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**Robert Smithson, Spirálové molo (Spiral Jetty), 1970**  
 Great Salt Lake, Utah

Photo © Holt-Smithson Foundation and Dia Art Foundation,  
 licensed by VAGA, New York — George Steinmetz

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# Storing and/or Sharing: the Negative in the Commercial Work of Josef Sudek

Josef Sudek used to say that *'the Sudek Company keeps most of its pictures as negatives'*.<sup>1</sup> It also applies to the portion of Sudek's photographic estate deposited at the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences. More than two-thirds of the collection, comprising approximately twenty thousand items, consists of large-format negatives.<sup>2</sup> In terms of subject matter, the collection features in particular photographs of paintings, sculptures, architecture and applied arts (ranging from ancient coins to 20th century art), portraits of artists, photographs of artists' studios and exhibitions, mostly in the context of Czech art; in terms of foreign art the photographs mainly depict works in Czech collections or seen at exhibitions held in Prague.<sup>3</sup> Sudek's photographs form part of the Institute's Photo Library, used by art historians as a reference image archive. Similar to archivists, art historians have only recently begun to inquire into the nature of the photographs kept within these specific collections.<sup>4</sup> A new wave of interest in collections of photography existing outside of museums and galleries originated in the 1990s. It derives from a research perspective that does not rely merely on aesthetic criteria and individual pictures of exceptional artistic quality, focusing instead on photographic archives as extraordinary entities in their own right, with a specific history of their own, and as a result examines not only the rarity of *species*, but the whole *ecosystem*.<sup>5</sup>

Research conducted to date shows that Josef Sudek's contribution to the history of photography is not only as an author of 'artistic' photographs, as someone who, within the Czech context at least, significantly helped photography attain a definitive status as art. The last twenty years have seen growing interest in Sudek's advertising photography, regarded

as a part of the Modernist photography project.<sup>6</sup> In the current examination of his photographs of works of art it is not merely necessary to identify hitherto unknown items within the catalogue of Sudek's oeuvre, but to use this occasion to partly reassess our overall perception of Sudek, and also how we write about photography. Given the nature of the research material, rather than the artistic aspects of vintage prints or exhibition reproductions, our research must necessarily also address the broader context of making and distributing these kinds of photographs, and the various forms that photography can take depending on its various social functions, from negative to reproduction to digital data.<sup>7</sup>

The image captured on negative is an original and unique record of the scene photographed, and, as Michel Frizot noted twenty years ago, it is *'the most common but also the most hidden part of the photographic process'*, which in their contemplations on the nature of photography was discussed by *'neither Barthes, nor Baudelaire nor Bazin nor Benjamin nor Bourdieu'*.<sup>8</sup> George Baker, in contrast, defines the negative as the true *medium* of photography<sup>9</sup> — in the sense that it represents the image which is the mediator between the reality as seen, the author of the photograph, and its viewer, thus enabling communication.<sup>10</sup> The following essay proposes to use Baker's thesis to examine Sudek's photographs of works of art (surviving predominantly as negatives) differently, rather than merely as a little-studied pendant to his 'artistic' work.<sup>11</sup> This extant archive of Sudek's photographs of works of art presents a challenge in terms of exploring the ways of working with negatives today as a *medium* of photography, one which has a direct connection

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1 / **Josef Sudek, Spring by Josef Wagner, 1946**  
Period reproduction in Jaromír Pečírka, *Josef Wagner*, Praha 1959  
© The Estate of Josef Sudek — The Estate of Josef Wagner  
Photo: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague — Vlado Bohdan



2 / **Josef Sudek, Spring by Josef Wagner, 1946**

Gelatine Glass Plate Negative, 17,9 × 13 cm

Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Library

© The Estate of Josef Sudek — The Estate of Josef Wagner

Photo: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague — Vlado Bohdan

with photographed reality. In the case of reproductions printed in high-quality photogravure (where negatives were used as a source image), it is also a more or less direct conduit to the viewer. For if we understand the negative as a mediator between the seen reality, the photographer and the viewer, we come closer to the original uses of the photographic collection at hand, where many of the photographs surviving as negatives were created expressly for purposes of reproduction in magazines or artists' monographs, and for which final vintage prints often do not actually exist.

The digitization of analogue archives provided negatives with an unexpectedly rich new life when images fixed on film rolls, glass plates, or an acetate and nitrate base, which had for decades languished hidden in boxes and drawers, in the cold atmosphere of depositories (and also often in the warmth of offices), were once again released back into circulation. This also triggered a change in the work of art historians: faster and easier options for searching and long-distance access to remote databases have significantly facilitated the accessibility of available research material which can be studied as a whole, re-discovering items heretofore unknown. Although digital archives make research easier, at the same time they de-materialize and de-contextualize photography. Fulltext search and the possibility of comparing visual material may contribute a useful perspective, but at the same time it cannot replace working with the physical material: the fragility of a glass plate negative, the physical effort of turning the pages of magazines, or the velvety quality of intaglio printing — all of these are lost in digital reproduction.<sup>12</sup> With the attention newly accorded to the materiality of photographs, and with the so-called material turn, negatives today are often presented as exhibition items in their own right,<sup>13</sup> and it has become a relatively common practice that photographic images captured on negatives are used for comparison with extant vintage prints. It is in this way that archives of negatives are often approached by museum curators, for whom a period vintage print represents the most valuable part of a photographer's estate.



3 / **Josef Sudek, Madonna circa 1400**

(17th century replica of the Madonna of Altötting), 1937

Period reproduction in Pestrý týden XII, 1937

Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Library

© The Estate of Josef Sudek

Photo: Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague

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When Elizabeth Edwards contemplates the possibilities of the ‘re-materialization’ of photography in the digital era, she says, that *‘thinking materially through the social biography of photographs as active objects in a matrix of exchanges—personal, commercial, moral, political—can generate ideas which will enable us to see photographs differently.’*<sup>14</sup> Thanks to its focus on the material aspect of photographs, the traditional approach based on the research of photographic im-

ages is not expanded only through the examination of the various bases on which the photographic image is fixed. As Elizabeth Edwards illustrates, understanding photographs not simply as images, but also as objects enables us to regard the history of photography differently, and to focus not only on individual picture-objects themselves, but also — and above all — on the network of relationships within which photographs exist and which by the same token they also serve to



4 / **Josef Sudek, 17th century replica of the Madonna of Altötting, 1937**

Gelatine Glass Plate

Negative, 14.8 × 9.8 cm

Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Library

© The Estate of Josef Sudek

Photo: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague — Vlado Bohdan



5 / Josef Sudek, 17th century replica  
of the Madonna of Altötting, 1937

Cellulose Acetate Film Negative, 14.8 × 9.8 cm

Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Library  
© The Estate of Josef Sudek

Photo: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague — Vlado Bohdan



6 / Josef Sudek, 17th century replica  
of the Madonna of Altötting, 1937

Cellulose Acetate Film Negative, 14.8 × 9.8 cm

Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Library  
© The Estate of Josef Sudek

Photo: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague — Vlado Bohdan

co-create. Looking at a selection of items from Sudek's estate, we shall showcase how the study of negatives and period reproductions<sup>15</sup> can contribute to discovering the web of relationships between individual photographic visual formats and the ways in which this can alter our perception of photography.

If Mary Bergstein wrote that '[p]hotographs of sculptures are as culturally determined, as 'dateable', as self-referential, and as individual as the verbal art-historical essays that accompany them',<sup>16</sup> the same can be reliably claimed also in regard to period reproductions. When André Malraux conceptualized his *Museum Without Walls*,<sup>17</sup> what he was thinking of, among other things, was the use of photography as a form of visual information which disengages the artwork represented from its original context. In keeping with Malraux's ideas on photographs of works of art, in 1950s Czechoslovakia the background was very frequently

retouched for the purposes of the reproduction of artworks — thus, very much in the spirit of Malraux, photographic reproduction visually accentuated the timeless value of a work of art as a museum piece, transcending time or region.<sup>18</sup> This can be exemplified by Sudek's photographs of the sculptures by Josef Wagner, reproduced in a posthumously published 1959 monograph.<sup>19</sup> [1] The surviving negatives<sup>20</sup> enable us to expose once again the original circumstances in which these photographs were created, something that is deliberately missing from certain reproductions — and to place the images in the context of a concrete time and space. Thus with Sudek's photograph of Wagner's *Spring*, we find, for instance, that a number of negatives were considered for purposes of reproduction [2], that Sudek photographed the sculpture either during the mounting or the uninstalling of the exhibition held at the Mánes Society in Prague, and that the back-

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7 / Josef Sudek, 17th century replica  
of the Madonna of Altötting, 1937

Cellulose Acetate Film Negative, 14.8 × 9.8 cm  
Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Library  
© The Estate of Josef Sudek

Photo: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague — Vlado Bohdan



8 / Josef Sudek, 17th century replica  
of the Madonna of Altötting, 1937

Cellulose Acetate Film Negative, 14.8 × 9.8 cm  
Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Library  
© The Estate of Josef Sudek

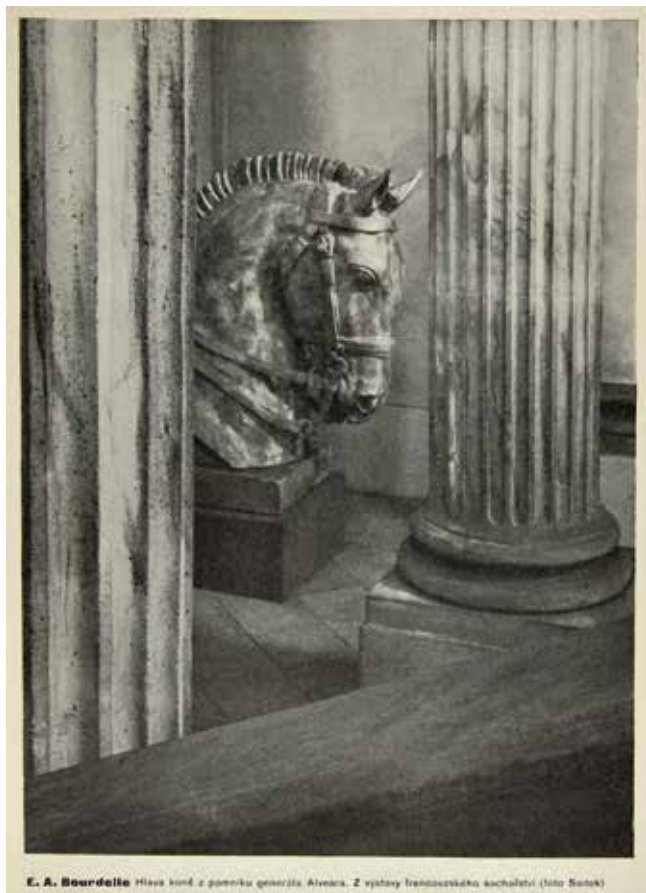
Photo: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences Prague — Vlado Bohdan

ground featuring the exhibition space was completely retouched, so that the photograph would convey purely an idealized visual representation of the sculpture itself. The same is true also for some of Sudek's other photographs reproduced at the same time, the late 1950s, for example in the catalogue of the National Museum's Lapidarium.<sup>21</sup>

While the 1950s reproductions often erase the actual context for the sake of a timeless quality and are mainly used as a source of information on the object reproduced, without much emphasis on the quality of printing, there are a number of examples from the 1930s which attest to the exact opposite approach, as exemplified by *Pestrý týden* magazine, printed with the photogravure technique at the Neubert and Sons press.<sup>22</sup> The exceptional quality of the reproductions printed in this manner is illustrated by a quote from a book of the period, promoting the new technology

and its uses: 'Neubert's original photogravure printing enables the use of the play of light and shadow, and a velvety nuance of tones with which photography captivates the eye. ... The printing field is smooth and compact, without any visible grid or grain, as with an immaculate photograph.'<sup>23</sup> *Pestrý týden* featured Sudek as an author, publishing his photographs under his name — 'Foto Sudek, Praha'. Still, there are exceptions which prove the rule — such as the photographs printed to commemorate the bi-centennial of the death of Matthias Bernard Braun,<sup>24</sup> where we can prove Sudek's authorship based on comparison with existing negatives and thanks to surviving testimony from Sudek's papers, confirming the loan and subsequent return of his negatives.<sup>25</sup> The archive of Sudek's photographs of works of art, now digitized in full, made easily accessible and for the most part furnished with annotations, enables easy identification of his authorship of various photographs





9 / **Josef Sudek, Head from the Monument to General Alvear by Émile Bourdelle, 1935**  
 Period reproduction in *Magazin DP III*, 1935  
 National Library of the Czech Republic  
 © The Estate of Josef Sudek  
 Photo: National Library of the Czech Republic



10 / **Josef Sudek, Head from the Monument to General Alvear by Émile Bourdelle, 1935**  
 Gelatine Glass Plate Negative, 14.9 × 9.9 cm  
 Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Library  
 © The Estate of Josef Sudek  
 Photo: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Praha — Vlado Bohdan

that were then in circulation. The records of loaning negatives for the purposes of print further illustrates what was common practice at the time, the usage of large-format negatives photographed for purposes of reproduction. These would circulate between the photographer, publisher and printer, and although they were mediated to the viewer through reproduction, we can still claim that Frizot's definition of the negative as *'the most hidden part of the photographic process'* applies to the state of research into photography, rather than the practice of photography itself.

*Pestrý týden* was a typical Modernist illustrated magazine<sup>26</sup> and Sudek's photographs of works of art (such as *Božena Němcová* by Vincenc Makovský, *Josef Mánes* by Bohumil Kafka, etc.) appear in its pages in a wide variety of contexts. The visual effect of full-page reproductions on the cover was enhanced by the magazine's large format, 58.5 × 43.5 cm.<sup>27</sup> In 1937 one of the cover pictures — apart from photographs of the South Pole, stars of the musical theatre, Christmas and Easter motifs, a passenger aircraft, marching troops of

the Czechoslovak army, the French Foreign Minister visiting Czechoslovakia, a lynx cub from the Prague Zoo, a wealthy Indian Maharajah with a hunting trophy, the opera singer Jarmila Novotná with her daughter and parrot, the Pelton wheel from the World's Fair in Paris, sailboats on the Medlov lake and the funeral of President Masaryk — featured also Sudek's photograph of a sculpture of the Madonna.<sup>28</sup> [3] The reproduced photograph is a detail of the head, accentuating the age of the wood (riddled with woodworm) with its peeling polychromy, yet at the same time it strongly conveys the intense expression of the face. Sudek often photographed sculptures as if he were making a portrait; Fárová writes about his *'deep connection to sculpture as a replica of the human form'* and *'revealing that which is most intrinsically human and vulnerable, which the sculptor embedded within the sculpture in some felicitous moment, and that time had caused it.'*<sup>29</sup> A total of five images captured on plastic negatives in 10 × 15 cm format help reveal the various stages of photographing the sculpture.<sup>30</sup> [4–8] Sudek photographed the Madonna

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first in long shot, then approaching closer, slightly shifted the angle of vision, until finally he found his ideal view of her face. In this case, the large-format reproduction printed in very fine quality substitutes for the non-existent (or yet-undiscovered) vintage print; it is both dated and signed and bears no trace of any major post-production (such as significant cropping, retouching of the background, etc.). At the same time it places Sudek's photographs within the context of a variety picture magazine format for a mass audience, far removed from the elitist understanding of the medium as photography presented in a museum of art.

No less important is the context in which the picture was produced. In 1937, under the auspices of the Umělecká beseda (Artists' Club), Prague Castle hosted an amply attended<sup>31</sup> exhibition of 'Old Art in Slovakia',<sup>32</sup> formidable in terms of scope and comprising circa two thousand items.<sup>33</sup> Several different publications accompanied the exhibition, naturally including an exhibition catalogue; apart from this, the Umělecká beseda published a special issue of the magazine *Život*. As mentioned in the article by Karel Šourek, the organizers were well aware of the importance of photography for such a project: 'The archive [of photographs of artistic heritage in Slovakia] was systematically added to also from the exhibition in Prague, where a particularly exquisite group of medieval pieces in metal and goldsmithing was the subject of a collection of photographs of exceptional value. ... Sudek's photographs ... are a prize not only in terms of technical mastery and publication — they also represent an impulse to consider again organizing the service of a photographic archive of local artistic heritage.'<sup>34</sup> The large number of negatives depicting works included at the exhibition was probably commissioned from Sudek not only for the purpose of reproduction in the catalogue, as one might assume, but they also represent a part of a larger, systematic commission. The quality of Sudek's photographs in fact prompted considerations of a comprehensive photographic survey of Slovak art, an idea whose realization was nonetheless prevented by the war.<sup>35</sup>

The rather large scale of the commission is also attested to by a ledger inscribed 'Umělecká beseda', started by Božena Sudková<sup>36</sup> in 1937 to record the work undertaken for the exhibition of Slovak art. According to these accounts, starting in June 1937 and finishing in February 1938, the total sum Sudek received for photographs for the Slovak exhibition amounted to slightly less than 15,000 Crowns.<sup>37</sup> The work comprised 461<sup>38</sup> new photographs (prices ranging between 25 and 38 Crowns per picture, depending on format) and 107 further copies and prints (at 7–15 Crowns).<sup>39</sup> Apart from detailed records of the items photographed, numbers of individual photographs, prices, accounts and payments, the ledger also features records of the loans of negatives for purposes of reproduction. As early as 1938, Melantrich publishers started to issue a folio

edition of *Umění na Slovensku* (Art in Slovakia) — with ample photographic illustrations, including Sudek's photographs of the medieval metalwork mentioned by Šourek.<sup>40</sup> In this instance, the interventions of the layout designer, in the form of a purely pragmatic cropping of pictures, often altered the nature of Sudek's photographs, whose original composition was conceived rigorously for the chosen format of the negative. As is evident, not all reproductions in the 1930s attained the high quality of *Pestrý týden*.

The second most successful exhibition in terms of attendance<sup>41</sup> (after the exhibition of Slovak art) was 'Modern French Sculpture', held at the Queen Anne's Summer Palace (Belvedere) in Prague, which Sudek also photographed.<sup>42</sup> What we know is that some of these photographs were reproduced in 1936 in *Volné směry* magazine, for which Sudek frequently photographed. There survives an unpublished manuscript by Josef Wagner, 'On the Exhibition of French Modern Art at Queen Anne's Summer Palace in Prague', dated 1935,<sup>43</sup> which enables us to draw a connection between the article and the photographs, since Sudek's images of Rodin's sculptures made at the Summer Palace during the exhibition were used in 1936 to accompany two articles by Josef Wagner published in *Volné směry*.<sup>44</sup> The following year, Sudek's photographs accompanied two more texts by Wagner, this time on the Braun sculptures at the Kuks château.<sup>45</sup> Since, in the latter article mentioned, Wagner himself directly cites a close collaboration between the writer and photographer,<sup>46</sup> we may assume that Wagner's articles were written in direct concurrence with Sudek's photographs — not excepting the unpublished article on the exhibition of French art.<sup>47</sup>

Some other photographs from the exhibition of French art were published already in 1935 in the *Magazin DP*,<sup>48</sup> which regularly published Sudek's photographs as part of his broader collaboration with *Družstevní práce*.<sup>49</sup> This was also the case with two photographs depicting sculptures by Antoine Bourdelle — *Hercules the Archer* and *Equine Head*.<sup>50</sup> If we look again at Sudek's negatives, we find two versions of *Equine Head*.<sup>51</sup> One of those shows an image identical to the reproduction [9], while the other shows an identical scene from a slightly different angle. [10] Comparing these two negatives again illustrates Sudek's knack for working his way towards finding an angle that would free the picture from any disruptive elements (such as the smudge on the shaft of the pedestal or a tag with inventory number on the socle, visible in the first image).<sup>52</sup> The same that we noted in regard to *Pestrý týden* also applies to the images reproduced in *Magazin DP*. Sudek's photographs of sculptures published here are featured among a medley of illustrations of all kinds, including — apart from reproductions of paintings and photographs from exhibitions — also Sudek's photographs of children,



11 / **Josef Sudek, Masks**, 1932

Period reproduction in *Prager Presse* XIII, 1933  
 National Library of the Czech Republic, Slavonic Library  
 © The Estate of Josef Sudek  
 Photo: National Library of the Czech Republic

Czech landscape, modern architecture, field glasses, a children's toy building kit, Prague Castle, a gramophone or a Sutnar tea set.

Sudek's 1932 photographs of *African Masks* (discussed in detail by Tomáš Winter)<sup>53</sup> were also reproduced in a variety of formats in the period press. Winter not only corrected the dating of the photographs, but he also mentioned two reproductions of the photographs published in the *Prager Presse*.<sup>54</sup> [11] One photograph of the set was also included in the exhibition 'Photography' held at Mánes in 1938, titled as *Černošské masky* (Negro Masks), and was featured in the exhibition catalogue.<sup>55</sup> Sudek also used the same picture in his own 1956 monograph.<sup>56</sup> This may also have been the reason that the picture was later included in the collections of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, to which Anna Fárová donated (among other things) — the most important section of Sudek's estate — Sudek's 'artistic' photography. A different picture was used for reproduction in the magazine *Fotografický obzor* in 1940,

where it features with the caption *Černošská plastika* (Negro Sculpture) [12] and the negative of the very same picture is deposited at the Institute of Art History.<sup>57</sup> Thus, evidently, the various uses of photographs of the same subject would result in the pictures being filed in different parts of Sudek's estate. This institutional context then subsequently shapes their present-day interpretation. Sudek's photographs housed at the Photo Library of the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences have until quite recently been used predominantly as a source of visual information, as images documenting the work of art featured in them, whereas Sudek the artist was simply identified as the photographer of garden scenes, misty window panes, still life images, or advertising photographs for *Družstevní práce*. The current research into these lesser-known aspects of Sudek's oeuvre, including work undertaken on commission, allows for the study of not only the aesthetic qualities of the photographs but also their physical origins, the context of when and how they were made and their social function.

In the Czech context, the need to re-evaluate our understanding of the history of photography has been proposed already by Petra Trnková: '*The identity of a photograph ... does not lie in its material aspect, in 'the original' as conceived of by the history of art — and particularly in the form of a so-called vintage print — but instead is the product of its symbolic representation. ... For the meaning of the photographic image is far more indebted to the context within which it exists.*'<sup>58</sup> If in this essay Trnková operates on the level of theory, postulating the necessity of revising the history of photography on the basis of visual studies, the present research only confirms that this approach is by no means incompatible with the position of the history of art; that the two are in fact mutually complementary. The examples cited above attest that period reproductions made from negatives, as in the case of photogravure printing, can be used as an alternative to period vintage prints and that they often represent an overlooked wealth of new information, helping, for example, in the dating of negatives and frequently shedding new light on the context and origin of the photograph. It is nonetheless meaningful at the same time to study different variations of pictures, their aesthetic quality and the reasons behind the selection of the final image. Digitization helps us to see in a condensed form what — as Geoffrey Batchen points out — is typical of photography as such, namely, that the image is not fully bound to its base and that, due to its easy and faithful reproducibility, it can travel worldwide in any number of copies without an original.<sup>59</sup> It is therefore necessary to look at both simultaneously — both at the images themselves and their physical base, which places them within a time and place.

This incidentally also helps answer questions regarding Sudek's activity in the 1930s, i.e. a period to which monographs to date, being dedicated chiefly to his 'artistic' photography, have paid relatively little

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12 / **Josef Sudek, Negro Sculpture (African Masks)**, 1932  
Period reproduction in *Fotografický obzor* XLVIII, 1940  
© The Estate of Josef Sudek  
Photo: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague — Vlado Bohdan

attention.<sup>60</sup> The study of Sudek's photographs of works of art quite unambiguously shows that, although Sudek may not have created any major cycle of 'art' photographs in the 1930s, it was nonetheless during this very period that he produced numerous photographs of no lesser quality for print publications and in this way reached large audiences already at the time, surviving to the present day in the form of negatives and period reproductions. Detailed research into Sudek's commercial photography is even more rewarding in terms of our notions of his work in the 1950s. Given how easily Sudek crosses over from commercial to 'artistic' work, a fusion of approaches used by traditional art history and visual studies is perfectly

appropriate in this case. Josef Sudek used to say: 'I have little expectation that anybody is going to make prints from it after I am gone. ... It would be one hell of an effort and still it wouldn't be the same.'<sup>61</sup> If at the same time 'the Sudek Company keeps most of its pictures as negatives',<sup>62</sup> then tracking down period reproductions conclusively helps to answer questions regarding how to use such an archive today and which parts to publish. It becomes clear that Josef Sudek's legacy must be regarded comprehensively, as an oeuvre which represents a major contribution not only to 'artistic' photography, but to the visuality of Modernist photography as a whole, of which book and magazine reproductions form an important component.

## NOTES

1 Quote from Josef Sudek, recorded in the reminiscences of Jan Šampalík. See Jaroslav Anděl — Petr Hron — Adéla Petruželková (eds), *Josef Sudek v rozhovorech a vzpomínkách*, Praha 2014, p. 239.

2 As an estimate based on current restoration research, at the moment about one-third of the negatives (both glass plates, as well as cellulose nitrate and cellulose acetate negatives) have been restored. Apart from the 13 × 18 cm format, to a lesser degree the 10 × 15 cm format is also present, and much more rarely also other formats (9 × 9, 18 × 24 cm). Although the negatives had been housed in not entirely satisfactory conditions, they are fortunately still fairly well preserved. I am indebted for this information to my colleagues, restorers Tereza Cíglerová, Kateřina Doležalová, and Petra Šemíková.

3 Before the launch of the current project, whose objectives include — among other aspects — the complete digitization of the Josef Sudek collection housed at the Institute of Art History, the photographs and negatives were scanned for purposes of use as reproductions, or else new prints were made via the analogue process; these are referred to as newprints. Photographer Vlado Bohdan uses the term newprint in order to distinguish from later prints, to avoid confusion with vintage prints. The information listed on card catalogues in photo libraries and archives, as well as captions in book reproductions, often relate exclusively to the content of the images, i.e., the object photographed, while the photograph itself (its dating, author, etc.) is very often ignored. In the case of Josef Sudek's photographs of works of art we have the good fortune of Josef Sudek also being one of our country's foremost photographers of all time. Even during his lifetime he insisted that his name be cited even in magazine reproductions and photographs undertaken on commission, but even so it is still possible to find reproductions of his photographs where his name is omitted.

4 See for example Tim Schlak, 'Framing Photographs, Denying Archives: the Difficulty of Focusing on Archival Photographs', *Archival Science* VIII, 2008, No. 2. — Joan M. Schwartz, 'We Make Our Tools and Our Tools Make Us: Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics and Poetics of Diplomacy', *Archivaria*, Fall 1995, pp. 40–74. Accessible online: <<https://archivaria.ca/archivar/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12096/13082>>. Accessed June 28, 2018.

5 Non-gallery collections of photography are discussed in particular by Elizabeth Edwards and Costanza Caraffa, who have coined the term 'ecosystem' as used in this context. See Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton (eds), *Photographs, Museums, Collections*, London 2015. — Eadem and idem (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, London 2004. — Costanza Caraffa (ed.), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, Berlin 2011.

6 Sudek's advertising photographs are discussed already by Anna Fárová in her Sudek monograph. See Anna Fárová, *Josef Sudek*, Praha 1995. — In more detail see Vojtěch Lahoda, *Josef Sudek. The Commercial Photography for Družstevní práce*, Jyväskylä 2003. — Lucie Vlčková (ed.), *Družstevní práce — Sutnar, Sudek*, Praha 2006. — Vojtěch Lahoda and Anna Fárová, *Josef Sudek: The Advertising Photographs*, Prague 2008.

7 See Ian Jeffrey, 'Bohemian Odyssey: Josef Sudek's Publishing Projects', in Ann Thomas, Vladimír Birgus, and Ian Jeffrey (eds), *The Intimate World of Josef Sudek* (exh. cat.), Paris and Ottawa 2016.

8 Michel Frizot, 'L'image inverse', *Études photographiques*, No. 5, November 1998 — accessible online: <https://journals.openedition.org/etudesphotographiques/165>. Accessed January 17, 2018. — See also Cornelia Kemp, who refers to negatives as a 'material repository

of images': idem (ed.), *Unikat. Index. Quelle. Erkundungen zum Negativ in Fotografie und Film*, Göttingen 2015. — For current Czech reflection regarding the negative see *Bulletin Moravské galerie*, No. 78, 2018 (forthcoming).

9 George Baker, 'The Black Mirror', *October*, No. 158, Fall 2016, pp. 31–66.

10 Ibidem, pp. 40–41: 'This is the crux of the negative image: it inhabits a space between the object and the image, the middle point between camera and print, a "medium" in the true but irremediably hybrid sense of the word. ... The negative is the photographic medium. As a "medium" in this sense—halfway, inter-space, conduit, an image between images—the negative emerges as ... [a] vehicle of a space between "appearance and disappearance"... It becomes, in other words, the condition for a communication between images ...'

11 Petra Trnková in any case wrote more than ten years ago that 'speculations on the nature of photography and whether photography is an "art" are becoming meaningless today'. See Petra Trnková, 'Fotografie po dějinách umělecké fotografie', in Marta Filipová and Matthew Rampley (eds), *Možnosti vizuálních studií: obrazy, texty, interpretace*, Brno 2007.

12 Yet it is possible to substitute these at least in part, for example when a negative image is presented as a negative, and it is when presenting black-and-white photographs that their tonality is preserved, together with all the seemingly secondary information, such as inscriptions on the reverse, the inventory number of the negative, or the manufacturer's stamp.

13 See Damarice Amao, 'To Collect and Preserve Negatives: the Eli Lotar Collection at the Centre Georges Pompidou', in Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton (eds), *Photographs, Museums, Collections*, London 2015, pp. 231–246, esp. p. 242.

14 Elizabeth Edwards, 'Photographs: Material Form and the Dynamic Archive', in Costanza Caraffa (ed.), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, Berlin 2011, pp. 47–56, esp. p. 56.

15 The term period reproduction is used deliberately, as an analogy to period vintage prints. It denotes reproductions published during the lifetime of the photographer and with their consent, in many cases directly on commission.

16 Mary Bergstein, 'Lonely Aphrodites: On the Documentary Photography of Sculpture', *Art Bulletin* LXXIV, 1992, pp. 475–498, esp. p. 498.

17 André Malraux, *Le Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale. Psychologie de l'Art*, Paris 1947. Published in English translation as *Museum Without Walls*.

18 See Henri Zerner, 'Malraux and the Power of Photography', in Geraldine A. Johnson (ed.), *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 116–130.

19 Jaromír Pečírka, *Josef Wagner*, Praha 1959, fig. 33. Other images taken of the same sculpture were reproduced (this time including the original background) in the magazine *Volné směry* in 1947. See Josef Wagner, 'Monumentalita v sochařství', *Volné směry* XXXIX, 1947, pp. 182, 183.

20 Inv. no. S 5350N, S 5351N, and S 5352N, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Photo Library.

21 Vladimír Denkstein, Zorošlava Drobná and Jana Kybalová, *Lapidarium národního musea: sbírka české architektonické plastiky XI. až XIX. století*, Praha 1958.

22 See Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture*, New York 2008.

23 Vilém Ambrosi and Miloš Bloch, *Fotografie v reklamě a Neubertův hlubotisk*, Praha 1933, unpaginated.

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- 24 *Pestrý týden* XIII, 1938, No. 9, p. 5.
- 25 Receipt for *Pestrý týden* of February 18, 1938. Documents from the Estate of Josef Sudek (Donated by Božena Sudková), The Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Collection of Photography.
- 26 See Jindřich Toman, *Fotomontáž tiskem. Moderní česká kniha / Fotomontage in print. Modern Czech Book Culture*, Prague 2009, p. 280.
- 27 *Ibidem*, p. 257.
- 28 'Madonna dating to a period circa 1400 (Slovakia)', *Pestrý týden* XII, 1937, No. 28. As Ivo Hlobil points out, the piece is actually a later — 17th century — copy of the Madonna of Altötting. See Ivo Hlobil, 'Multiplikace Altöttinginské madony v českých zemích a na Slovensku', *Umění* XXXIX, 1991, pp. 537–539. I am indebted to Milena Bartlová for bringing this to my notice.
- 29 Fárová (note 6), p. 104.
- 30 The negative selected for reproduction is marked visibly on the margin.
- 31 In Karel Šourek, 'Zkušenosti slovenské výstavy', in *Staré umění na Slovensku*, Umělecká beseda svým členům, 1938, unpaginated. The total attendance was 984 — see Martina Orosová, 'Návrat k výstave Staré umění na Slovensku' (Praha 1937), *Ročenka Slovenskej národnej galérie v Bratislave*, Bratislava 2011, pp. 55–70, p. 55: 'The total number of visitors is four times higher than at the exhibitions with the highest attendance in Prague (French art and Meštrovič at the Belvedere).'
- 32 'Staré umění na Slovensku', Vladislav Hall, Prague Castle, June–August 1937.
- 33 For more background regarding the Czech-Slovak relations see Bohunka Koklesová, 'Češi a Slováci pred druhou svetovou vojnou', in Lukáš Bártl and Petra Trnková (eds), *Fotografie především*, Brno 2017, pp. 46–65.
- 34 Karel Šourek, *Zkušenosti slovenské výstavy* (note 31).
- 35 The principal share of photographing Slovak art and architecture went to the company Press Photo Service run by František Illek and Alexandr Paul. See Orosová (note 31), p. 60.
- 36 'Umělecká beseda' ledger. Documents from the Estate of Josef Sudek (note 35).
- 37 The surviving records of amounts paid in cash and the receipts for photographs do not match 100 percent. Although it is sometimes mentioned that Sudek was expensive, if we compare his income with the data we have regarding wages at the time, we can see that his income for six months' work on the photographs from the exhibition of Slovak art roughly corresponds to the average income of a secondary school teacher. See Robert Mečkovský, *Aukce Topičovy galerie a soukromé sbírky Františka Topiče a Milady Topičové*, in Milan Pech et al., *Topičův salon 18–38*, Praha 2012.
- 38 Martina Orosová cites the number of photographs delivered by Sudek as 400. Orosová (note 31), p. 60.
- 39 According to Martina Orosová the company Illek and Paul charged 25 Crowns for a negative in the format 13 × 18 cm [i.e. 5 Crowns less than Sudek]. *Ibidem*.
- 40 Karel Šourek (ed.), *Umění na Slovensku. Odkaz země a lidu*. Soubor dokumentů, Praha 1938.
- 41 Šourek (note 31).
- 42 'Francouzské moderní sochařství', Queen Anne's Summer Palace, Prague, May 17 — July 21, 1935. To date, the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, v. v. i., lists more than 100 negatives by Sudek from this exhibition.
- 43 Jan M. Tomeš, *Sochař Josef Wagner*, Praha 1985, p. 246.
- 44 Josef Wagner, 'Rodinův Vnitřní hlas', *Volné směry* XXXII, 1936, pp. 22–31. — Idem, 'O portrétech A. Rodina', *Volné směry* XXXII, 1936, pp. 184–189.
- 45 Idem, 'Braunova socha Náboženství v Kuksu', *Volné směry* XXXIII, 1937, pp. 150–157. — Idem, 'Fragment Braunovy sochy Sedící', *Volné směry* XXXIII, 1937, pp. 280–282.
- 46 *Ibidem*, p. 280: 'Last year when photographing Braun's sculptures at the Nativity Scene and at the Kuks charity hospital, the photographer Mr. Sudek and I approached ... the section featuring the Baroque sculpture of a seated figure...'
- 47 It is, however, quite possible that Sudek photographed the exhibition 'for himself', which would be by no means exceptional.
- 48 *Magazin DP* III, 1935–1936, pp. 37, 45.
- 49 See Vlčková (note 6).
- 50 *Katalog výstavy Francouzského moderního sochařství*, Praha 1935, cat. no. 16 — Hercules the Archer. Full figure. Property of the Czechoslovak State/National Gallery, bronze, 1909 and No. 28 — Equine Head from the Monument of General Alvear. Cast (fragment) of the original model, gypsum, 1914–1917.
- 51 Inv. no. S6923N and S6924N, Photo Library, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences.
- 52 Sudek himself says in an interview with Anna Fárová that he would do reproductions of painters he liked for himself. See Anna Fárová, *Conversations with Sudek between 12 December 1975 and 2 February 1976*, *Camera* (Luzern) LV, 1976, No. 4, pp. 6–38, reprinted in Jaroslav Anděl, Petr Hron, and Adéla Petruželková, *Jaroslav Sudek v rozhovorech a vzpomínkách*, Praha 2014, p. 76–82.
- 53 See Tomáš Winter, 'Nebezpečné sousedství? Joe Hloucha, Emil Filla a surrealisté', *Umění* LIII, 2005, pp. 76–86. — Idem, *Palmy na Vltavě. Primitivismus, mimoevropské kultury a české výtvarné umění 1850–1950*, Řevnice 2013.
- 54 *Prager Presse* XIII, 1933, Bilderbeilage Die Welt am Sonntag, supplement No. 46 to issue No. 303, November 5, 1933, p. 8 and Bilderbeilage Die Welt am Sonntag, supplement No. 47 to issue No. 310, November 12, 1933, p. 2.
- 55 Lubomír Linhart (ed.), *Fotografie* (exh. cat.), Praha 1938, cat. no. 253.
- 56 Idem, *Josef Sudek*, Praha 1956, fig. 87.
- 57 The caption accompanying the picture states expressly that the reproduction was made from the negative 10 × 15 cm; an identical image, however, exists in the Photo Library of the Institute of Art History in a different negative format (13 × 18 cm; inv. no. S 12938N).
- 58 Trnková (note 11), pp. 101–102.
- 59 See Geoffrey Batchen, *Obraz a diseminace: Za novou historií pro fotografii*, Praha 2016.
- 60 See Mariana Kubištová, *Poetická geometrie. Moderní architektura ve fotografiích Josefa Sudka*, Praha 2018.
- 61 Reminiscence of Petr Helbich of July 2012, in: Anděl, Hron, and Petruželková (note 52), p. 153.
- 62 Šampalík in Anděl, Hron, and Petruželková (note 52), p. 239.
- \* The present article was undertaken as a result of the project 'Josef Sudek and Photographic Documentation of Works of Art: From Private Art Archive to Representing Cultural Heritage' (2016–2020), supported by the Czech Ministry of Culture as part of its program NAKI II (code no.: DG16Po2Moo2). I am indebted to Katarína Mašterová for helping me conceptualize the role of negatives within the oeuvre of Josef Sudek and to Vojtěch Lahoda for initiating the project.