

Josef Sudek: TOPOGRAFIE SUTIN The Topography of Ruins

Katarína Mašterová (ed.)

artefactum

Praha, 2018

Praha se změnila v město
přízraků.

Prague turned into a city of ghosts.

(Ladislav Mikeš Pařízek, 1945)

**Obsah
Content**

6	Úvodem
189	Introduction Katarína Mašterová
15	Obrazový katalog Illustrations
119	Texty
191	Essays
120	Praha krvácející, Praha osvobozená. Historické pozadí vzniku souboru Josefa Sudka
191	Prague – Blood and Liberation. The Historical Background of Sudek’s 1945 Series of Photographs Adam Havlík
128	Reportáž o zničeném městě. Sudkova „Zbořená Praha“ 1945
194	A Reportage about a City Ravaged by War. Sudek’s “Ruined Prague,” 1945 Mariana Kubištová
140	Sudek v troskách. Ruiny, chaos a fragment
198	Sudek Amidst the Rubble. Ruins, Chaos and Fragment Vojtěch Lahoda
150	Uvnitř „šoku zkušenosti“. Sudkovy afektivní krajiny války
200	Inhabiting the “Shock of Experience.” Josef Sudek’s Affective Landscapes of War Amy Hughes
162	Paradoxně krásná. Praha v archivech fotografií války
204	Paradoxically Beautiful. Prague in the Archives of War Photography Katarína Mašterová
178	Josef Sudek (1896–1976)
213	
180	Seznam reprodukcí
214	List of Illustrations
184	Autoři
217	Authors
186	Poděkování
218	Acknowledgements

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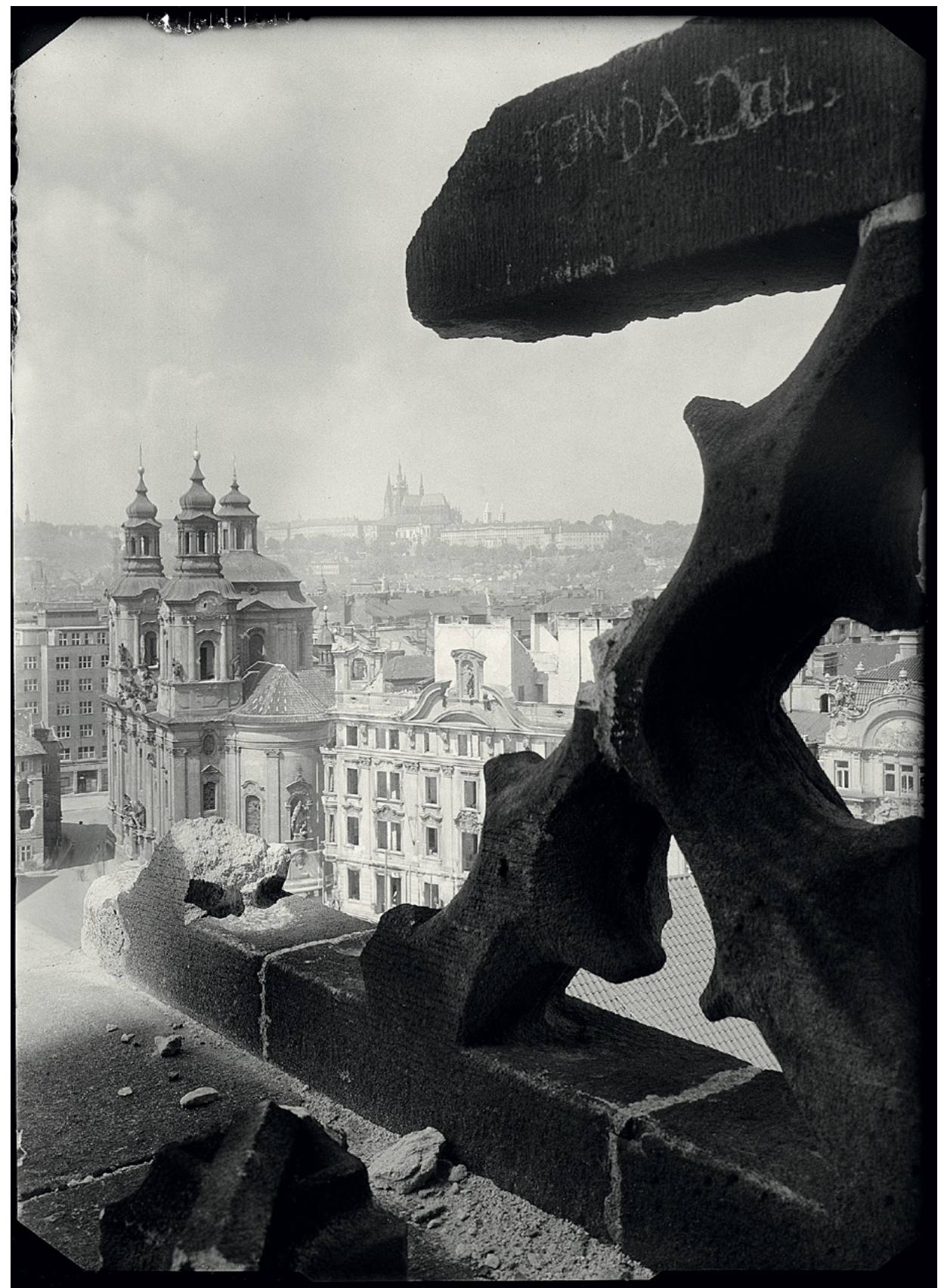
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Pražský nakladatel Václav Poláček vydal po skončení druhé světové války tiskem nepříliš kvalitní týdenní *Pražský kalendář 1946* s podtitulem *Kulturní ztráty Prahy 1939–1945*. Ilustrovalo jej 53 celostránkových reprodukcí snímků Josefa Sudka a doprovodil text historika umění Zdeňka Wirtha. Sudkovy fotografie, reprodukovány z předtiskových pozitivů velikosti 18 × 24 cm, jsou v kalendáři řazeny bez zjevné významové či chronologické posloupnosti. Vedle snímků z obsáhlejších tematických skupin souboru – Emauzského kláštera, skladiště soch na Maninách či Staroměstského náměstí a radnice – obsahuje kalendář také fotografie, které zachycují různá válečná opatření. Jedná se například o preventivní obezdění, která měla chránit památky před leteckými útoky a jejich následky, či protipožární nádrže, které vznikaly na mnoha pražských veřejných prostranstvích pro případ nutnosti uhasit požár.

After the end of the Second World War, Václav Poláček's Prague Publishers published the *1946 Prague Calendar* with the subtitle *Prague's Lost Cultural Heritage 1939–1945*. This weekly calendar, illustrated with 53 full-page reproductions of photographs by Josef Sudek with an accompanying text by art historian Zdeněk Wirth, was unfortunately printed at a less than satisfactory level of quality. In the calendar, Sudek's photographs, reproduced from 18 × 24 cm pre-press positives, are organized without any immediately apparent chronological or thematic order. Besides several photographs from more extensive thematic groups of images – Emmaus Monastery, the metals scrapyards at Maniny, or the Old Town Square and the Old Town Hall – the calendar also includes several photographs depicting wartime measures. These include protective walls built around the city's monuments to protect them against air raids, as well as the water reservoirs built in many public places around Prague for fire-fighting purposes.

KALENDÁŘ The Calendar



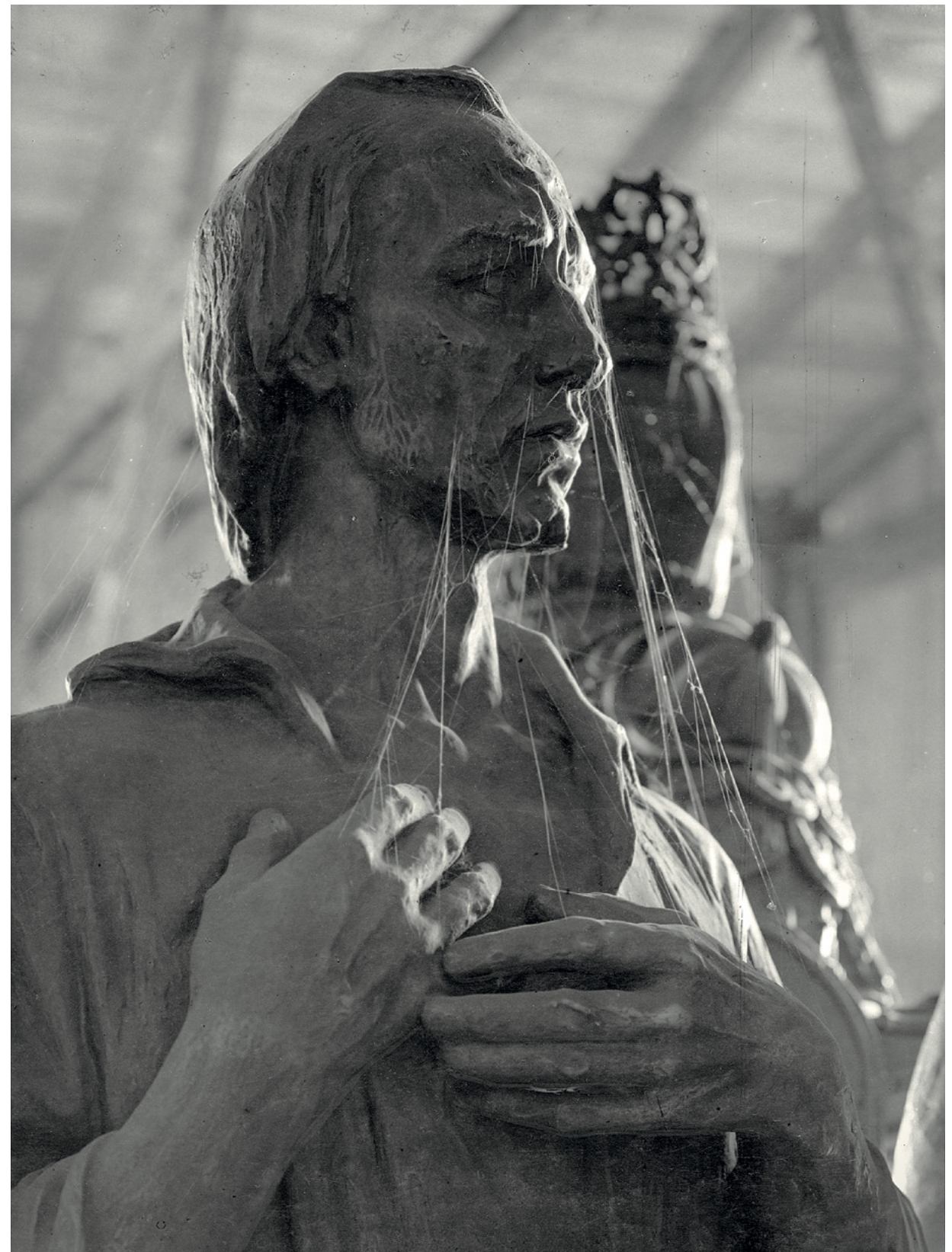
1. Pohled z ochozu severní věže Týnského chrámu na chrám sv. Mikuláše, 1945
View of St. Nicholas Church from the gallery of the north tower of Týn Church, 1945



3. „Domy St. Hainze a F. Kynzla na Staroměstském náměstí, poničené za bojů 5.–8. května 1945“, 1945
“Houses on the Old Town Square belonging to S. Hainz and F. Kynzl damaged during the fighting of 5–8 May 1945,” 1945



4. „Dům St. Hainze na Staroměstském náměstí poničený za bojů 5.–8. května 1945. Pohled do podloubí“, 1945
“House on the Old Town Square belonging to S. Hainz damaged during the fighting of 5–8 May 1945. View of arcades,” 1945



15. „Socha mistra Jana Husa od Ducháčkové ze Zemědělského musea v Praze, uložená ve skladišti kovů na Maninách“, 1945
“Ducháčková’s sculpture of Jan Hus from the Agricultural Museum in Prague, stored at the Maniny metals scrapyard,” 1945

Jedním z klíčových momentů Pražského povstání se staly boje o Staroměstskou radnici, v jejichž důsledku byla budova značně poškozena. Devastující požár 8. května 1945 zničil nejen novogotické křídlo radnice, které muselo být později strženo, ale také zde uložený cenný městský archiv; poničen byl částečně i orloj či gotický arkýř radnice. Sudkovu pozornost přitáhly některé detaily tohoto objektu, zejména velké okno historické budovy. V souboru těchto snímků si lze povšimnout průniků se Sudkovými proslulejšími fotografickými cykly, vznikajícími ve stejné době. Druhá světová válka znamenala v díle tohoto fotografa jistý přelom a obrat k intimnějším tématům, mezi něž patří například výhledy z okna jeho újezdského ateliéru.

A key moment of the Prague Uprising was the fighting around the Old Town Hall, as a result of which the building suffered serious damage. A devastating fire on 8 May 1945 destroyed not only the building's neo-Gothic wing (which later had to be demolished), but the valuable town archives as well. Also damaged were the astronomical clock and the building's Gothic oriel window. Sudek's attention was drawn to various details of the building, such as the great window of the historical building. This set of photographs shows certain similarities with Sudek's more famous photographic series created at the same time. The Second World War represented a turning point in Sudek's work and a turn to more intimate subjects such as his views from the window of his studio on Újezd Street.

STAROMĚSTSKÁ RADNICE

The Old Town Hall



62. „Pohled s ochozu Týnské věže k Staroměstské radnici zničené za bojů 5. května 1945“, 1945
“The Old Town Hall damaged during the fighting on 5 May 1945; view from the tower gallery at Týn Church,” 1945



68. Průhled novogotickým křídlem Staroměstské radnice na kříž z ohořelých trámů – dočasný památník za padlé, 1945
 Cross made of charred beams (provisional monument to the fallen), seen from the neo-Gothic wing of the Old Town Hall, 1945



69. Poškozený gotický arkýř Staroměstské radnice a čestná stráž u kříže padlým po skončení Pražského povstání, 1945
 Damaged Gothic oriel window of the Old Town Hall and honor guard by cross for the fallen after the Prague Uprising, 1945



70. Hlavní schodiště historické budovy Staroměstské radnice poničené za bojů Pražského povstání, 1945
Josef Sudek, Main staircase of the historic building of the Old Town Hall damaged during the Prague Uprising, 1945



71. Velké okno historické budovy Staroměstské radnice, 1945
Large window of the historical building of the Old Town Hall, 1945

Katarína Mašterová Introduction

“When there are photographs, a war becomes ‘real’,” writes Susan Sontag in her essay on war photography.¹ Photographs of Prague ravaged by war also help preserve the memory and serve as a reminder for future generations of the most destructive conflict in modern Czech history. Regardless of the original intention of these photographs, they have now become an invaluable historical resource. When looking at various photographs dating from the period of the Second World War or its immediate aftermath – journalist, documentary, scientific, advertisement, portraits, street scenes, or even still life images – one cannot avoid assessing them in the context of received ideas about the period atmosphere and the situation of the war. Ideological, moral or political connotations are implicitly encoded into our reading of such images.

The wartime and postwar topography of Prague as photographed by Josef Sudek presents a record of the condition of the city and its monuments, its inhabitants and their situation in 1945.² Several hundred large-format negatives taken with a sturdy camera does not represent an ordinary image of war. The technical devices of the 1940s had already made possible rapid-fire, dynamic reportage shots. Sudek, on the contrary, offers us static, impeccably composed photographic records that can be read on multiple levels. This is suggested already by the sporadic earlier references to individual images from the series,³ and further elaborated by the essays in the present book, by Adam Havlík, Amy Hughes, Mariana Kubištová, Vojtěch Lahoda and Katarína Mašterová. Although the catalogue offers several possible ways of looking at Sudek’s photographs, in terms of the exhibition we decided to present the collection above all as a form of historical topography. This is reflected also in the structure of the section of illustrations in the present catalogue, where the photographs are accompanied by short accompanying texts from the exhibition.⁴

The photographs viewed as an entirety reveal how systematically Sudek depicted the ruins of Prague buildings destroyed in the air raid of 14 February 1945 and during the attacks by the occupying forces during the Prague Uprising in May 1945, as well as the remnants of certain wartime measures (for example protective walls built around monuments, water reservoirs for extinguishing fires in city squares, a scrapyard of dismantled metal statues and bells). His topographic range was reflected already in the commission which may have presented an impulse for his embarking on this series of photographs – the illustrated calendar for the year 1946, accompanied by texts by the art historian and monument preservationist Zdeněk Wirth.⁵ Sudek’s “topography of ruins” refers to both the photographer’s movements through Prague, and his very personal, manifold and contemplative depiction of the individual buildings – particularly of

the Emmaus Monastery, which had been reduced to ruins.

Josef Sudek does not expose us to imagery of the horrors of war that we might flinch from – unlike for example the officially appointed documentarian Stanislav Maršál or reporters who photographed street scenes from the Prague Uprising.⁶ His testimony is moderate and even compassionate – with an absence of human bodies instead showing (particularly in his images of the Old Town Square) the return of life to the rubble, with the survivors looking on in grief and disbelief, rather than in horror. Sudek may have remembered a sense of new hope – he had survived the First World War, in which he lost an arm, and thus had already experienced postwar euphoria before (if indeed one may thus refer to the time he spent recovering in the Prague Invalidovna).⁷ His photographs can be read as testimony of the need for a new beginning, where one must first of all find acceptance and reflect on a sense of loss.

Many theorists and photographers pointed out in the 1940s that documentary photography, already popular at the time, functioned above all as a testimony of the photographer himself, being as such subjective in nature.⁸ Although Sudek was a commercial photographer (and in fact he approached the subject of war-torn Prague at least partly as a professional commission), his openly personal involvement, expressed in pausing to meditate upon certain locations, was a guarantee of the compelling aesthetic qualities of the series. Sudek’s keen personal interest is evident particularly in those cases where he photographed a scene repeatedly, not simply in a single shot. His personal love for the city, which throughout his life remained a subject matter he fondly revisited,⁹ adds a specific dimension to the collection of photographs. “Love for photography – love for one’s home,” reads one of the wartime essays of the photographer Jaromír Funke,¹⁰ Sudek’s friend and fellow native of the Central Bohemian town of Kolín, who in fact tragically perished as a consequence of war.¹¹ Together with Sudek and other photographers (e.g., Josef Ehm, Karel Plicka, or Jiří Jeníček) Funke, who was also a theorist and pedagogue, pursued the newly-relevant photographing of national landmarks. The patriotic commitment of documenting national heritage present in the 19th century photography received a new impetus as a result of the wartime threat to national identity.¹² These photographs gained crucial significance when the national heritage landmarks photographed for the purpose of preserving them for future memory in any situation of potential danger were in fact damaged or destroyed due to fighting. Sudek thus photographed some of the buildings twice: once while still standing, and then as ruins.

Historical topography as we know it from the early beginnings of the medium of photography simultaneously alludes to both its significance and character, often connected with historical imagination or memory. The practice of photography as an activity

constituting an aspect of history is analyzed for example by Elizabeth Edwards, within the context of a phenomenological perception of place, based on analyses of local photographic excursions. These do not reduce photography to an object or an image, instead seeing it as a process resulting from the physical experience of a concrete historic time and space by the photographer.¹³ If we eschew polemics regarding the objectivity or subjectivity of place as a tangible space, we can regard place as something which bears a specific experience, and its record we make (a visual record in the case of photography) can be seen as a source of both historical information and social meanings. One of the possible readings that Sudek’s series offers is connected with this renewed practice of national heritage photography, and is thus mnemonically constitutive. Whereas Sudek’s photographic excursions to photograph Prague during the Nazi Protectorate contain within them also the tension of potential destruction, and a sense of responsibility for preserving their current form in visual images (he photographed mainly St. Vitus Cathedral or Prague Castle), his postwar exploration of damage and loss releases this tension, transforming photography into a necessity – necessary both as evidence and “archeological” documentation, and also as a record of memory.¹⁴ In this sense, Sudek’s 1945 series as a whole, as well as the individual photographs themselves, represent a form of “memorial,” the outcome of a certain cultural and social process and the personal, physical experience of the photographer’s interaction with a specific place.

Although the number of Sudek’s photographs of Prague in 1945 presented at the exhibition is considerable (selected from the 367 negatives and 179 positives which comprise the series and which were available in the Czech collections), a comprehensive topographical method comparable with those used by photo-documentarists from heritage institutions¹⁵ is absent from the exhibition. The first section, entitled “The Calendar,” collects the results of the commission undertaken for the publisher Václav Poláček, showing the topographic range of the work – and thus serves as a sort of summary of Sudek’s movements around Prague.¹⁶ The remaining four chapters offer detailed analysis of the sites where Sudek stopped to contemplate with his camera: the Emmaus Monastery, the Protectorate-era scrapyard of metal sculptures and bells at Maniny, the historical city centre featuring the people of Prague – the “bereaved” of the war, and finally the Old Town Hall, the fire-ravaged icon of postwar Prague. This structure of the exhibition is reflected in the illustrated section of the present catalogue and corresponds with the fact that a comprehensive survey of the wartime losses suffered by Prague, or the wartime protective measures, as presented in “The Calendar,” does not make up the larger part of Sudek’s series. On the contrary, Sudek symptomatically paused in places that attracted him, where he would

then photograph repeatedly. They often attracted him with a beauty found only in the ravaged, in chaos and in rubble, is hardly surprising in the context of Sudek’s work. A similar enthralment can be seen in the way he photographed the decay and death of material objects in his still life images starting in the 1940s, made up of things found in his immediate surroundings.¹⁷

The second part of the catalogue is conceived as a collection of stand-alone essays intended to assist a multi-layered reading of Sudek’s series of 1945 photographs. In his introductory text, historian Adam Havlík provides a brief overview of the context of historical events in Prague in 1945, in order to help us understand the photographs and the situations in which they were created. Mariana Kubištová gives a comprehensive description of Sudek’s series and the artistic and historical context from which it emerged, as well as the subsequent life and uses of the individual images. In particular she details the commission of photographs for the calendar published by Václav Poláček. Vojtěch Lahoda analyzes the motif of the ruin, and in doing so he reveals the Surrealist aspect and subversive aesthetics of Sudek’s photographs. Amy Hughes offers an interpretation of Sudek’s images from the center of Prague, featuring its citizens looking on at the destruction of their city, in the context of the theory of affect. Finally, Katarína Mašterová presents a comparison of Sudek’s series with photographs of Prague in 1945 by other photographers and from other archives, suggesting four possible frameworks for reading them.

In spite of the absence of the depiction of action, Sudek’s images can be defined as war photography – they are emotive and poignant, and could be termed as paradoxically “beautiful.”¹⁸ They do not present a nostalgic lingering over the ruins of the past, but a record of actual war crimes, although these are sometime also the side effects of war (the bombing of Prague in February 1945 was caused by a navigation mistake).¹⁹ In our present time, where photographs of war are omnipresent, Sudek’s images are no longer shocking. The visual overload of our time has taught us “not to see” – rather than “not to look,” as Susan Sontag declared in 2003.²⁰ The emotional impact of these now historical images has changed as well – their psychological effect which acted so powerfully on the generation who lived through the war (in the Czech context see for example the writings of photographer Eugen Wiškovský),²¹ has now transformed itself into some form of numbed nostalgia or compassion. We no longer experience the same sense of imminent threat. But the more abstract that this sense of danger becomes in the present time (hacking attacks, information war, the threat of power blackout, nuclear arms industry, the ruthlessness shown by multinational corporations to cultural and natural heritage), the photography of the tangible consequences of past conflicts become all the more important, something to be remembered – as a memento that any potential new conflicts can also have unimaginable consequences.

Josef Sudek's contemplation of the traumatized state of the world in 1945, until now buried in the archives, offers hitherto unknown retrospective views on the condition of the urban landscape of Prague. These documentary photographs represent complex images that now open themselves to the gaze of the contemporary viewer. At a time of the relativization of cultural values, where (particularly in this country) it is above all greed on the part of developers that causes an irreversible loss of cultural heritage, Sudek's series invites us to contemplate not simply the destruction of material heritage, but also the values inherent to our society. The building blocks of historical monuments scattered in pieces – bricks, charred beams, skeletons of buildings laid bare, torsos of broken statues – speak to us through photography about lost spiritual and cultural content, in an appeal to reclaim it.

Translated by Barbora Štefanová and Keith Jones.

1. Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, Picador – Farrar – Straus and Giroux, New York, 2003, p. 104.
2. These photographs by Josef Sudek form part of the collections of the Photo Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, which houses 367 negatives and 6 positive prints from Sudek's series of Prague photographed in 1945, documenting the destruction suffered by the city in the Second World War. More original prints from these negatives also exist in other collections; for more detail see the essay by Mariana Kubištová in this catalogue.
3. Apart from a brief mention in Anna Fárová's book *Josef Sudek*, Torst, Praha, 1995, p. 95, these photographs are discussed only by Vojtěch Lahoda, "Seeing 'Around the Corner.' Josef Sudek and 'Uncanny' Photography?," *Centropa* IX, 2009, no. 1, pp. 55–68; Idem, "Praha po bombardování 1945" (Prague After the Bombing of 1945), in: Hana Rousová et al., *Konec avantgardy? Od mnichovské dohody ke komunistickému převratu* (The End of the Avant-Garde? From the Munich Agreement to the Communist Putsch; exhibition catalogue), Arbor vitae, Řevnice, 2011, pp. 122–123.
4. The illustrations in the present catalogue feature only a selection of photographs from the exhibition, and only those by Josef Sudek. Selected images by other photographers, also included in the exhibition, are featured next to the catalogue essays.

5. Josef Sudek – Zdeněk Wirth, *Pražský kalendář 1946. Kulturní ztráty Prahy 1939–1945* (1946 Prague Calendar. Prague's Lost Cultural Heritage 1939–1945), Pražské nakladatelství V. Poláčka, Praha, 1945.
6. See Jan B. Uhlíř, *Bomby na Prahu. Nálety z roku 1945 objektivem Stanislava Maršála* (Bombs upon Prague. The Air Raids of 1945 Photographed by Stanislav Maršál), Prostor, Praha, 2011; Václav Buben, ed., *Šest let okupace Prahy* (Prague: Six Years of Occupation), Osvětový odbor hlavního města Prahy, Praha, 1946.
7. For Sudek's detailed biography, see: Anna Fárová, *Josef Sudek*, Torst, Praha, 1995.
8. E.g., Josef Ehm, "Fotografie a její účel" (Photography and its Function), *Fotografický obzor*, issue 1, 1940, p. 1; cited from Tomáš Pospěch, ed., *Česká fotografie 1938–2000 v recenzích, textech, dokumentech* (Czech Photography 1938–2000 in Reviews, Texts and Documents), Dost, Hranice, 2010, pp. 27–28, with further reference to Jaromír Funke.
9. Sudek is often given the title "the poet of Prague," see for example: Anna Fárová, *Josef Sudek. Poet of Prague: A Photographer's Life*, Aperture, New York, 1990.
10. Jaromír Funke, "Fotografujeme domov" (Photographing Our Homeland), in: *Ročenka Česká fotografie 1940. Země česká, domov můj*, (Czech Photography Almanac 1940. Czech Lands – My Home), Politika, Praha, 1941; cited from: Pospěch, *Česká fotografie 1938–2000* (op. cit. 8), pp. 55–57, cit. p. 57.
11. As a result of the air raid alarm on 16 March 1945, Funke, who suffered from an acute inflammation, could not be operated on time. He died as a consequence; Antonín Dufek, *Jaromír Funke. Between Construction and Emotion*, Moravian Gallery – Kant, Brno – Praha, 2013, p. 191.
12. On wartime national heritage photography see Antonín Dufek, *Česká fotografie 1939–1958 ze sbírek Moravské galerie v Brně* (Czech Photography 1939–1958 from the collections of the Moravian Gallery in Brno, exhibition catalogue), Moravian Gallery, Brno, 1998, pp. 3–4; Pospěch, *Česká fotografie 1938–2000* (op. cit. 8), pp. 54–55 (commentary on Jaromír Funke's article "Fotografujeme domov" / Photographing Our Homeland).
13. "It is a process in which memory, or more precisely, perhaps the making of

intentional and unintentional historical statements reveals the processual nature of photographs and memory making through the experience of photographic practices themselves." Elizabeth Edwards, "Out and About: Photography, Topography, and Historical Imagination," in: Olga Shevchenko, ed., *Double Exposure. Memory & Photography*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick (New Jersey), 2014, pp. 177–209, cit. p. 178.

14. In 1940, Zdeněk Wirth published a book titled *Stará Praha. Obraz města a jeho veřejného života v 2. polovině XIX. století podle původních fotografií* (Old Prague. Picture of a City and Its Public Life in the Latter Half of the 19th Century Based on Original Photographs), J. Otto, Praha, 1940, which had an unquestionable educative significance in terms of the contribution of photography to the history of the city and its landmarks. More on Sudek's photographs of monuments see Mariana Kubištová's essay in this catalogue.
15. See Katarína Mašterová's essay in this catalogue.
16. Places documented by Sudek in 1945 Prague comprises a detailed online map available at: <http://www.sudekproject.cz/en/map> as part of the outcome of the NAKI II Project. The locations marked include all of the sites Josef Sudek photographed in 1945, based on the surviving body of negatives.
17. See Fárová, *Josef Sudek* (op. cit. 7), pp. 133–145; Vojtěch Lahoda, "Chaos, Mess and Uncertainty: Josef Sudek and Surrealism," *Papers of Surrealism*, issue 3, Spring 2005, pp. 1–18.
18. "But the landscape of devastation is still a landscape. There is beauty in ruins." Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (op. cit. 1), p. 76.
19. See Adam Havlík's essay in this catalogue.
20. "Shock can become familiar. Shock can wear off. Even if it doesn't, one can not look." Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (op. cit. 1), p. 82.
21. See Eugen Wiškovský, "Tvar a motiv" (Form and Motif), *Fotografický obzor* XLVIII, 1940, no. 10, pp. 109–113; Idem, "Dezorientace v názoru na fotografii" (Disorientation of Views on Photography), *Fotografický obzor* XLVIII, 1940, no. 11, pp. 125–126; Idem, "Zobrazení, projev a sdělení" (Representation, Expression and Message), *Fotografický obzor* XLIX, 1941, no. 1, pp. 2–3; Idem, "Oproštěním k projevu" (Through Simplicity towards Expression),

Fotografický obzor XLIX, 1941, no. 3, pp. 26–27; Idem, "K psychologii fotografického účinku" (On Psychology of Photographic Effect), *Fotografie* IV, 1948, no. 1, pp. 1–3.

Adam Havlík Prague – Blood and Liberation. The Historical Background of Sudek's 1945 Series of Photographs



78. Tibor Honty, *Sculpture of the Clash of the Titans at the entrance gate to Prague Castle with a swastika in the background*, 1940s

Apart from their artistic and documentary value, the images created by Josef Sudek unquestionably also have added importance as a historical resource. They capture scenes of Prague at a highly dramatic time, as the city had only just begun to recover from blows sustained during the events at the very end of the Second World War. Although throughout most of the war, the city had been spared the destruction of warfare suffered by other countries directly at frontlines and battlefields on their territory, as a result of air raids in 1945, and then again in the last days before the final capitulation of the Third Reich, Prague sustained considerable material damage as well as loss of life.¹ The territory of the Protectorate was the setting of some of the very last wartime operations in Europe – fighting continued in Prague for more than a week after the Red Army captured Berlin.

The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

Before Prague was finally liberated by the Red Army on 9 May 1945, its citizens had to live through six years of occupation, which exerted a heavy toll on the Czech lands. [Fig. 78] As early as October 1938 the Munich Agreement had stripped Czechoslovakia of large areas of its borderland with a predominantly German-speaking population. The following year, Nazi Germany ended the short life of the so-called Second Republic by military occupation. The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was established by decree on 16 March 1939² and was seen by the Nazis as one of the most important production zones within the territories they had annexed or conquered. Local resources, both financial and material, were systematically siphoned off to serve the needs of the Third Reich. This exploitation heightened in intensity after the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939. The Occupation authorities introduced a system of rationing and many people were deployed for forced labor in Germany itself (so-called *Totaleinsatz*). According to Nazi plans, after the victorious

war the Czech territories were to be settled by Germans. Depending on race and persuasion, some subjects of the Protectorate were to be re-educated and Germanized, and others to be deported to the East. Still others were to be categorized as fit for labor but without being allowed to have children. Another category yet was condemned to physical liquidation.³

In public life, Germans and the German language held a privileged status within the society. Everyone else became a second-class citizen, entitled to fewer rights than the local Germans, who acquired citizenship of the Reich.⁴ Czech universities were closed as early as November 1939, in reprisal for student demonstrations that had broken out following the death of Jan Opletal, a student of Charles University's Faculty of Medicine. Nine students were executed, and another 1,200 hundred deported to concentration camps.⁵ Those deemed politically inconvenient fell victim to brutal repression, particularly if tainted with any shadow of suspicion of involvement with the Czechoslovak resistance. Ordinary citizens also lived in constant fear in the ever-present threat of persecution on anonymous denunciation. Some, however, collaborated for various reasons, and contributed to the general oppressive atmosphere of fear.

An important landmark in the history of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was the assassination of the acting Reichsprotektor, Reinhard Heydrich, carried out by a group of Czechoslovak paratroopers on 27 May 1942. Heydrich, the head of the feared Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Main Security Office) was the highest-ranking Nazi to be assassinated during the Second World War. One of Sudek's photographs depicts the Church of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, and where in the end they died fighting, vastly outnumbered by the enemy.⁶ The consequences of the assassination, devised by British intelligence with the approval of the Czechoslovak exile government in London, were twofold. Internationally, it brought about a crucial turning point: the assassination contributed to the decision of the European powers to declare the Munich Agreement invalid, and after the Second World War Czechoslovakia was listed as among the countries of the victorious Allied camp. The immediate reaction of the German occupying powers in the Protectorate to this daring feat, however, was savage. The period following the assassination, known as "Heydrichiáda," brought on a wave of arrests, executions and deportations to concentration camps. The total number of victims of persecution related to the assassination is estimated at more than 2,000 people, including the victims of the two villages subsequently razed to the ground in reprisal, Lidice and Ležáky.⁷

One of the most tragic chapters of the history of the Protectorate is doubtless the fate of the Jewish population. The repressions against Jews first took the form of curtailing of civil

rights and people being displaced from public life by the so-called Nuremberg Laws. At a later stage, people were systematically rounded up and deported to concentration camps.⁸ Nor was the fate of the cultural heritage related to the Jewish community much luckier. This is exemplified by the Vinohrady Synagogue, one of the largest and most sumptuous buildings of its kind at the time. [Fig. 8] From November 1941 onward it was used to store the belongings of deported Jews. At the same time, it served as the depot of the Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt, the National-Socialist People's Welfare organization.⁹ The synagogue sustained heavy damage during the Allied air raid of 14 February 1945. To make matters worse, the Nazis deliberately prevented efforts to extinguish the fire raging in the building after the raid. After the war, the damaged building was torn down, despite protests from the Jewish Community (1951).¹⁰

The Changing Cityscape and its "War Structures"

During the Protectorate, Prague did not escape a variety of rebuilding that changed the nature of public space. Some of the buildings photographed by Sudek could not have arisen in circumstances other than the war. This was the case for example of the water reservoirs located in public squares, of which several dozen were built in Prague.¹¹ [Fig. 2, 13] Their purpose was to serve as water reservoirs for extinguishing fires in the event of air raids. Some remained in place for a long time after the war. Fear of air raids also prompted measures designed to protect important buildings or valuable artistic landmarks from damage in case of bombing. The Prague Heritage Office played an important role here, with Professor Karl Friedrich Kühn as its head, appointed in 1942. With the contribution of other figures involved in heritage protection and negotiations with the German authorities in Prague, a list of protected buildings was compiled, as well as a system for ranking these monuments into several categories of protection.



79. Jan Erban, "The Old Town's astronomical clock on the morning of 5 May 1945, before its destruction by the occupiers," 1945

The practical impact of this initiative was that protective walls or shields were erected around selected buildings, particularly in localities such as the Prague Castle, Vyšehrad, the New and the Old Towns of Prague, and the Lesser Town.¹² [Fig. 58, 79] Similar structures also "decorated" the interiors of buildings. In the St. Vitus Cathedral at the Prague Castle,



80. Unknown author, "The Dvořák Embankment as seen from Letná Park," 1945

for example, a protective casing enveloped the Royal Oratory, the Royal Tombs, and the Triforium Busto, as shown by Sudek's photographs.¹³ [Fig. 11] Some artistic landmarks were dismantled during the war and taken away to Nazi Germany. One site, which served specifically for wartime purposes, was the scrapyard for bells and metal statues at Maniny in Prague, near the Libeň Bridge.¹⁴ [Fig. 32–39, 41–45] From here German river barges carried requisitioned bells to northern Germany to be smelted down for the war industry. All church bells were requisitioned by the government directive from 1941.¹⁵ Detailed directives regarding the mandatory confiscation of bells were issued by the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Business one year later. These specified the procedures regarding the reporting and handover of bells, introducing a classification of bells into four categories by artistic and historical value.¹⁶

Nazi policies in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia also included the deliberate re-writing of the historical memory of Czech society. These efforts took very concrete forms in the public space, such as – among other things – the renaming of streets and squares¹⁷ or the removal of statues or monuments which the occupation authorities feared might arouse nationalist sentiments. One such example was the František Palacký Monument. The statue of this National Revival figure had been damaged during the war, dismantled and then hidden between 1942 and 1945.¹⁸ After the war, Sudek photographed not only the statue itself, but also the site where it originally stood and where it was re-installed later. [Fig. 36–40] Similarly, Sudek also photographed the empty pedestals of the statues of Svatopluk Čech and Karolína Světlá [Fig. 46], or the sculptural groups *Lumír* and *the Hymn and Přemysl and Libuše*. These sculptures portraying themes of old Czech legends were damaged during the air raid of 14 February 1945. [Fig. 5–6]

Air Raids

The air raid carried out by the allied air forces in February 1945 was a tragic event for Prague and its inhabitants.¹⁹ Between 13 and 15 February, four waves of massive air strikes wreaked destruction upon the city of Dresden in Saxony. On 14 February, inclement weather caused a navigation mistake, and part of the attacking air force, sixty-two heavy B-17 bombers, dropped their bombs on Prague. Some of these fell in the area of Radlice, Jinočice and Smíchov. The area that suffered heaviest bombing, however, was the stretch

Mariana Kubištová A Reportage about a City Ravaged by War. Sudek’s “Ruined Prague,” 1945

The wars of the 20th century had a strong impact on the life of photographer Josef Sudek. The First World War, which Sudek actively participated in as a soldier in the Austro-Hungarian army, not only resulted in his lifelong invalidity but also strengthened his previously minor interest in photography. The Second World War left its traces primarily on the nature of Sudek’s work, which took on a more intimate character during the war as he gradually moved away from the objective representation previously required by his many commercial projects. His photographs of Prague’s war-damaged monuments, many of which were taken soon after the end of fighting, can be considered a summary of his wartime experiences. They are representative of his work at the time and reflect the motifs offered by life during wartime.

Although, in his own words, Josef Sudek had been interested in photography prior to being drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army in 1915,¹ this interest deepened during his time in the army, when he used a small 4.5 × 6 cm camera to engage in his first attempts at photography.² Of these early works, several landscapes and photographs of military life have survived, for the most part in the form of later reproductions.³ But he also took photographs of deformed trees or ruined churches and old buildings, and these pictures signal his interest in the beauty hidden behind the horrors of wartime ruins – an interest later reflected in his images of the damage suffered by Prague during the Second World War. Sudek later said of his early photographs: “By an irony of fate, during my time in the army, which wasn’t worth shit, I started to look out on the landscape out there on the Italian front. I saw that beautiful landscape, which of course had been devastated by all the fighting, and I said to myself, ‘Dammit, I would really love to photograph that. I think I could do it.’ But I still didn’t know how.”⁴

As an invalid, Josef Sudek experienced the Second World War not on the front, but within the “urban landscape” of Prague, which – unlike its residents subjected to the Nazi terror – mostly avoided damaging assaults until the end of the war. And yet it was the war that caused Prague’s historical monuments to be photographed more intensively than ever before. “The war heightened the sense of historical consciousness, and several architectural photographers contributed to the fresh investigation of what had been fought for and preserved, and to the search for cultural identity and roots that it prompted.”⁵ During the war, various photographers took pictures of the historical parts of Prague and published them in a wide range of periodicals. The German censors saw such photography as an essentially

harmless form of artistic expression, but for the country’s Czech inhabitants it represented a subtle anti-German act imbued with the hidden symbolism of national pride and patriotism. Many photographs taken of Prague during the war were published in attractive photographic books, though many were not published until after the war. One early example, *Prague in the Photographs of Karel Plicka* (1940), offers a sampling of the work Plicka did for the State Institute of Photogrammetry (Státní fotoměřičský ústav) in 1939–1940.⁶ Other books on Prague were published after the war, including the posthumous publication of Jaromír Funke’s *Prague Churches* (1946), Jiří Jeníček’s *St. Vitus Cathedral* (published in 1947, the book contained images taken in 1942–1946), and Jindřich Marco’s *Romantic Prague* (1948).⁷

Josef Sudek, too, photographed Prague’s monuments during the war, creating hundreds of images “predominantly characterized by expertly depicted objective reality and a literal, official, and ceremonial portrayal”⁸ that in many cases was perfectly suited (often without Sudek’s intention or effort) to the aforementioned patriotic context. One early wartime example is the bibliophile edition *For Prague 1939*. The book, published by František Jan Müller, included laudatory poems about Prague by the poets Jaroslav Hilbert, Josef Hora, Jaroslav Seifert, Vítězslav Nezval, and František Halas, reproductions of historical *vedute* showing Prague during war and during peacetime, and also a contemporary panoramic image by Josef Sudek (1938), most probably taken from the tower of St. Vitus Cathedral.⁹ In January 1941, Sudek approached the Sfinx publishing house with the idea of publishing *Prague Castle*, a proposed book of 100 photographs. While working on the publication, Sudek was even granted access to parts of the castle otherwise off-limits to the public, and also to the terraces of the National Theatre, from where he took several long-distance shots of Hradčany.¹⁰ Sudek’s original plan was for the photographs to be completed by April 1941, but the book (105 photographs in total) was not published until the autumn of 1945.¹¹ [Fig. 84] Two years later, an English version with 113 photographs was published in London under the title *Magic in Stone*.¹² Also during the war (May 1944), art historian Emanuel Poche asked Sudek for several photographs for a book about Charles Bridge. He even sent Sudek his ideas of what to photograph and from where to take the pictures. Sudek did take some images for the book during the war, but many others date from the 1950s. The entire set was published in 1961¹³ as *Charles Bridge in Photographs*.¹⁴ Other photographs from Sudek’s extensive archive appeared in various books on Prague’s historical monuments published by Václav Poláček’s Prague Publishers (Pražské nakladatelství Václava Poláčka) in the first half of the 1940s or shortly after the war – *Prague Gardens* (1943), [Fig. 85] *Prague Portals* (1944), *Břevnov Monastery* (1944), and *Prague Palaces* (1946).¹⁵

A Catalogue of Cultural Losses

Václav Poláček was probably also at least partially responsible for initiating the creation of Sudek’s set of photographs of Prague monuments damaged or destroyed during the war – mostly towards war’s end, either during the mistaken Allied bombing of 14 February 1945 or during the Prague Uprising in early May 1945 – and of places that had been changed, damaged, or completely destroyed during wartime.¹⁶ The Photo Archive of the Czech Academy of Sciences’ Institute of Art History contains 367 negatives of these subjects taken at that time. Positive prints of these photographs are scattered throughout various Czech and foreign collections,¹⁷ although some of them had until recently been considered anonymous documentary photographs of wartime and postwar Prague and Sudek’s authorship had been unknown. The works range from straight-forward documentary photographs to fragmentary or abstract close-up images.

In terms of subject matter and location, the photographs can be classed into several groups. The first consists of images of places struck by Allied bombs on 14 February 1945. Sudek took numerous photographs in the affected areas stretching from today’s Rašín Embankment all the way to the southwestern borders of Vinohrady: Palacký Bridge with the damaged statues of *Lumír and the Hymn* and *Přemysl and Libuše* by Josef Václav Myslbek, the damaged houses on nearby Palacký Square, the Church of St. Wenceslas at Zderaz, house no. 1969 on Resslova Street, the Faust Building on Vyšehradská Street, the former Jesuit College on Charles Square, the National Theatre workshops at Větrov, the Vinohrady synagogue, and the Gröbe Villa in the Havlíček Gardens. [Fig. 5–9] Unlike other photographers, who documented the immediate and horrifying aftermath of this unexpected disaster,¹⁸ Sudek photographed these places after the fires had been extinguished, the dead had been carried off, and the dust had settled. Most of his photographs are of a documentary nature: they are sober and objective records of the damaged buildings. Several images of the National Theatre’s workshops at Větrov nevertheless indicate that Sudek did not see these places just through the eyes of a documentarian: He was captivated by the tangle of twisted metal beams, which he shot against the light, thus offering us an alternative view of the terrible reality of a bomb-damaged building – a view that is also beautiful.¹⁹ This approach was most common in Sudek’s largest (nearly 150 photographs), most comprehensive, and also most artistically sophisticated group of images, taken at the Emmaus Monastery (also called “Na Slovanech”).

After its destruction, Emmaus Monastery became a symbol of the damage suffered by Prague’s monuments during the war, and later also a symbol of their renewal.²⁰ The bombs completely destroyed the north tower of the church building, the south tower suffered

extensive fire damage, two thirds of the vaulted ceilings collapsed, and the monastery – including the priceless medieval murals in the cloister – was seriously damaged by fire.²¹ Sudek photographed the monastery from Palacký Bridge and from today’s Na Moráni Street towards war’s end, and also took various close-ups of the exterior, including the Chapel of Sts. Cosmas and Damian. He paid even closer attention to the buildings’ interiors (the cloister, the cloister garden, the chapter house, the church’s interior, the Imperial Chapel), where he was drawn to the chaotic nature of the ruins, the damaged furniture, early signs of repair efforts, and the play of light as it penetrated into the building. [Fig. 16–31] This sense of captivation is also visible in several of Sudek’s other images of religious monuments, for instance in his early series *Svatý Vít* (St. Vitus) (1924–1928) [Fig. 86], his later images of the St. Vitus Cathedral from the 1940s, and his photographs of the modern Church of St. Wenceslas in Prague-Vršovice from the 1930s.²² [Fig. 87]

The second group of images from 1945 depicts buildings damaged during the Prague Uprising and by retreating German forces. These photographs include the large set of images of the damaged buildings on the Old Town Square, in particular of the Old Town Hall with its burnt-out neo-Gothic wing. [Fig. 3–4, 49–77] This group, too, includes works of a documentary nature (primarily images of the damaged buildings on the Old Town Square) as well as images taken with a greater eye towards artistic quality. Particularly interesting are Sudek’s series of long-distance shots of the Old Town Hall and the Church of St. Nicholas taken from the tower of Týn Church, with the remnants of the neo-Gothic stone balustrade in the foreground. [Fig. 1, 62–63]

Even more remarkable are the similarities between these photographs and Sudek’s more famous photographic series created around the same time. The Second World War represented a turning point in Sudek’s work, in particular as regards his focus on more intimate subjects. During the war, Sudek created his first photographs of the garden outside his studio on Ujezd Street, through which he recorded the changing view from the window. [Fig. 91] These artistic photographs increasingly strayed from the realism of his commissioned work, of which there was somewhat less during the war.

“[Sudek’s] art photography, which begins to noticeably depart from the realism, conventionality, and ordinary, normative beauty of his commissioned photographs of Prague and Prague Castle, is now defined by the dreaminess and mystery of gardens, the excitement of windows, the bizarre and picturesque qualities of still-lives, and the distorted perspective of panoramic photographs. [...] The definitive, conscious split between his commissioned work and his artistic creation comes during the war. Non-commissioned art takes up more and more space until it is in first position.”²³ In fact, Sudek’s photographs of the Old Town Hall damaged by the fighting of the Prague Uprising contain

the “bridges” by which the motifs from his contemporaneous artistic photography make their way into his images of Prague. Here, too, Sudek focused his lens on windows, such as the large window of the Old Town Hall, whose broken window panes and torn pieces of fabric look out onto the destruction wreaked by the fighting outside. [Fig. 71–74] Other photographs taken nearby are notable for Sudek’s interest in human staffage. “People as a subject began to disappear from his photographs in the late 1920s even though they had previously populated his photographs of Invalidovna, Stromovka, and the Kolín Island series. Later, they appeared only in portraits.”²⁴ And yet Sudek here returned to his beginnings, photographing not just the buildings but also individuals and crowds of people on the square.²⁵ We find a similar, reportage-like, approach (i.e., the use of staffage) in Sudek’s other photographs of buildings damaged during the Prague Uprising, such as the houses on Malé náměstí (Little Square) and Celetná Street, the building on the upper corner of Wenceslas Square, and the National Museum. [Fig. 47–61]

The third larger group of photographs from 1945 consists of images of various dismantled metal statues at a scrapyard near Libeň Bridge, located in the Maniny area of Prague-Holešovice. These items – bells, sculptures, memorial plaques, or metal building material – had been collected here since 1942, dismantled from their original locations as part of the requisition of non-ferrous metals for war purposes. During the war, boats would travel down the Vltava and Elbe to the metalworks of northern Germany, where the metal would be melted down and processed. Nevertheless, some of these art objects survived the war and were later returned to their original locations. Sudek, however, was intrigued by their chaotic resting place at Maniny. His photographs show the statues in unusual, sometimes surreal, positions and combinations, and capture them within the context of the surrounding Prague suburbs, with the Pražka school campus or the Libeň gasometer in the distant background.²⁶ [Fig. 32–39, 41–45] Another set of photographs by Josef Sudek that tells of the destruction of Prague’s sculptures during the war – either for political reasons or because they were melted down for reuse – are his pictures of empty pedestals, for instance at the monuments to Karolína Světlá (Charles Square), Svatopluk Čech (Svatopluk Čech Park, Vinohrady), and František Palacký (Palacký Square). [Fig. 40, 46] The missing sculptures then turn up in his photographs from the Maniny scrapyard, from where they were returned to their original locations after the war.

Prague was an important center of transportation and industry, and so the Germans expected it to be hit by air raids – which the city nevertheless managed to avoid until late 1944. Praguers did not see any need to prepare for such an eventuality, and the German authorities neglected to properly implement preventive measures. They did, however,

build falsework, shelters, and various protective structures,²⁷ which Josef Sudek documented in his photographs: for instance, the protective walls built around the valuable stone monuments inside St. Vitus Cathedral, the astronomical clock in the Old Town, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade on the corner of Sanýtrová (today 17 November) and Břehová Streets.²⁸ [Fig. 11, 58] Other preventive measures, which often influenced the appearance of public areas in Prague for many years after war’s end, included the construction of water reservoirs for firefighting purposes. Sudek photographed these on Charles Square, Old Town Square, Lesser Town Square, Hradčany Square, Kinský Square, and in front of the City of Prague Museum. [Fig. 2, 13] Other reservoirs (there were 67 in total)²⁹ were located on Bethlehem Square and Náměstí Míru (Peace Square), in Svatopluk Čech Park, the Franciscan Gardens, and the Loreto Gardens, and at the foot of Vítkov Hill near today’s Army Museum. Some were filled in after the war, while others were redeveloped into ponds.

Several other images outside these categories, all of them documentary in nature, are interesting from a purely historical perspective. Among other things, Sudek photographed the abandoned barricades on the Smetana Embankment [Fig. 14] and also the Church of Sts. Cyril and Methodius on Resslova Street, site of the most dramatic moments associated with the assassination of Reichsprotektor Reinhard Heydrich in 1942.³⁰

The 1946 Prague Calendar

Sudek’s 1945 photographs of war-damaged Prague were never exhibited on their own during his lifetime, and those that were published tended to be of a more documentary nature. The largest selection of these works appeared in the *1946 Prague Calendar*, published by Václav Poláček’s Prague Publishers in 1945 with the subtitle *Prague’s Lost Cultural Heritage 1939–1945*. [Fig. 88]

By the mid-1940s, Sudek’s professional friendship with Václav Poláček dated back nearly 20 years. In 1928, Sudek had begun working with the Družstevní Práce (Cooperative Work) publishing house, which Václav Poláček had co-founded in 1922 and for which Poláček spent the following 11 years working as its administrator, secretary, and then director. Sudek not only photographed books for Družstevní Práce; he also recorded their production process. Especially famous are his photographs of industrial design products for the publisher’s subsidiary, the modern home furnishings retailer Krásná Jizba (Beautiful Room). The innovative, hard-working, and capable yet conflict-prone Poláček left Družstevní Práce in 1934 and three years later became the director of the bookshops and so the Germans expected it to be hit by air raids – which the city nevertheless managed to avoid until late 1944. Praguers did not see any need to prepare for such an eventuality, and the German authorities neglected to properly implement preventive measures. They did, however,

contemporaneity of the items it sold. In order to promote the gallery’s catalogue, he once again made use of photographs by Josef Sudek, who nevertheless continued to work for Krásná Jizba. When Poláček was forced to leave this job in 1942 for political reasons, he founded Václav Poláček’s Prague Publishers, which was headquartered at his Functionalist villa in Prague’s Baba neighborhood. The company published books on art and art history, once again featuring the photographs of Josef Sudek.³¹

After the war, Václav Poláček sought to look back on this tragic period. “It was one of my stubborn ideas that after the war we would look back and inspect the wounds that this war had inflicted on our lives, our health and freedom, and our economic and cultural values.”³² And so, working for the Union of Booksellers and Publishers (Svaz knihkupců a nakladatelů), he put together plans for four *Books of Mourning*, “which I wanted to publish on my own, and which would encompass our losses in terms of those executed, killed or tortured to death, victims of air raids, and lives lost in battle by all Czechoslovak military units, losses of freedom and health, [...] economic losses, seizures, confiscations, plundered factories and stolen land [...] and also an assessment of cultural losses.”³³ The *Books of Mourning* as thus envisioned were never published, but Poláček did put together a memorial anthology for the Union of Booksellers and Publishers on the fate of Czech book publishing during the occupation in which he recorded Czech booksellers and publishers who had been killed or imprisoned, as well as lost assets, wartime censorship, the control of the book market, the confiscation and destruction of books, and publishing activities during the war. Although the anthology was apparently sent to the printers in 1947, it was never published.³⁴ Poláček also stated that he was preparing a book titled *Czechoslovakia’s Artistic Losses 1939–1945*, but the authors who were supposed to work on it were busy with other work in the immediate post-war period.³⁵ In 1948, he finally succeeded in partially fulfilling these plans with the publication of the fifth volume of *Lost Prague*, whose final section was dedicated to monuments that had been damaged during the war.³⁶ Art historian Zdeněk Wirth’s text was accompanied by three of Sudek’s documentary photographs. The project that came closest to fulfilling Poláček’s vision³⁷ of publishing an assessment of wartime losses was the *1946 Prague Calendar* with photographs by Josef Sudek.

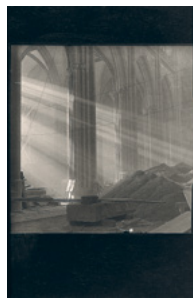
For many of Sudek’s works, it is difficult today to determine the motivation behind their creation – i.e., whether they were commissioned works or whether they grew out of his photographic interest in a particular subject or motif and were only later used for “commercial” purposes. In some instances, we may assume that the first photographs of a particular theme or subject matter³⁸ were taken out of pure interest and that these images caught the eye of potential clients, who then commissioned additional photographs. In other cases,



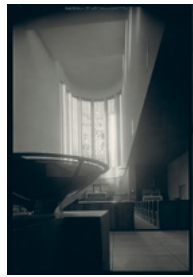
84. Josef Sudek, “Hradčany and the Lesser Town as seen from Petřín Hill,” double-page spread from Rudolf Rouček’s *Pražský hrad, výtvarné dílo staletí* (Prague Castle, Art Work of Centuries), 1945



85. Josef Sudek, The Villa Portheimka garden and the garden at Klamovka, double-page spread from Zdeněk Wirth’s *Pražské zahrady* (Prague Gardens), 1943



86. Josef Sudek, From the series *St. Vitus*, 1924–1928



87. Josef Sudek, St. Wenceslas Church in Prague-Vršovice, [1933?]



88. (a) *1946 Prague Calendar*, title page with photograph by Josef Sudek: View of St. Nicolas Church from the tower gallery at Týn Church – in the rear, Prague Castle, 1945

- (Documentary Prague), Malá skála, Praha, 2006, pp. 60–63.
57. One such photograph featuring a retouched cloud of rising dust has been preserved in the archive of the newspapers Práce (Work) and Národní politika (National Politics), the Archive of the National Museum, envelope 180 (Prague 1, The Old Town Hall) but it captures the moment when the Neo-Gothic wing of the town hall was torn down when the uprising was over.
58. Cf. Elizabeth Edwards, “Photography and the Performance of History,” *Kronos*, no. 27, Visual History – November 2001, pp. 15–29.
59. We can compare the photographs with footage included in Otakar Vávra’s *Cesta k barikádám* from 1946 (op. cit. 56).
60. The detailed description of Sudek’s action appears in the recollection of Vladimír Fuka, in: Jan Rezáč – Jan Mlčoch, eds., *Růže pro Josefa Sudka* (A Rose for Josef Sudek; exhibition catalogue), Správa Pražského hradu – Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Praha, 1996, pp. 191–195, cit. p. 193 (reproduced on p. 196 of this catalogue). See also the essay by Amy Hughes in this catalogue. Sudek used large-format plates, almost exclusively of glass, measuring 13 × 18 cm but we do not know exactly what kind of camera he had. Fuka says: “His camera was too heavy and clumsy for such a trade. With its glossy wooden tripod, it seemed to me as a rare, bizarre piece of furniture.” (Ibid.)
61. The photographers must have stood right beside each other as is apparent from the comparison of photographs by Josef Voříšek in: Plavec, *Praha 1945 očima fotografa* (op. cit. 50), p. 106 and Sudek’s photograph S12536N, Photo Archive, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences. This event has been identified in collaboration with Adam Havlík—for another photograph of the same event see <http://www.sudekproject.cz/en/old-town-square-13-may-1945> (accessed 13 December 2017).
62. Marie Pujmanová, “Zase na světle Božím” (Back in the Light of Day), *Kritický měsíčník* VI, 1945, no. 1, pp. 39–40, cit. p. 39.
63. The amount of documents was certainly influenced by the fact that the theme was particularly popular during the communist era.
64. “War can never break free from the magical spectacle because its very purpose is to produce that spectacle [...]” Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema. The Logistics of Perception*, Verso, London, 1984, pp. 7–8. (transl. from French by Patrick Camiller).
65. Reproduced in, for example Birgus – Mlčoch, *Czech Photography of the 20th Century* (op. cit. 2), p. 133.
66. V. R. [Vladimír Remeš], “Padl v posledních vteřinách války” (Killed in the Last Seconds of War), *Československá fotografie* 24, 1973, no. 5, p. 195.
67. Ibid.
68. Jan Vašek, “Letecký teror nad Prahou” (Aerial Terror above Prague), *Pestrý týden* 20, 1945, no. 8 (24. 2. 1945), p. 3.
69. Josef Šusta, “Veliký památník národní minulosti”, *Nedělní Lidové listy* 22, vol. 166, 18. 7. 1943, p. 2 [Wirth clippings, Lidové listy, 1943], fond Zdeněk Wirth, Department of Documentation, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, sign. W-A-66/1/39.
70. Uhlíř, *Bomby na Prahu* (op. cit. 50), p. 23. Maršál worked for the Kuratorium mládeže (Board of Trustees for the Education of Youth).
71. Egen Wiškovský, “K psychologii fotografického účinku” (On Psychology of Photographic Effect), *Fotografie* IV, 1948, no. 1, pp. 1–3 (cited from Pospěch, *Česká fotografie 1938–2000*, op. cit. 5, pp. 64–68, cit. p. 65 and 66).
72. Teige, “Foto a umění” (op. cit. 5), p. 82.
73. We may observe the different ways of writing photography history in the Czech context by comparing the approaches in the texts by Antonín Dufek in the art-historical series *Dějiny Českého výtvarného umění* (History of Czech Visual Art; vol. IV–VI; Academia, Praha, 1998, 2005, 2007) or the photography history by Birgus – Mlčoch, *Czech Photography of the 20th Century* (op. cit. 2) with, for example, Daniela Mrázková – Vladimír Remeš, *Cesty československé fotografie* (Paths of Czech Photography), Mladá fronta, Praha, 1989. Examples of different uses of photography also include the exhibition curated by Marie Klimešová, Hana Rousová and Zbyněk Baladrán, *Tenkrát v Evropě. Čeští umělci v totalitních režimech 1938–1953* (Back then in Europe. Czech Artists in Totalitarian Regimes 1938–1953; Gallery of West Bohemia, Pilsen, 22 September 2017 – 21 January 2018), where photography was presented in the art section as an independent artistic statement but also as a “mere” documentary line consisting of new prints of period photographs introducing Czech emigrants.

74. Ehm, “Fotografie a její účel” (op. cit. 10), pp. 27–28.
75. Jakl used this visually impressive photograph for the cover of his book, see Tomáš Jakl, *Barikády a bojiště Pražského povstání* (The Barricades and Battlefields of the Prague Uprising), Paseka, Praha – Litomyšl, 2014 (for the discussion of the above composition see p. 144). I thank Adam Havlík for information on and consulting of this subject.
76. National Archives of the Czech Republic, Fond 1330 – Květnové povstání 1945 (May Uprising 1945), Album no. 1, photograph 08–1–028.
77. Cf. the quote by Wolfgang Kemp above (op. cit. 27).
78. National Archives of the Czech Republic, Fond 1362 – Svaz českých fotografů (Union of Czech Photographers), unprocessed.
79. Karel Teige, “Cesty československé fotografie” (Paths of Czech Photography), in: *Moderní fotografie v Československu / Das Moderne Lichtbild in der Tschechoslowakei* (exhibition catalogue), Orbis, Praha, 1947 (cited from: Pospěch, *Česká fotografie 1938–2000*, op. cit. 5, pp. 68–79, cit. p.76).
80. Ibid., p. 77. See also Krzysztof Fijalkowski – Michael Richardson – Ian Walker, *Surrealism and Photography in Czechoslovakia. On the Needle of the Days*, Ashgate, London, 2013, esp. pp. 34–65.
81. Teige, “Cesty československé fotografie” (op. cit. 79), p. 77.
82. See also the concepts of “tragedy” and “apocalypse” in the context of war, Vojtěch Lahoda, “Tragédie” (Tragedy), in: Rousová et al., *Konec avantgardy?* (op. cit. 2), pp. 113–123.
83. See album of photographs of the National Museum’s damages during the Prague Uprising, Archive of the National Museum; Jaroslav Švehla, *Bomby kolem Pantheonu* (Bombs around Pantheon), Nakladatelství Pragotisk, Praha, 1946.
84. See Mariana Kubištová’s essay in this catalogue. Both Kubištová and Vojtěch Lahoda assume Sudek exceeded the scope of Poláček’s commission when he photographed the Emmaus monastery, the windows of the Old Town Hall and the action around it, and the metals scrapyard at Maniny. I agree with this theory event though unfortunately, it is now impossible to prove it.
85. For more about the series see Ian Walker, “Island-Beacons in the Sea

- of Reality’: The Photographic Cycles of Vilém Reichmann and Jiří Sever,” in: Fijalkowski – Richardson – Walker, *Surrealism and Photography* (op. cit. 80), pp. 127–145, cit. pp. 130–136.
86. For example, the National Archive of the Czech Republic, Military History Institute in Prague and Military History Archive in Prague (Central Military Archives) contain thousands of photographs concerning the theme “Prague 1945,” in contrast with the thirty photographs in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photography and sixty in the Collection of Photography in the Moravian Gallery in Brno.
87. For more about this theme applied largely to 19th century photography, see Geoffrey Batchen, *Obraz a jeho diseminace*, (op. cit. 32).
88. See, e.g., Elizabeth Edwards – Janice Hart, eds., *Photographs Objects Histories: on the Materiality of Images*, Routledge, London, 2004.
89. Birgus, *Jindřich Marco. Hořká léta. Evropa* (op. cit. 50), p. 6.
90. For example the new prints from negatives by Eugen Wiškovský in the collection of the Moravian Gallery in Brno.

Josef Sudek (1896–1976)

The Czech photographer Josef Sudek was born in Kolín and later settled in Prague. He apprenticed as a bookbinder. In 1915, he was called up for service in the Austro-Hungarian army, during which time he lost his right arm during battle on the Italian front. After returning home from the war, he spent several years living at Prague’s Invalidovna, a retirement home for invalids, where he retrained as a photographer. In the early 1920s, he studied photography at the State School of Graphic Art, which later allowed him to open his own photographic studio on Prague’s Újezd Street in 1928, which he used until his death. Even before studying photography, Sudek had moved in amateur photography circles, and even though he was later completely devoted to his work as a professional photographer, he never ceased taking pictures in his spare time “just for himself.” In his commercial work, he specialized in particular on reproducing works of art, on advertising and product photography, and on photographing architecture, the urban landscape, and monuments. Of particular significance was his work for the Družstevní práce (Cooperative Work) publishing house, which helped him expand his personal and professional relationships with many different artists. In 1945, he worked for Václav Poláček, Družstevní práce’s former director and by then an independent publisher, for whom he documented the destruction suffered by Prague during the Second World War. The war changed Sudek and sparked his personal interest in more intimate and imaginative subjects, an interest that further intensified over the subsequent decades. By the end of his life, Josef Sudek was a world-famous photographer. He died in Prague in 1976 after holding several monographic exhibitions marking his 80th birthday, at among other places the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague (curated by Anna Fárová) and the Moravian Gallery in Brno (curated by Antonín Dufek). Sudek’s posthumous estate was catalogued by the art historian Anna Fárová, whose specialty was the history of photography and whose most important publication was the book *Josef Sudek* (Torst, Prague, 1995).



122. Zdenko Feyfar, *Josef Sudek* (during the revolution), 1945

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1

Josef Sudek, View of St. Nicholas Church from the gallery of the north tower of Týn Church, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12544N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 2

Josef Sudek, “Water reservoir by the Jan Hus monument on the Old Town Square” (*Calendar*, Fig. 14), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.7 × 23.3 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1694. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 3

Josef Sudek, “Houses on the Old Town Square belonging to S. Hainz and F. Kynzl damaged during the fighting of 5–8 May 1945” (*Calendar*, Fig. 39), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.5 × 23.2 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1706. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 4

Josef Sudek, “House on the Old Town Square belonging to S. Hainz damaged during the fighting of 5–8 May 1945. View of arcades” (*Calendar*, Fig. 36), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.6 × 23.3 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1704. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 5

Josef Sudek, “J. V. Myslbek’s sculptures of Lumír and Přemysl with Libuše at the east end of Palacký Bridge, destroyed in the air raid of 14 February 1945” (*Calendar*, Fig. 16), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.6 × 23.3 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1696a. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 6

Josef Sudek, “J. V. Myslbek’s sculpture of Přemysl and Libuše making her prophesy at the east end of Palacký Bridge, destroyed in the air raid of 14 February 1945” (*Calendar*, Fig. 37), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.4 × 17.5 cm, private collection in Prague. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 7

Josef Sudek, “Central part of former Jesuit College of St. Ignatius damaged in the air raid of 14 February 1945 and already partially rebuilt” (*Calendar*, Fig. 22), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.6 × 23.5 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1698. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 8

Josef Sudek, “The Vinohrady Synagogue, damaged in the air raid of 14 February 1945” (*Calendar*, Fig. 38), 1945, gelatin silver print, 22 × 17.4 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1705. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 9

Josef Sudek, “Moritz Gröbe’s villa in the Havlíček Gardens, burnt out after the air raid of 14 February 1945” (*Calendar*, Fig. 32), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.8 × 23.4 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 919. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 10

Josef Sudek, “Ball Games Hall at Prague Castle, burnt out from the fighting of 5–8 May 1945” (*Calendar*, Fig. 51), 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12369N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 11

Josef Sudek, “Protective walls around tombs and the royal oratory at St. Vitus Cathedral” (*Calendar*, Fig. 15), [1945], gelatin silver print, 17.6 × 23.4 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1695. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 12

Josef Sudek, “Sculptures and carvings at St. Vitus Cathedral placed in storage in case of air raid” (*Calendar*, Fig. 4), [1945], gelatin silver print, 23.5 × 17.6 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1688. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 13

Josef Sudek, “Water reservoir on Hradčany Square” (*Calendar*, Fig. 11), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.5 × 23.9 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1692a. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 14

Josef Sudek, Remains of barricade in front of Café Slavia on the Smetana Embankment, 1945, digitally converted negative, 8 × 8 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12633NC. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 15

Josef Sudek, “Duchácková’s sculpture of Jan Hus from the Agricultural Museum in Prague, stored at the Maniny metals scrapyard” (*Calendar*, Fig. 17), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.4 × 17.6 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1697a. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 16

Josef Sudek, “Western facade of the church and monastery at Emmaus destroyed in the air raid of 14 February 1945” (*Calendar*, alternation to Fig. 12), 1945, gelatin silver print, 12.2 × 16.5 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photographs, GF 59157. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 17

Josef Sudek, “Church of Our Lady and Church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian at Emmaus, damaged in the air raid of 14 February 1945. View from the north” (*Calendar*, Fig. 18), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.4 × 23.1 cm, private collection in Prague. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 18

Josef Sudek, Monastery Church of Our Lady at Emmaus – view from the presbytery, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12654N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 19

Josef Sudek, Interior of Monastery Church of Our Lady at Emmaus – view from the presbytery, 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.1 × 11.2 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collections of Photographs, GF 59205. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 20

Josef Sudek, “Church of Our Lady at Emmaus, damaged in the air raid of 14 February 1945. Looking towards the chancel” (*Calendar*, Fig. 30), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.4 × 17.5 cm, private collection in Prague. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 21

Josef Sudek, Monastery Church of Our Lady at Emmaus – view from the northwest, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12574N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 22

Josef Sudek, Monastery Church of Our Lady at Emmaus – view from the southwest, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12553N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 23

Josef Sudek, “Church of Our Lady at Emmaus. Nave vaulting destroyed in the air raid of 14 February 1945. Looking towards the chancel” (*Calendar*, Fig. 7), 1945, gelatin silver print, 22.8 × 17.6 cm, private collection in Prague. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 24

Josef Sudek, “Staircase in the south tower of the Church of Our Lady at Emmaus, destroyed in the air raid of 14 February 1945” (*Calendar*, Fig. 33), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.5 × 17.6 cm, private collection in Prague. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 25

Josef Sudek, Cloister at Emmaus Monastery, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12517N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 26 (a, b)

Josef Sudek, Chapter hall at Emmaus Monastery, 1945 (text on the rear: “Thank you from my heart for your birthday wishes | Sudek | 30/ VIII 72 | Prague” in Josef Sudek’s handwriting), gelatin silver print, 17.5 × 12.3 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Marjorie and Leonard Vernon Collection, gift of The Annenberg Foundation, acquired from Carol Vernon and Robert Turbin, M.2008.40.2129. Photo © Museum Associates / LACMA. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 27

Josef Sudek, *Broken Madonna* (known also as *Plaster Head*; sculpture of shepherd from the “Beuron Nativity Scene” damaged in the air raid at Emmaus Monastery), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.5 × 17.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of an anonymous donor, 2010, acc. no. 43729. Photo © National Gallery of Canada. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 28

Josef Sudek, Sculpture of shepherd from the “Beuron Nativity Scene” damaged in the air raid at Emmaus Monastery, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12666N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 29

Josef Sudek, The cloister garden at Emmaus Monastery, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12326N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 30

Josef Sudek, Courtyard in front of Monastery Church of Our Lady at Emmaus, 1945, gelatin silver print, 16,7 × 12,2 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photographs, GF 54091. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 31

Josef Sudek, Northwest corner of Monastery Church of Our Lady at Emmaus, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12649N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 32

Josef Sudek, View of the Maniny metals scrapyard from the north – in the background, Pražská school campus and the Libeň gasometer, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12507N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 33

Josef Sudek, The Maniny metals scrapyard, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12479N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 34

Josef Sudek, The Maniny metals scrapyard, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12525N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 35

Josef Sudek, The Maniny metals scrapyard, 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.8 × 17.8 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 526a. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 36

Josef Sudek, Allegory of Oppression from Sucharda’s monument to František Palacký at the Maniny metals scrapyard, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12469N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 37

Josef Sudek, “Bronze sculptures from the F. Palacký monument by S. Sucharda at the Maniny metals scrapyard” (*Calendar*, Fig. 48), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.8 × 23.2 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1568. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 38

Josef Sudek, “Bronze sculptures from the F. Palacký monument by S. Sucharda at the Maniny metals scrapyard” (*Calendar*, Fig. 46), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.6 × 17.5 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1569. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

English Translation

Fig. 39

Josef Sudek, “Dismantled stone sculpture of F. Palacký by S. Sucharda at the Maniny metals scrapyard” (*Calendar*, Fig. 10), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17,7 × 23,3 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 528. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 40

Josef Sudek, “The place where Sucharda’s monument to F. Palacký stood” (*Calendar*, Fig. 2), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.6 × 23.5 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1686. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 41

Josef Sudek, The Maniny metals scrapyard, 1945, gelatin silver print, 18 × 23.9 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12488. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 42

Josef Sudek, “Sculpture of light-bearer from column on S. Čech Bridge at the Maniny metals scrapyard”, (*Calendar*, Fig. 52), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.4 × 17.4 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1711. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 43

Josef Sudek, “Graveyard of bells and Jan Štursa’s sculpture of S. Čech at the Maniny metals scrapyard” (*Calendar*, Fig. 29), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.4 × 17.3 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1701. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 44

Josef Sudek, Sculptures at the Maniny metals scrapyard; in the middle, T. G. Masaryk by Otakar Španiel, 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.4 × 17.6 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 917a. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 45

Josef Sudek, “J. V. Myslbek’s bronze sculpture of F. L. Riegr from Riegr Park, stored at the Maniny metals scrapyard” (*Calendar*, Fig. 25), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.4 × 17.5 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 527. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 46

Josef Sudek, “Pedestal of Zoula’s monument to Karolína Světlá on Charles Square designed by Josef Fanta” (*Calendar*, Fig. 3), 1945, gelatin silver print, 24.1 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12791. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 47

Josef Sudek, Wenceslas Square and building no. 812/II destroyed during the Prague Uprising; view from the stairs of the National Museum, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12546N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 48

Josef Sudek, Wenceslas Square after the Prague Uprising – in the rear, the National Museum, 1945, gelatin silver print, 11.9 × 17.9 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photographs, GF 59250. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 49

Josef Sudek, View of the Old Town Square from Celetná Street after the Prague Uprising – on the left, the House at the Stone Lamb, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12722N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 50

Josef Sudek, The Old Town Square and the Old Town Hall after the Prague Uprising; view from Celetná Street, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12669N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 51

Josef Sudek, View of the House at the Stone Lamb (left) and the Old Town Hall (in rear) damaged during the Prague Uprising, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12531N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 52

Josef Sudek, “Detail of facade of the House at the Stone Lamb on the Old Town Square, burnt out during the fighting of 5–8 May 1945” (*Calendar*, Fig. 27), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.5 × 17.6 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1700a. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 53

Josef Sudek, The Old Town Square and the town hall after the Prague Uprising, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12673N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 54

Josef Sudek, People sitting on the railings of the water reservoir on the Old Town Square after the Prague Uprising, 1945, digitally converted negative, 8 × 8 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12633NA. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 55

Josef Sudek, The Old Town Square with water reservoir after the Prague Uprising – in the rear, the Old Town Hall and St. Nicholas Church, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12543N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 56

Josef Sudek, The Old Town Square during a memorial for the fallen on 13 May 1945 – in the rear, the Old Town Hall, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12670N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 57

Josef Sudek, People walking along today’s Paris Street after the Prague Uprising – in the rear, the remains of the Old Town Hall, 1945, digitally

converted negative, 8 × 8 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12633NB. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 58

Josef Sudek, The burnt-out Old Town Hall with astronomical clock surrounded by protective wall after the Prague Uprising, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12763N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 59

Josef Sudek, “The Old Town Square damaged during the fighting of 5–8 May 1945. View from Little Square towards the Old Town Hall and the Church of Our Lady before Týn” (*Calendar*, Fig. 31), 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.7 × 23.5 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1702a. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 60

Josef Sudek, The Schier House on the Old Town Square, damaged during the Prague Uprising – in the foreground right, the corner of the Old Town Hall, 1945, digittaly converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12548N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 61

Josef Sudek, “Antonín Balvín’s House at the White Peacock on Celetná Street, burnt out during the fighting of 5–8 May 1945” (*Calendar*, Fig. 34), 1945, gelatin silver print, 23.4 × 17.5 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, II 1703a. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 62

Josef Sudek, “The Old Town Hall damaged during the fighting on 5 May 1945; view from the tower gallery at Týn Church” (*Calendar*, Fig. 20), 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12576N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 63

Josef Sudek, View towards Petřín Hill from the gallery of the north tower of Týn Church, 1945, digittaly converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12741N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 64

Josef Sudek, The Old Town Hall, burnt out during the Prague Uprising, 1945, gelatin silver print, 18.1 × 23.9 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of an anonymous donor, 2010, acc. no. 43619. Photo © National Gallery of Canada. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 65

Josef Sudek, The Old Town Hall, burnt out during the Prague Uprising – view from the northeast, 1945, digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12533N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 66

Josef Sudek, The Old Town Hall, burnt out during the Prague Uprising – view from the north, 1945, digittaly converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12532N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 67

Josef Sudek, View through the portico of the Old Town Hall towards the damaged oriel window, 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.2 × 12.5 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photographs, GF 54012. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 68

Josef Sudek, Cross made of charred beams (provisional monument to the fallen), seen from the neo-Gothic wing of the Old Town Hall, 1945, gelatin silver print, 59 × 43 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photographs, GF 36657. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 69

Josef Sudek, Damaged Gothic oriel window of the Old Town Hall and honor guard by cross for the fallen after the Prague Uprising, 1945, gelatin silver print, 16.8 × 12 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photographs, GF 54009. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 70

Josef Sudek, Main staircase of the historic building of the Old Town Hall damaged during the Prague Uprising, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12606N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 71

Josef Sudek, Large window of the historical building of the Old Town Hall, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12686N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 72

Josef Sudek, View of inner courtyard through the large window of the historical building of the Old Town Hall, 1945, digittaly converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12600N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 73

Josef Sudek, View of inner courtyard through the large window of the historical building of the Old Town Hall, 1945, digittaly converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12688N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 74

Josef Sudek, Detail of large window of the historical building of the Old Town Hall, 1945, digittaly converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12684N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

215

Fig. 75 Josef Sudek, Remains of northern neo-Gothic wing of the Old Town Hall after partial demolition following damage during the Prague Uprising, 1945, digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12620N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 76 Josef Sudek, The Old Town Square and historical part of town hall under scaffolding – in the rear, Týn Church, [1948], digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12612N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 77 Josef Sudek, The Old Town Square and remains of the town hall under scaffolding, [1948], digitally converted negative, 13 × 18 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S12612N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 78 Tibor Honty, *Sculpture of the Clash of the Titans at the entrance gate to Prague Castle with a swastika in the background*, 1940s, gelatin silver print, 28 × 21 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photographs, GF 2652. © Heirs of Tibor Honty.

Fig. 79 Jan Erban, “The The Old Town’s astronomical clock on the morning of 5 May 1945, before its destruction by the occupiers,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard, 17.6 × 12.9 cm, Central Military Archives – Military History Archives Prague, Photo Archive, box no. 219.

Fig. 80 Unknown author, “The Dvořák Embankment as seen from Letná Park,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard, 13.4 × 11 cm, Military Central Archives – Military History Archives Prague, Photo Archive, box no. 219, no. 9932.

Fig. 81 Unknown author, “The bombing of Prague – the air raid on Vysočany,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard, 12.6 × 17.5 cm, National Archives, fond 1347 – Photo Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, unprocessed.

Fig. 82 Karel Hájek, “A fierce firefight erupted on Balbín Street between Czechoslovak fighters and Germans defending the radio station / May revolution 1945 / In the foreground, pp. 2–3 a group of fighters with weapons – on the right, the front of a truck,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard, 13 × 18 cm, Central Military Archives – Military History Archives Prague, Photo Archive, box no. 225, no. 11794. © Heirs of Karel Hájek.

Fig. 83 Unknown author, “Prague Uprising 1945. The last barricade on Černokostelecká Street by the turnaround for the no. 16 tram / Massive barricade of paving stones and metal sticks and pipes; standing in front of it is an armed

fighter in a helmet,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard, 12.6 × 17.9 cm, Military Central Archives – Military History Archives Prague, Photo Archive, box no. 224, no. 42823.

Fig. 84 Josef Sudek, “Hradčany and the Lesser Town as seen from Petřín Hill,” double-page spread from Rudolf Rouček’s *Pražský hrad, výtvarné dílo staletí* (Prague Castle, An Art Work of the Centuries), Štínx – Bohumil Janda, Praha, 1945, Fig. 59, 27.5 × 20.3 cm (cover), Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Library, sign. C 758. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 85 Josef Sudek, The Villa Portheimka garden and the garden at Klamovka, double-page spread from Zdeněk Wirth’s *Pražské zahrady* (Prague Gardens), Pražské nakladatelství V. Poláčka, Praha, 1943, Fig. 40–41, 21.2 × 15.1 cm (cover), Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Library, sign. C 1623b. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 86 Josef Sudek, From the series *St. Vitus*, 1924–1928, gelatin silver print as postcard, 14 × 9 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photographs, GF 34906. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 87 Josef Sudek, St. Wenceslas Church in Prague-Vršovice, [1933?], digitally converted negative, 18 × 13 cm, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Archive, S7490N. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 88 (a, b) *1946 Prague Calendar* (Pražské nakladatelství V. Poláčka, Praha, 1945), with photographs by Josef Sudek (a: View of St. Nicolas Church from the tower gallery at Týn Church – in the rear, Prague Castle; b: double-page spread no. 45; “Portal of the Richter Foundation building on Little Square, damaged during the fighting of 5–8 May 1945”), 1945, 20.7 × 14.7 cm (cover), Library of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, sign. D 3728. Repro © Adéla Kremplová, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 89 Josef Sudek’s bills of sale 1944–1945, “4/VIII” [1945], 11.2 × 16.2 cm (closed), Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photography, Documents from the Estate of Josef Sudek, Donated by Božena Sudková, Box no. 4.

Fig. 90 (a, b) Václav Poláček, text “Torso – torsa, nikoliv naděje čili Pražský kalendář 1946” (A Fragment – Fragments, not Hope; or: The 1946 Prague Calendar), *Zprávy Oficiny Babensis* II, 1945–1946, no. 1 (20. 11. 1945), pp. 2–3, 29.6 × 20.9 cm (each), private collection.

Fig. 91 Josef Sudek, *View from the Window of My Studio*, 1940–1954, gelatin silver print, 40 × 28.7 cm, Regional Museum in Kolín, acq. no. 115/87. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 92 Stanislav Maršál, Interior of the Monastery Church of Our Lady at Emmaus following the air raid of 14 February 1945 – rescue work, 1945, gelatin silver print, 20 × 22 cm, Military History Institute Prague, inv. no. XIX–28204. © Military History Institute Prague.

Fig. 93 Vilém Reichmann, *Arabesque* (from the series *Wounded City*), 1945, gelatin silver print, 37 × 29.6 cm, Moravian Gallery in Brno, MG 3680. © Vilém Reichmann.

Fig. 94 Josef Sudek, From the series *Vanished States*, 1953–1970, gelatin silver print, 16 × 11 cm, Moravian Gallery in Brno, MG 8464. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 95 Karel Ludwig, *The Old Town Hall is Burning, Prague, 8 May 1945*, 1945, gelatin silver print, 22 × 15.5 cm, Archive B&M Chochola. © Archive B&M Chochola.

Fig. 96 Josef Sudek, Series of photographs of *Heads* published in *Blok, Magazine for Art* II, 1947, no. 6 (On Photography), p. 196, 27.6 × 20.5 cm, private collection. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Estate of Josef Sudek.

Fig. 97 Unknown author, “Weeping Prague residents watching the Old Town Hall burn,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted into album, 12.9 × 18 cm, National Archives, fond 1330 – May Uprising 1945, Album no. 4, inv. no. 08/3/34.

Fig. 98 Josef Hanka, “Captured German women removing the barricades (one is wearing a swastika cut out of flags on her back),” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard, 8.3 × 11.4 cm, Military Central Archives – Military History Archives Prague, Photo Archive, box no. 226, no. 12269.

Fig. 99 Miroslav Hák, *Wenceslas Square*, 1945, gelatin silver print included in the portfolio Jiří Tauffer – Jiří Prošek, *Květen 1945* (May 1945), SNKLHU, Praha, 1960, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Library, sign. C 2921, 29.7 × 24.9 cm, Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH. © Miroslav Hák, OOA-S 2018.

Fig. 100 Jan Tuháček – Bohumil Končinský, “Prague 2, Emmaus, nave of the church,” 1945, digitally converted negative, 24 × 18 cm, National Heritage Institute, Department of Photographic Documentation, inv. no. 33099. Repro © Ladislav Bezděk, NPÚ.

Fig. 101 Jan Tuháček, “Prague 1, The Old Town Hall, demolished interiors,” 1945, digitally converted negative, 24 × 18 cm, National Heritage Institute, Department of Photographic Documentation, inv. no. 33687. Repro © Ladislav Bezděk, NPÚ.

Fig. 102 Antonín Alexander, “Emmaus, bldg. no. 320, Prague 2,” 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.2 × 12.2 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, sign. A 17399.

Fig. 103 Antonín Alexander, “Bldg. no. 1 – I, The Old Town Hall, oriel window of the chapel destroyed by the Germans’ rampage during the liberation of Prague 5–9 May 1945, phot. 17 May 1945,” gelatin silver print, 17.2 × 12.3 cm, Prague City Archives, Collection of Photographs, sign. A 16944.

Fig. 104 Double-page spread from František Hrubín, ed., *Památník Pražského povstání* (Monument to the Prague Uprising), Václav Šesták, Praha, 1946, pp. 50–51, with photographs by Stanislav Hulík and Helena Pištěková, 29.5 × 21.3 cm (cover), Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Library, sign. C12355/2. Repro © Vlado Bohdan, IAH.

Fig. 105 Unknown author, “Burning of German books in front of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront Building at Wenceslas Square no. 25,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted into album, 12.9 × 18 cm, National Archives, fond 1330 – May Uprising 1945, Album no. 4, inv. no. 08/3/108.

Fig. 106 Unknown author, “Prague I – The Old Town Square / May Revolution – settling accounts with the occupiers or collaborators (?),” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard (identified as a film still from *The Path to the Barricades*, dir. Otakar Vávra, 1946, stored at National Film Archive), 10.7 × 15.3 cm, Military Central Archives – Military History Archives Prague, Photo Archive, box no. 219.

Fig. 107 Unknown author, Emmaus burning, view from the north, 1945, digitally converted negative, 5.9 × 5.9 cm, Czech Press Agency, Photobank, F201002030119001. © ČTK.

Fig. 108 Stanislav Maršál, Demolishing the central section of the former Jesuit College on Charles Square, 1945, gelatin silver print, 20 × 22 cm, Military History Institute Prague, inv. no. XIX–282046. © Military History Institute Prague.

Fig. 109 Tibor Honty, Prague residents with Red Army soldiers (right-hand image: the photographer’s wife Irena in the middle), 1945, silver gelatin contact print, 5.6 × 12.5 cm, private collection of Ivan Hoffmann. © Heirs of Tibor Honty.

Fig. 110 Unknown author, Taking pictures with Red Army soldiers, 1945, gelatin silver print, 17 × 16.7 cm, Military History Institute Prague, inv. no. XIX–28203.

Fig. 111 Unknown author, “Wenceslas Square,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted into album, 18.2 × 12.9 cm, National Archives, fond 1330 – Prague Uprising 1945, Album no. 4, inv. no. 08/3/155.

Fig. 112 Page with article by Jan Vašek, “Letecký teror nad Prahou” (Aerial Terror over Prague), *Pestrý týden* 20, 1945, no. 8 (24. 2. 1945), p. 3, 30.7 × 23 cm, with photographs from

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the Centropress agency. Library of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, sign. 54 A 1304. Repro © Digital Library of the Moravian Library.

Fig. 113 Stanislav Maršál, Smoking ruins of the interior of the National Theatre workshops at Větrov following the air raid on 14 February 1945, 1945, gelatin silver print, 17 × 12 cm, Military History Institute Prague, inv. no. XIX–28205. © Military History Institute Prague.

Fig. 114 Unknown author, “Barricade on Avenue of the Defenders of Peace” [today Milada Horáková Street], 1945, gelatin silver print pasted into album, 13.6 × 8.7 cm, National Archives, fond 1330 – May Uprising 1945, Album no. 2, inv. no. 08/2/130.

Fig. 115 František Illek and Alexandr Paul, “Interior of the Ball Game Court after the roof truss caught fire on 9 May 1945,” 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.5 × 13 cm, The Archives of Prague Castle, Collection of Photography, inv. no. F 5422. © Alexandr Paul. © František Illek.

Fig. 116 František Illek and Alexandr Paul, “Interior of the Ball Game Court after the roof truss caught fire on 9 May 1945,” 1945, gelatin silver print, 17.5 × 13 cm, The Archives of Prague Castle, Collection of Photography, inv. no. F 5421. © Alexandr Paul. © František Illek.

Fig. 117 Karel Hájek, “Basement of the radio building where a bomb exploded,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard, 13 × 18 cm, Military Central Archives – Military History Archives Prague, Photo Archive, box no. 225, no. 11780. © Heirs of Karel Hájek.

Fig. 118 Karel Hájek, “Destroyed marble stairwell leading from the ground floor to the first floor of the radio building,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard, 13.1 × 18 cm, Military Central Archives – Military History Archives Prague, Photo Archive, box no. 225, no. 11833. © Heirs of Karel Hájek.

Fig. 119 Karel Hájek, “After the air raid in February 1945,” 1945, gelatin silver print, 22.9 × 30.2 cm, National Archives, fond 1362 – Union of Czech Photographers, unprocessed. © Heirs of Karel Hájek.

Fig. 120 Unknown author, “Destroyed shop windows on Wenceslas Square after the revolution – several firefighters with hoses in front of a damaged shop,” 1945, gelatin silver print pasted on cardboard, 17.2 × 21.4 cm, Military Central Archives – Military History Archives Prague, Photo Archive, box no. 220, no. 12297.

Fig. 121 Unknown author, Display cases inside the National Museum damaged during the Prague Uprising, 1945, gelatin silver print, 18 × 13 cm, Archives of the National Museum, unprocessed.

Fig. 122 Zdenko Feyfar, *Josef Sudek (during the revolution)*, 1945, gelatin silver print, 38.8 × 29.2 cm, Moravian Gallery in Brno, MG 11378. © Zdenko Feyfar.

Fig. 123 (a, b) Invitation to celebration of Josef Sudek’s 50th birthday with a drawing by Alena Ladová on the front, 1946, printed as postcard, 15 × 10.5 cm, Memorial of National Literature, Fond of Josef Träger, inv. no. 1243. © Heirs of Alena Ladová.

Abbreviations

acc. no.	accession number
acq. no.	aquisition number
<i>Calendar</i>	shortened title for Josef Sudek – Zdeněk Wirth, <i>Pražský kalendář 1946. Kulturní ztráty Prahy 1939–1945</i> (Prague Calendar 1946. Prague’s Lost Cultural Heritage 1939–1945), Pražské nakladatelství V. Poláčka, Praha, 1945
IAH	Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences
inv. no.	inventory number
NPÚ	National Heritage Institute

Editor’s note

The titles of photographs in quotations marks are taken from other sources – either from the *1946 Prague Calendar* (see list of abbreviations), from the archival cards onto which the photographs have been pasted, or from inventory lists. Titles in italics are titles given by the photographs’ original authors. Titles without quotations marks and in regular (non-italic) print are titles given by this book’s editor.

Reproductions of photographs by Josef Sudek with the description “digitally converted negative” were created by digitally re-photographing the negative and converting it into a positive, which photographer Vlado Bohdan subsequently reworked using image editing software. This approach was only used if we could not find an original positive by Josef Sudek.

We have indicated the copyright for those works whose copyright holders we were able to find. For some works (photographs by Antonín Alexander, Bohumil Končinský, Jan Erban, Josef Hanka, Stanislav Hulík, Helena Pištěková, and Jan Tuháček) we were unable to identify the copyright holders; should they come across this note, we ask them to contact Artefactum (artefactum@udu.cas.cz). The same applies for any cases when the author of a photograph by an “unknown author” is identified.

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