 270–281.
14. At the end of the First World War, Japan became an important destination for Czechoslovak legions returning from battles in eastern Russia via the Trans-Siberian route, where they could board ship to return to their homeland. For more on the subject, see, e.g., Susumu Nagayo, 'Pobyt Milana Rastislava Štefánika v Japonsku (Spring 1918)', *Historický časopis* [Historical Journal], Historický ústav SAV, No. 2, (1993): 161–170. The legionnaires' representation in Tokyo was established in November 1918, headed by the charge d'affaires Václav Němec. Official diplomatic relations commenced with the establishment of the Czechoslovak embassy in Tokyo on 12 January 1920, with its first ambassador Karel Pergler (in the years 1920–1921).
15. Gerolf Coudenhove-Kalergi (1896–1978) was the son of an Austrian diplomat and a Japanese mother, Mitsuko. Thanks to his language skills and legal education, he was employed as a secretary at the Japanese embassy in Prague, and during the war also as a lecturer in Japanese language at the German University and the Oriental Institute, where he founded the Japanese Section (1933).
16. The exhibition with 1,220 Asian and African items from Hloucha's collection was held from 22 November 1929 till 16 February 1930. *Výstava mimoevropského umění a uměleckého průmyslu* [The Exhibition of Art and the Art Industry from Outside Europe] (1929), (exh. cat).
17. Joe Hloucha (1881–1952) found fame especially as an author of literary Japonaiserie, of which his debut *Sakura ve víchřici* [Sakura in the Tempest], written in 1905, brought him unprecedented acclaim and the resources for his first journey to Japan.
18. 'Československý export si musí najít cestu na Východ. Zahájení Hlouchovy výstavy mimoevropského umění' [Czechoslovak Exports Must Find a Path to the East. Opening of Hloucha's Exhibition of Art and the Art Industry from Outside Europe], *České slovo*, 24 November 1929. All the quotations in the text were translated from the Czech original.
19. Most of the artefacts from Africa were sold to foreign private and museum collections. Regarding the auction in Berlin, see the auction catalogue *Sammlung Joe Hloucha, Prag: Ostasien, Ozeanien, Afrika, japanische Graphik / Eingeleitet von L. Adam* [The Joe Hloucha Collection, Prague: East Asia, Oceania, Africa, Japanese Prints, with an introduction by L. Adam] (Berlin: Internationales Kunst- und Auktionshaus, 1930). For a review of the exhibition see e.g. *Pestrý týden*, 23 November 1929, 3; 30 November 1929, 5, and 7 December 1929, 7.
20. As many as 105 Japanese firms from the art export industry were presented. See, e.g., *Prager Presse*, 24 March 1930, 2.
21. 'It is now more than 30 years [1898, author's note] since I commenced my collecting activity, for the purpose of which I have embarked upon several grand and expensive study journeys to the most remote parts of the world, in which I of course focused mainly on the Japanese islands, which I visited several times for a longer period of time.' Letter from Joe Hloucha addressed to the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, October 1934, ar. Hloucha 2/5-1, Archive of Náprstek Museum.
22. The exhibition was opened on 22 November 1929.
23. Vincenc Kramář was a distinguished Czech historian and art theoretician, as well as an expert and collector, predominantly of cubist art.
24. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: Vincenc Kramář, confirmation from Joe Hloucha of the receipt of a cheque for 350,000 Czechoslovak crowns for eight works of art dated 27 April 1923.
25. Gesellschaft Patriotischer Kunstfreunde in Böhmen.
26. For further details on the provenance of the collections in the Museum Rietberg Zurich, see most recently Esther Tisa Francini and Sarah Csernay, eds., *Pathways of Art. How Objects Get to the Museum* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg and Verlag Scheidegger & Spiess AG, 2022).
27. Kramář's collection gained renown especially for its French art and Czech cubism. See, e.g., Alena Pomajzlová, 'Sbírka českého umění 19. a 20. století Vincence Kramáře' in *Od starých mistrů k Picassovi* (Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2000).
28. This probably concerned a publication by Karl With, *Bildwerke Ost- und Südasien aus der Sammlung Yi Yuan* (Basel: Schwabe, 1924).
29. 'Let me send you a catalogue of my collection of East Asian art as part of the same shipment. Some of the pieces are on loan in the East Asian Museum in Berlin, some are in my address above [in Ascona, Monte Verità, Switzerland], where I like to stay in the summer.' Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: Vincenc Kramář, Letter from Baron von der Heydt addressed to V. Kramář, dated 8 October 1928.
30. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: Vincenc Kramář, Letter from Hloucha dated 25 January 1930.
31. Ministerstvo školství a národní osvěty. The ministry was in charge of education and culture.

32. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: Vincenc Kramář, report from Dr V. Kramáře, *Deset let obrazárny*, manuscript, 23. 6. 1928; report to the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, ref. no. 621-28, 28.11.1928; letter to the minister concerning the insufficient state subsidy dated 14 February 1930.
33. The purchase of the collection was eventually implemented as late as in 1942 for an estimated price from 1931 of the amount of 1,512,000 Czechoslovak crowns, letter from Náprstek Museum of General Ethnography in Prague addressed to Joe Hloucha, Archive of the Náprstek Museum, fonds: ar. Hloucha 2/5-4.
34. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: Society of Patriotic Friends of Art, letter from Vincenc Kramář addressed to MŠANO: Czechoslovak State Picture Gallery – Old Chinese Art from the Hloucha collection, dated 8 May 1931.
35. Markéta Hánová, 'Origins of the Collection of Asian Art at the National Gallery in Prague', *Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague XXXI / 2021* (Prague: The National Gallery in Prague, 2021), 110-143.
36. Josef Martínek, 'Sběratelské zkušenosti', *Světovzor – světová kronika současná slovem a obrazem. Časopis pro zábavu i poučení*, XXXII, no. 13, 31 December 1931, 211.
37. Josef Martínek, 'Sběratelské zkušenosti', *Světovzor – světová kronika současná slovem a obrazem. Časopis pro zábavu i poučení*, XXXII, no. 13, 31 December 1931, 211.
38. The exhibition was held from 16 March to 1 May 1930. *Výstava starého čínského umění: kolekce J. Martínka (The Exhibition of Old Chinese Art: The Collection of J. Martínek)*, exhibition catalogue, Trade Fair Palace in Prague VII, Prague 1930.
39. Thanks to a sponsor's donation from the banking house Petschek & spol., the Gutmann brothers and Jindřich Waldes, he purchased eight Chinese paintings and two sculptures. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: the Society of Patriotic Friends of Art, letter no. 278 dated 13 May 1930.
40. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: the Society of Patriotic Friends of Art, letter from Vincenc Kramář to the directorate of Živnostenská banka dated 21 July 1930, no. 531.
41. This concerned 22 Chinese paintings which were brought to the NGP from the collections of Prague Castle in 1953.
42. The exhibition was held from 25 February till 10 April 1943.
43. Hánová 2019, 107–111.
44. 'Výstava Umění a umělecký průmysl v Japonsku', *Umění [Art] An.* 15, no. 1-2 (1943): 73–74.
45. See 'Výstava japonského umění a průmyslu. Obraz duševních sil velkého národa', *Lidové noviny*, 27 February 1943. The quotation was translated from the Czech original.
46. For further details, see Kristina Kaplanová, *Archivní fond: Národní kulturní komise (1917–1954) – inventář* (Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences, electronic document, Prague 2001).
47. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: National Gallery (1945–1958), Collection of Oriental Department, Lubor Hájek, concept No. 930/54 addressed to the Ministry of Culture.
48. Lubor Hájek, 'K organizaci a studiu orientálního umění', *Nový Orient [The New Orient]* XII, no. 2 (1957): 17.
49. Hájek was employed by Oriental Institute as editor of *Nový Orient* from 1 July 1945. Archive of the Masaryk Institute and Archive of Czech Academy of Sciences, fonds: Oriental Institute.
50. The first issue was published on 15 October 1945. 'Kdo a kdy navrhl založení Nového Orientu?', *Nový Orient [The New Orient]* L, no. 5 (1995): 199.
51. 'Nový Orient před 25 lety (Beseda se zakládajícími členy redakce NO: dr. Luborem Hájkem, Cs., dr. Zdeňkem Hrdličkou a dr. Miloslavem Krásou)', *Nový Orient [The New Orient]*, no. 5 (1970): 130.
52. Hájek, Concept, report for the Ministry of Culture, ref. no. 930/54, 1954, Archive of NGP, fonds: Collection of Asian art. Hájek published the content of the concept in the article 'K organizaci a studiu orientálního umění', *Nový Orient [The New Orient]* XII, no. 2 (1957): 17-18.
53. Markéta Hánová, 'The Collection of Asian Art in the National Gallery in Prague: The Concept of Generosity in the Development of the Japanese Art Collection and in the Iconography of Japanese Buddhism' in *Generosity: The Art of Giving: White Rabbit – the Companion*, eds. Adam Budak, Michaela Pejšochová (Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2016), 66–71.
54. For more on Chytil's role in collecting Chinese art, see Michaela Pejšochová's contribution to this volume.
55. Hloucha was appointed an executive member of the cultural department in 1934, Martínek became an executive member of the economic department in 1932, and Chytil was appointed an executive member of the cultural department in 1929. *Věstník Orientálního ústavu v Praze za desetiletí 1828–1938*, Prague 1938, Archive of Masaryk Institute and Archive of Czech Academy of Sciences, fonds: Oriental Institute.
56. For further details on the academic regime in post-war Czechoslovakia, see Jakub Jareš et al., *Mezi konkurencí a spoluprací: Univerzita Karlova a Československá akademie věd 1945–1969* (Prague: Charles University, Karolinum Press, 2018).

57. Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, fonds: National Gallery (1945–1958), Collection of Oriental Department, decree of MŠVU ref. no. 67570/52–VIII/7 dated 21 July 1952.
58. Hánová 2016, see note 53.
59. Lubor Hájek, 'K instalaci čínské výstavy' ['On the Installation of a Chinese Exhibition'], *Výtvarná práce* [Visual Artwork] II, no. 1 (2 July 1954): 10.
60. Vladimír Sís (1925–2001) and Josef Vaniš (1927–2009).
61. See letter addressed to Dr V. V. Štech by the Náprstek Museum dated 15 October 1955, ref. no. 676/1955, Archive of Masaryk Institute and Archive of Czech Academy of Sciences, fonds: V. V. Štech. Today only two Buddhist paintings from Tibet and Mongolia – *thangkas* – have been preserved from his collection in the NGP (inventory nos. Vm 6022, Vm 6023), which was purchased by the NGP in 1987 from Štech's niece Jana Farková.
62. *Cesta do Tibetu. Přímým přenosem z Náprstkova musea*, reportage by Czechoslovak Television, directed by Svatopluk Studený, October 2, 1956, see Československý rozhlas a televize, no. 40, 1 October 1956.
63. Václav Pekárek, 'Čínská kultura', *Literární noviny, Týdeník pro kulturně politické a umělecké otázky*, no. 41 (1956), 1–2.
64. Václav Pekárek, 'Čínská kultura', *Literární noviny, Týdeník pro kulturně politické a umělecké otázky*, no. 41 (1956): 1. The quotation was translated from the Czech original.
65. Miroslav Tyrš, *O významu studia dějin starého umění orientálního* (1883) and Otakar Hostinský, *O pokroku v umění* (1894).
66. Lubor Hájek, 'K organizaci a studiu orientálního umění', *Nový Orient* [The New Orient] XII, no. 2 (1957): 17–18.
67. Lubor Hájek, 'K organizaci a studiu orientálního umění', *Nový Orient* [The New Orient] XII, no. 2 (1957): 17. The quotation was translated from the Czech original.
68. Lubor Hájek, 'K organizaci a studiu orientálního umění', *Nový Orient* [The New Orient] XII, no. 2 (1957): 17. The quotation was translated from the Czech original.
69. Helena Obrová, ed., *Inventory of exhibitions 1945–1985* (Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 1989).
70. *Hokusai a jeho žáci*, exhibition catalogue (Prague: Purkyně Association of Artists, 1954). The exhibition was held from 22 September to 14 November 1954 in the exhibition hall Salon výtvarné dílo – S. V. Purkyně in Prague.
71. In 1949, Hloucha published the first Czech written monograph on Hokusai, which he accompanied with reproductions of works from his collection.
72. Joe Hloucha, *Hokusai: The Man Mad-on-Drawing* (Prague: Artia, 1955).
73. Markéta Hánová, *Japanese Woodblock Prints and Collectors in the Czech Lands* (Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2019), 209.
74. 'Indický malíř Rám Kumár', *Svobodné slovo*, 28 July 1955.
75. Jiří Roubík and Emil Filla, 'Mluvili jsme s Emilem Fillou o orientálním umění', *Nový Orient* [The New Orient] no. 2 (1945–1946): 7–8.
76. Letter from Hájek addressed to Director Lesný asking him for permission to attend lectures as an Oriental Institute employee, dated 22 March 1950, Archive of Masaryk Institute and Archive of Czech Academy of Sciences, fonds: Oriental Institute.
77. Hájek graduated from the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague, specialising in Indology and Comparative Religious Studies. Ladislav Kesner, ed., *Lubor Hájek: Západ slunce na moři* (Prague: H&H Vyšehradská, s. r. o. and National Gallery in Prague, 2009), 22–26.
78. Stanislava Mouchová, *Bücherverzeichnis 1953–1966*, *Artia Verlag Prag* (Prague: Artia, 1968), 56–59, 68, 91–93.
79. *Kunst ferner Länder. Ägypten – Afrika – Amerika – Ozeanien – Indonesien* (Prag: Artia Verlag 1956, 1958), *Kunst ferner Länder. Vorderasien – Indien – Tibet – China – Japan – Tschuktschen* (Halbinsel, 1957, 1959).
80. *L'Art des pays lointains. Egypte – Afrique – Amérique – Océanie – Indonésie*, 1956, 1959. *L'Art des pays lointains. Asie antérieure – Inde – Indochine – Tibet – China – Japon – Tchouktsches*, 1957, 1959.
81. *Exotic Art. Egypt – Africa – America – Oceania – Indonesia*, Spring Books, London 1956, 1958. *Art of Far Lands* (London: Spring Books, 1957).
82. *L'Arte dei paesi lontani, Egitto – Africa – Oceania – Indonesia*, 1958. *L'Arte dei paesi lontani. Asia anteriore – India – Indocina – Tibet – Cina – Giappone – Ciukci*, 1959.
83. *El arte de los antiguos y de los primitivos. Egipto – Africa – América – Oceania – Indonesia* (Mexico: Editorial Hermes) 1963. *El arte de los antiguos y de los primitivos. Asia anterior – India – Indochina – Tibet – China – Japón – los Tchuktsches* (Mexico: Editorial Hermes), 1963.
84. *Kaukomaiden taidetta. Egypti – Afrika – Amerikka – Oseania – Indonesia*, Werner Söderström (Helsinki, 1960). *Kaukomaiden taidetta. Etu-Aasia – Intia – Tiibetti – Kiina – Japani – Tšuktsien niemimaa* (Helsinki: Werner Söderström), 1959.
85. L. Hájek, 'Stařec posedlý malováním', *Československý voják*, IX, no. 21, 1960: 25.

86. *Kultura*. Týdeník pro otázky kultury a umění, III, no. 42, 22 October 1959.
87. Jaroslav Průšek, 'Orient, orientalistika a poznání východních zemí', *Kultura. Týdeník pro otázky kultury a umění*, no. 42 (1959): 3.
88. 'Existuje orientální kultura?' *Kultura*, no. 42 (1959): 4-5.
89. 'Existuje orientální kultura?' *Kultura*, no. 42 (1959): 5. The quotation was translated from the Czech original.
90. Hánová 2021, see note 35.
91. V. V. Štech, 'Výtvarné skvosty do pohraničí', *Literární noviny, Týdeník pro kulturně politické a umělecké otázky*, no. 22 (1961): 6. The quotation was translated from the Czech original.
92. Lubor Hájek, 'Chinese Art in a Renaissance Castle', *New Orient Bimonthly. Journal for the Modern and Ancient Cultures of Asia and Africa*, Vol. 2, no. 5 (October 1961): 152. See also 'Czech Castle – Chinese Art', *Oriental Art*, Vol. IX, no. 4 (Winter 1963): 216.
93. Hánová 2021, see note 35.
94. Dušan Zbavitel, ed., *New Orient Bimonthly*, Vol. 7, no. 5 (October 1968): 160.

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