

# Edward Weston and His German Connections

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One of the more revelatory art historical links that has emerged through a study of the [Edward Weston](#) photographs in the Thomas Walther Collection at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, concerns the friendships Weston cultivated with several Europeans who were either born in Germany or who rose to prominence there. Weston's interest in, and connections to, artistic developments in that country began in the late 1910s and continued through the early 1930s, when perceptive German artists, curators, collectors, and publishers began actively acquiring and promoting his work. Indeed, there is now an abundance of circumstantial evidence pointing to the likelihood that during the 1920s and early 1930s, Weston was more widely recognized and more fully appreciated in Germany than in the United States.

Born in 1886 in a suburb of Chicago, Weston moved to Southern California at the age of twenty. After opening his own photography studio in Glendale in 1911, he began associating with a cosmopolitan group of people who were arriving in the Los Angeles area from all parts of the globe. Although Weston was neither well-traveled nor formally educated, his new friends—many of them artists, dancers, actors, and writers hoping to find work in the nascent movie industry—shared with him their more worldly experiences and attitudes, and in this way Weston became conversant with the latest artistic and literary movements in Europe and Asia.

Weston's interest in incorporating oblique angles and sharply contrasting tonalities into his imagery became evident around 1920 in a series known as his "attic photographs." In these compositions Weston synthesizes a number of important influences, including the design talents of his colleague Margrethe Mather; the highly stylized gestures and costumes found in Japanese Noh theater; and the Japanese aesthetic philosophy known as *Notan*, which explicates the ideal arrangements of light and dark areas within a composition. However, recent research suggests that Weston's attic photographs may also provide the first hint of his fascination with contemporary German theater and cinema.

By the late 1910s, Weston's circle of friends included several European- and British-born actors and designers who shared a deep admiration for, and in some cases a personal relationship with, the venerable impresario Max Reinhardt. Since 1905 Reinhardt had presided over Berlin's highly influential *Deutsches Theatre*, where he had become the most important theatrical exponent of the German Expressionist



**fig. 1** Edward Weston. *Sunny Corner in an Attic*. 1921. Platinum print, 7½ × 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub>" (19 × 24 cm). Johan Hagemeyer Collection/Purchase. Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents

aesthetic. Therefore, it is not surprising that certain design elements in Weston's attic photographs—boldly contrasting, geometrical passages of light and dark; intersecting planes; dense shadows; visual distortions; flattened depths-of-field; highly stylized poses; and models cloaked in black with heavily made-up, masklike faces—bear some resemblance to those featured in the theatrical and filmic productions created by Reinhardt and his acolytes. But while Reinhardt and his followers used these visual effects to create an atmosphere of Gothic eeriness and emotional agitation, Weston's more romanticized interpretation of these design elements resulted in images that radiate a calm, contemplative mood, more in keeping with his own sensibilities at the time (see fig. 1 and MoMA [1902.2001](#)).

As Weston continued to mature and grow as an artist, he became increasingly frustrated by the lack of attention being paid to his work in Los Angeles. In July 1923, he finally made the decision to leave his Glendale portrait business behind and depart for Mexico, where he planned to open another studio with assistance from his latest paramour, actress [Tina Modotti](#). Modotti had spent several weeks in Mexico during the spring of 1922, following the untimely

death of her former companion, Robo de Richey, who had moved to Mexico City the previous December. During her stay, Modotti had mounted a memorial exhibition of de Richey's drawings and batiks, along with a joint showing of Weston's and Mather's photographs. Several of Weston's photographs had sold during the show, convincing him that he would enjoy greater success in Mexico than in Southern California. Within days of their arrival in Mexico City, Modotti took Weston to meet painter Diego Rivera, and through him they became acquainted with other intriguing personalities, including artist Jean Charlot and writer Carleton Beals. Rivera also introduced Weston and Modotti to a group of recently arrived German-born émigrés with whom they would spend a substantial portion of their first year in Mexico.<sup>1</sup> Among these individuals were the professor, journalist, and economist Alfons Goldschmidt and his wife Lina (Jacoby) Goldschmidt, as well as the journalist and travel writer Leo Matthias.

The Goldschmidts were committed Communists with strong anti-Fascist beliefs. Weston and Modotti enjoyed the company of Alfons, but neither could tolerate his overbearing wife, Lina. (Weston described her as a "climber and a bore" who fancied herself a *saloniste*.) Still, they often found themselves at the same social functions, and in June



**fig. 2** Edward Weston. *Steel: Armco, Middletown, Ohio*. October 1922. Palladium print, 1922, 9 7/16 x 6 7/16" (23 x 17.4 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of Thomas Walther (MoMA 1903.2001) Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents

1924 Weston and Modotti attended a gathering at the Goldschmidts' home. After the meeting, Weston noted in his journal that "a new Communist group was formed."<sup>2</sup> This fledgling alliance was the Mexican chapter of the Berlin-based International Workers' Aid (IWA), a Communist-sponsored organization founded in September 1921 to help victims of famine and other natural disasters in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. More recently the group had also begun providing aid to political prisoners. Although Modotti apparently joined the IWA, Weston politely declined.

Thirty-one-year-old Matthias was also a leftist, but his ubiquitous presence within the Weston/Modotti household had nothing to do with a political agenda. By early 1924 Matthias had become infatuated with Modotti. His ill-disguised obsession caused Weston great distress in spite of Modotti's protestations that she had no interest in the love-lorn young man. Finding his affections rebuffed by Modotti at every turn, Matthias announced that he would soon be returning to Germany. Perhaps to compensate for his earlier advances toward Modotti, Matthias offered to organize an exhibition of Weston's photographs in Berlin. Flattered but wary of the time and expense involved in preparing for such an event, Weston ultimately decided to forego the idea, noting in his journal, "If I could feel assured of financial reward, I then might go ahead, but I cannot use energy nor money to further my glory."<sup>3</sup> Matthias left for Germany shortly thereafter, but the subject of a Berlin exhibition came up again when Goldschmidt attended Weston's second showing of photographs at the Aztec Land Gallery in October 1924.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, Weston remained reluctant to undertake such a venture, and the Goldschmidts departed for Germany the following year without having convinced Weston to exhibit his work there.

At the end of December 1924, Weston returned to Glendale, ostensibly for a reunion with his sons, although he actually spent most of the next eight months in San Francisco. Shortly before sailing back to Mexico, in August 1925, he met a young woman named Christel Gang at an exhibition of his photographs held in Los Angeles's Little Tokyo district. Gang had been born and raised in Hamburg, Germany, and while her initial liaison with Weston was necessarily brief due to his imminent departure, she would play an important role in his life a few months later.

Back in Mexico, Weston noted in his journal that on September 6, 1926, he had idly "glanced" through a German magazine where he had seen an illustrated article about photographer Man Ray. Although unable to read the review, he dismissively wrote, "This photographer has been much praised and why, I wonder?" Weston also noted that he had found "nothing beyond the usual" in the best of Man Ray's photographs and, in the worst, "what one might expect from anyone of a hundred commercial photographers in New York."<sup>5</sup> Later that same month, Weston recorded a surprising request: "A representative of the Berlin *Tageblatt* wants to reproduce a number of my photographs, but how to spare

time for making prints, I question. I am so 'fed up' on this work I am doing. I go to bed thinking negatives, prints, failures, successes, how many done, how many to do—and awaken with the same thoughts."<sup>6</sup> Ultimately Weston did prepare a selection of images, a wise decision because the *Berliner Tageblatt* was the most influential and politically liberal newspaper in Germany. The *Tageblatt's* representative in Mexico, a man Weston referred to only as Herr Klötzel, arrived in person to collect the photographs, and although Weston never offered an explanation as to how the *Tageblatt's* interest in his work came about, his German friends undoubtedly played a role.

On November 9, 1926, Weston's final entry in his Mexican journals mentioned a Dr. Boehme, a professor at the German school in Mexico City, who had just purchased Weston's photograph of a miniature horse-and-rider figure made from woven palm fronds.<sup>7</sup> Weston mused that it was the second time a German had chosen that image and also noted that Dr. Boehme had arrived at his studio accompanied by the wife of the German ambassador to Mexico, whom Weston described as "a strong, intelligent woman."<sup>8</sup> Clearly, Weston had made a favorable impression on the German émigré community in Mexico City.

That Weston was held in high regard by his German colleagues became even more obvious when, on November 21, 1926, Weston's *Steel: Armco, Middletown, Ohio* (fig. 2) was reproduced on the cover of *Der Welt Spiegel*, the *Berliner Tageblatt's* Sunday magazine supplement, along with a caption comparing the row of factory smokestacks depicted in the image to a giant pipe organ.<sup>9</sup> Weston made no mention of this stroke of good fortune in his journal, perhaps because in late November he had already bid Mexico farewell and was on his way back to California—this time permanently.

After taking up residency in his former Glendale studio, Weston continued to show an appreciation for all things German. Immediately upon his return to California he embarked on a full-blown love affair with Hamburg-born Christel Gang, who hoped he would one day accompany her on a visit to her beloved homeland.<sup>10</sup> In February 1927, Weston was invited to a raucous party at artist Peter Krasnow's studio. Among the guests was Galka Scheyer, the forceful German-born art dealer who had come to California in 1924 to act as an agent for artists Lyonel Feininger, Alexej von Jawlensky, Vasily Kandinsky, and Paul Klee, the quartet of painters collectively known as *Die Blaue Vier*, or The Blue Four. Although Weston was initially put off by Scheyer's aggressiveness, he came to admire and respect the outspoken woman, calling her a "dynamo of energy" with "insight of unusual clarity."<sup>11</sup> Scheyer remained closely tied to her German colleagues, and she may have given Weston further insight into the intricacies of the German art world.

Because Weston's extended stay in Mexico was intriguing to Angelenos who wanted to know more about



fig. 3 Edward Weston. *Shell*. 1927. Gelatin silver print, 9 3/8 × 7 5/16" (23.8 × 18.6 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Merle Armitage. Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents

their neighbor to the south, he was soon invited to exhibit a group of his Mexican images at the San Diego Museum of Art and the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art. Always eager to make the most of an exhibition opportunity, Weston decided to prepare a body of new work as well. During the spring and summer of 1927 he photographed dancer Bertha Wardell, recording her muscular torso and legs in a series of truncated nudes. He was also pleased with a still life of his desk lamp, as well as a number of close-ups of various types of vegetables and fruit. But his primary obsession during the first half of 1927 involved a group of seashells, and particularly a luminous nautilus shell, borrowed from his artist friend Henrietta Shore (fig. 3).

In August 1927, Weston accompanied Gang to a screening of *Metropolis*, the futuristic German film directed by the tyrannical, Austrian-born Fritz Lang and produced by UFA, Berlin's leading film studio. Coincidentally, Weston had just received a check in the mail from Berlin, which he gleefully recorded in his journal:

*My meal-ticket this time came from Germany, a check for \$20 from the Berliner Tageblatt. Somehow it made me unusually happy, and something sang within,—the check was unexpected. The amount was small for four prints, but the newspapers in the states expect donations,—the privilege of seeing one's name in print is supposed to be enough! And the Tageblatt has asked for more prints. I had confidence in Herr Klötzel when I gave him those photographs a year ago in Mexico, and I was not mistaken.<sup>12</sup>*



**fig. 4** Edward Weston. *Tina*. January 30, 1924. Gelatin silver print, 1924–42, 9 1/16 × 6 7/8" (23 × 17.5 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Grace M. Mayer Fund and The Fellows of Photography Fund, by exchange (MoMA 1906.2001) Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents

(Whether Weston responded to the newspaper's request for more photographs is not known, but no other Weston images have yet been located in subsequent issues of the *Berliner Tageblatt* or its companion magazine.)

Weston reported in January 1928 that he had found an "exquisite squash" to photograph.<sup>13</sup> He also began using a dry-mount press for the first time instead of relying on his earlier method of gluing his photographs to card mounts.<sup>14</sup> Various outings, childcare responsibilities, illnesses, and an array of new lovers filled Weston's life that spring. In May, during a trip to visit friends at Big Bear Lake in the mountains near San Bernardino, Weston photographed rock formations in the Mojave Desert as well as details of juniper and Joshua trees that captured his attention. Later that month, through Krasnow, Weston met German-born architect and industrial designer Karl (Kem) Weber and his wife Erika, who in turn introduced Weston to a Dr. and Mrs. Witte, friends of the Webers who were visiting from Germany. A few days later Weston was surprised and delighted when the Wittes purchased eleven of his photographs — one

of Modotti, taken in Mexico (possibly fig. 4), and ten images from his recent expedition to the Mojave Desert and Big Bear Lake.<sup>15</sup>

In June, Weston hosted what he described as a "mess of a party."<sup>16</sup> Among the attendees were Austrian-born architects Rudolph Schindler and Richard Neutra. Weston was delighted to see Schindler, whom he had met and befriended shortly before his first sojourn in Mexico, and eager to become better acquainted with Neutra, who had come to Los Angeles from Berlin in 1924, during Weston's absence.

In August 1928, Weston decided to move temporarily to San Francisco in pursuit of work opportunities, but shortly before leaving Southern California he displayed his latest photographs to a small gathering of people assembled by Neutra. In his journal Weston gratefully noted that the attendees had shown "much interest in my work. Neutra is always enthusiastic."<sup>17</sup> Indeed, Weston's reputation was beginning to grow. He was busy with portrait commissions and requests from galleries, but as usual, his earnings seemed to evaporate upon receipt. While living alone in San Francisco, Weston often spent his evenings attending films produced, directed, or acted in by Germans who had gotten their start as associates of Reinhardt.<sup>18</sup>

At the end of 1928 Weston admitted to himself that he was in a mental and spiritual slump. Although he had finally erased his debts, he was exhausted and determined to make a change in his life. He spent the Christmas holidays with his family in Glendale, after which he planned to relocate to Carmel-by-the-Sea, a tiny, picturesque village 120 miles south of San Francisco. During his brief stay in Los Angeles, Weston attended a dinner party at Neutra's home, and that evening Neutra came to him with a stunning proposal, which he proudly recorded in his journal:

*I like Richard Neutra so much, and found . . . the others stimulating, so the evening was a rare gathering I do not regret. Even the showing of my work was not the usual boresome task. I felt such a genuine attitude. Neutra is always keenly responsive, and knows whereof he speaks. Representing in America an important exhibit of photography to be held in Germany this summer, he has given me complete charge of collecting the exhibit, choosing the ones whose work I consider worthy of showing, and of writing the catalogue foreword to the American group.<sup>19</sup>*

This description indicates a slight misunderstanding on Weston's part — Neutra intended for him to choose photographers from the western half of the United States, because Edward Steichen had already been asked to select a group from the eastern half.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, Weston was pleased that Neutra would entrust him with the responsibility of exposing German audiences to the work of some of America's most accomplished photographers, and even though Weston had turned down earlier opportunities to show his own work in Germany, he was now quite excited at the prospect of doing so.

The upcoming exhibition, *Film und Foto* (commonly abbreviated as *Fifo*), was being organized by the Deutscher Werkbund, a group of German architects, artists, and designers, many of whom taught at, or were otherwise affiliated with, the Bauhaus, and Weston seems to have recognized that the *Fifo* exhibition was destined to be noteworthy. In early February 1929, he began soliciting work from his photographer colleagues Johan Hagemeyer, Modotti, Mather, and Imogen Cunningham. He wrote to his friend Hagemeyer, telling him:

*I am a "one-man jury" appointed to select representative American work (photography) for what appears to be a very important international exhibit in Germany this summer. I am now writing a catalogue foreword. Neutra gave me the commission which he was first tendered. I have much to discuss with you about this—too long to write down. But your work will be an important note—which I take for granted you will let me have.*<sup>21</sup>

However, Hagemeyer, suffering through a severe bout of pneumonia and depression, did not reply. Three weeks later, Weston tried again: "Please keep in mind the german [*sic*] exhibit: I feel it will be important and different. . . . Prints to be unmounted, will leave here in about three weeks."<sup>22</sup> On March 18 an exasperated Weston sent one final query:

*Have you given up thoughts of showing in Germany? Prints would have to be in my hands before I go south, that is, here by Thursday, otherwise too late. Unmounted prints wanted. I seem to have "fizzled" on this show. Tina refuses to show old work and has no new. Margrethe,—no answer. Imogen will send her flower forms. Brett [Weston] and E.W., each 20.*<sup>23</sup>

In the end, only Cunningham and Roger Sturtevant, a twenty-five-year-old photographer from Alameda, California,<sup>24</sup> responded to Weston's invitation.

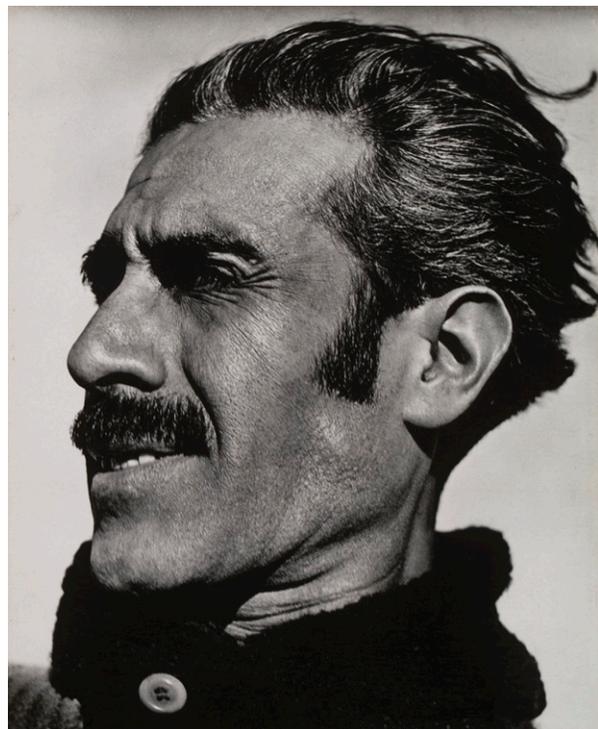
Sometime in February or early March, Weston sent Neutra a package filled with forty photographs, half taken by him and half by his son Brett. Under separate cover he also forwarded the article he had written characterizing the current state of American photography,<sup>25</sup> which brought an immediate and enthusiastic response from Neutra:

*I received your article and believe it is excellent! I forward it right to the Exposition committee and recommend strongly that they reprint it in their catalogue, or at least larger parts of it. I enjoyed reading very much, this being my first acquaintance with you as a literary man!*

*Just now I receive yours and Brett's prints. Many thank. . . . I also receive today a letter from the Exposition Committee saying that they are writing you happily a personal invitation and give you full liberty for your group.*<sup>26</sup>



**fig. 5** Edward Weston. *Nahui Olin*. 1923. Gelatin silver print, 9 × 6<sup>15/16</sup>" (22.9 × 17.7 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase. Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents



**fig. 6** Edward Weston. *Manuel Hernández Galván, Shooting*. 1924. Gelatin silver print, 8<sup>7/8</sup> × 7<sup>3/4</sup>" (22.6 × 18.5 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Samuel M. Kootz. Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents

The *Film und Foto* exhibition opened in Stuttgart on May 18, 1929, and remained on display through July 7. Intended to be an overview of international developments in film and photography, *Fifo* was the first exhibition to recognize the significant influence photography was exerting on contemporary culture as a whole. Every aspect of the medium was displayed: traditional still photographs, cameraless photograms, multimedia photocollages, photographically illustrated books and periodicals, advertisements, and “moving” pictures. Included were more than 1,000 photographs by approximately 200 makers. The work of famous artists hung next to images by unknown contributors. Photographic prints were casually displayed; those lacking frames were simply tacked or nailed directly to the wall. But despite this rather unceremonious presentation, the landmark exhibition would reverberate within the photography community for years to come.

The photographs Weston elected to send on his own behalf included six taken in Mexico between 1923 and 1926, namely his monumental portrait of Nahui Olín (fig. 5) and one of Manuel Hernández Galván in the act of shooting a gun (fig. 6); the facade of a Mexican bar, or *pulquería* (possibly fig. 7); an arrangement of three curvaceous Mexican pots, or *ollas* (fig. 8); an ethereal cloud formation (possibly fig. 9); and a still life of a Mexican doll paired with a sombrero (fig. 10). He also included a scene of an abandoned ship docked in an estuary, made during his stay in San Francisco in 1925 (possibly fig. 11). In addition to these pre-1927 photographs, Weston sent thirteen images taken since his return to California, including four of his seashell images (fig. 12); two landscapes of the Mojave Desert; a study of a Joshua tree and another of a juniper tree taken during his recent travels; a portrait of a young woman identified only as a *California Girl*; a female nude; a study of Wardell’s kneeling legs; a still life featuring his desk lamp; and a close-up of a gourd or squash.<sup>27</sup> On June 12, in a surprisingly perfunctory journal entry, Weston casually reported receiving “a catalogue from *Film und Foto*—Stuttgart: they reproduced my head of Galván, and published my article, hung 18 of Brett’s photographs and 20 of mine. I sent 20 from each of us.”<sup>28</sup>

Perhaps Weston’s seeming lack of excitement about the *Fifo* exhibition stemmed from his recent meeting with Hungarian-born musician Imre Weissshaus, who had come to Carmel to give a series of recitals. Weissshaus, a pianist who had studied with Béla Bartók, would later become known in France under the name Paul Arma. After comparing a group of Weston’s photographs to a selection taken by his son Brett, Weissshaus had pronounced Brett’s depictions of machinery superior to Edward’s images of “rocks and trees,” later remarking, “Who is interested in rocks today?” In his journal, Edward expressed his indignation, angrily dismissing Weissshaus’s opinion as a “viewpoint as narrow as any academician, bound by subject matter. . . . Subject matter is immaterial—the approach to the subject, the way it is seen and recorded is the critical test of a worker.” But in a rare



fig. 7 Edward Weston. *Pulquería, Mexico*. 1926. Gelatin silver print, 1941, 7 ½ × 9 ¾" (19.1 × 23.8 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Anonymous gift. Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents



fig. 8 Edward Weston. *Tres Ollas de Oaxaca*. 1926. Gelatin silver print, 7 ½ × 9 7/16" (19.1 × 23.9 cm). Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents



fig. 9 Edward Weston. *Cloud, Mexico*. July 1924. Palladium print, 1924, 6 15/16 × 9 7/16" (17.6 × 23.9 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of David H. McAlpin, by exchange (MoMA 1910.2001) Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents



**fig. 10** Edward Weston. *Juguetes, Doll and Sombrero*. 1926. Gelatin silver print, 9 7/16 × 7 1/2" (24 × 19.1 cm). Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents



**fig. 11** Edward Weston. *Boat, San Francisco*. 1925. Gelatin silver print, 9 5/16 × 7 9/16" (23.7 × 19.2 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Grace M. Mayer Fund (MoMA 1907.2001) Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents

moment of self-doubt he also added, "I feel beforehand that my work will not be greatly admired in Stuttgart—indeed it may be severely criticized—for, from what I can gather—a group very similar to Weissshaus have the exhibit in charge."<sup>29</sup> (Further meetings with Weissshaus brought a more favorable reaction from Edward, however, especially after Weissshaus asked him to critique a group of photographs by a "young Hungarian" friend—very likely André Kertész, for whom Weissshaus/Arma had recently posed and whose work was also being shown at *Fifo*.)<sup>30</sup>

Shortly after the *Fifo* exhibition ended, Weston's pessimism about his reception in Stuttgart evaporated when he received confirmation that, in fact, his photographs had garnered many admirers. Among those most impressed by his work was Hildebrand Gurlitt, the youthful director of the König-Albert-Museum in Zwickau. Gurlitt, son of the highly respected professor Cornelius Gurlitt, was part of an intellectual, artistic family that had produced a number of scholars, architects, artists, musicians, art historians, and gallery owners over the years. Gurlitt's intelligence, acutely discerning eye, and sophisticated taste, coupled with a desire to champion challenging work, led to his appointment (at the tender age of twenty-nine) to the directorship of the König-Albert-Museum in April 1925. He then steadily built

his reputation as a promoter of avant-garde artists Max Beckmann, Max Pechstein, Käthe Kollwitz, Erich Heckel, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, and Emil Nolde.<sup>31</sup>

Gurlitt also took a keen interest in contemporary architecture, perhaps due to his father's role as president of the German City Planning Academy. Shortly after he had assumed his position at the König-Albert-Museum, he contracted with the Bauhaus, then under the direction of architect Walter Gropius, for a remodel of the interior of the nineteenth-century Zwickau museum building. The makeover reportedly caused much consternation within the local community, as did the exhibitions Gurlitt was mounting, but the young man remained undaunted by the controversy. Similarly, he did not hesitate when it came to making unconventional purchases, as evidenced by Weston's journal entry of July 22, 1929, in which he proudly reported, "Dr. H. Gurlitt of the König Albert Museum, Zwickau, seeing the exhibit in Stuttgart has ordered three of my prints—Galván [fig. 6], the knees—Bertha [Wardell] [fig. 13] and a shell [fig. 14]."<sup>32</sup>

Gurlitt's interest in photography would undoubtedly have created further rumblings among his constituents. Zwickau was then a heavily industrialized city of some 80,000 citizens—most of them employed in the town's



fig. 12 Edward Weston. *Shells*. 1927. Gelatin silver print, 7 5/8 x 9 1/2" (19.3 x 24.1 cm). Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents

steel mills, coal mines, textile mills, or automobile factories—and the König-Albert-Museum was a small, regional institution, known primarily as the repository of a very fine mineralogical collection. But Gurlitt was a man with a finely tuned eye and a clear sense of direction, and very likely his previous association with the Bauhaus architects and designers had convinced him that the Deutscher Werkbund's efforts to showcase photography as a medium worthy of respect was a position he could wholeheartedly endorse.

Perhaps Gurlitt was also influenced by the review of *Fifo* written by the eminent art historian Hans Hildebrandt, which included a reproduction of Weston's *Jugetes, Doll and Sombrero* (see fig. 10),<sup>33</sup> or the article written by Gurlitt's friend Carl Georg Heise in *Lübeckischen Generalanzeiger*.<sup>34</sup> Other commentary on the *Fifo* exhibition included Hans Windisch's article in *Velhagen & Klasing's Monatshefte*,<sup>35</sup> which was accompanied by a reproduction of Weston's *Manuel Hernández Galván, Shooting* (see fig. 6) and A. Kraszna-Krausz's review in *Close Up*, which mentioned one of Weston's shell photographs as a prime example of an "unembellished catching of true impressions of life."<sup>36</sup> In any case, Gurlitt obviously decided that acquiring photographs was a foresighted thing to do.

After the Stuttgart display closed, eight of Weston's images remained on view as part of an abbreviated version of the *Film und Foto* exhibition, which subsequently circulated to venues in Berlin (October 19–November 17, 1929) and Vienna (February 20–March 31, 1930).<sup>37</sup> The attention Weston received in Germany and Austria may have been what motivated him to experiment with a different approach

in his printing methods. On March 15, 1930, he wrote, "Long ago I thought of printing my own work, — work not done for the public—on high gloss paper. This was some years back in Mexico: but habit is so strong that not until this last month did I actually start mounting glossy prints for my collection."<sup>38</sup> Weston became increasingly excited at the prospect of reprinting many of his old negatives, and on March 31 he reported on his progress: "I have been printing, — new negatives, and reprinting some old ones. The reprinting of old negatives has been a revelation, — using glossy paper. Because the prints do not 'dry down,' losing shadow detail and flattening highlights I am able to print much deeper and use a more contrasty grade of paper, with a resulting brilliance and richness which puts an entirely new value on my old work." He then added, "I am shipping today my first exhibit on glossy paper: to Munich, Germany."<sup>39</sup>

Weston's shipment of photographs was being sent to the organizers of *Das Lichtbild* (Photography), another international exhibition of photography that would travel to several venues in Germany over the next two years. Once again his *Manuel Hernández Galván, Shooting* was slated for reproduction in the accompanying catalogue, along with his essay written for *Film und Foto*.<sup>40</sup> In early May 1930, Weston copied into his journal a passage from the foreword of the *Das Lichtbild* catalogue: "There will scarcely be anyone who now and then, has not been deeply impressed by a photo . . . for the mere fact that its subject modified and improved his own imagination of the universe, granting him an outlook far beyond his visible surroundings."<sup>41</sup> It was around this time that art dealer Karl Nierendorf, having viewed Weston's work in either *Fifo* or *Das Lichtbild*, exhibited several of Weston's photographs in his Berlin gallery.<sup>42</sup>

The year 1930 also brought a rather remarkable confluence of individuals to Berlin, all of them personally acquainted with Weston. Since leaving Mexico, Alfons and Lina Goldschmidt had made their home there. Alfons was now chairman of the German section of International Workers' Aid, and Lina was in her element, orchestrating gatherings of artistic and politically involved people. Modotti's former suitor, Matthias, was also living in Berlin. Following his return to Germany in 1924, Matthias had published a book titled *Trip to Mexico* (1926) based on his experiences, and through his participation in literary circles he had met the widow of a wealthy Jewish doctor, whom he had recently married. (Apparently Matthias had not entirely gotten over his infatuation with Modotti, however. In a portrait painted in 1922 by Beckmann, one of the avant-garde artists Gurlitt had exhibited at the König-Albert-Museum, the sitter—recently identified as Matthias's wife Astrid—bears a striking resemblance to Modotti.)<sup>43</sup> Other residents of Berlin included the Wittes, whom Weston had met in Los Angeles, and Arma, recently returned from his second tour of the United States with his American-born wife, graphic designer Virginia Tooker. In the early autumn of 1930, Neutra and his wife Dione also arrived in Berlin, where he gave a lecture in the

recently completed auditorium for the Metal Workers' Union designed by architect Erich Mendelsohn, Neutra's former employer.<sup>44</sup>

In addition, there was one person who knew Weston more intimately than most—Modotti. After Weston's departure from Mexico, Modotti had totally immersed herself in left-wing politics. Her active participation in Communist Party activities and the appearance of her photographs in various Communist-sponsored publications made her an "undesirable" in Mexico. In mid-1928, Modotti entered into a relationship with Cuban-born revolutionary Julio Antonio Mella, who was assassinated on the night of January 10, 1929, as he and Modotti walked along a deserted, poorly lit street in Mexico City. During the week that followed, a bereft Modotti was placed under house arrest on suspicion of murder and interrogated repeatedly. Meanwhile, the Mexican press pilloried her, and even though she was eventually declared innocent, the experience made her realize that her days in Mexico were likely numbered. In a letter written to Weston in September 1929, she told him, "Today I received a lovely letter from that dear Mrs. Witte, from Germany. . . . You know I feel pretty sure that ere long I will be going there; everything tends that way and to tell you the truth I begin to feel restless."<sup>45</sup>

Modotti's intuition proved correct when she was arrested early the following year on another trumped-up charge. After being imprisoned for thirteen days, she was

given just forty-eight hours to put her affairs in order and leave the country. By mid-February 1930, she was on board the SS *Edam*, en route to Rotterdam. From there she boarded a train to Berlin, arriving on April 4. Ten days later she wrote Weston that she had been invited to the home of Alfons and Lina Goldschmidt: "I needed to see Prof. G[oldschmidt] who is a member of the International Anti-imperialist League and there was no way to avoid the wife" whom Modotti still found "unbearable." She also told Weston that the Wittes had warmly welcomed her and invited her to stay with them.<sup>46</sup>

Although Modotti arrived in Berlin too late to view the abbreviated version of the *Film und Foto* exhibition, which had ended the previous November, she quickly came to the realization that there was already an abundance of talented photographers working in Germany. Consequently, she expressed doubts about attempting to establish a portrait studio in Berlin, telling Weston, "competition here is so great, and the prices so cheap that I do not feel valiant enough to step in and compete."<sup>47</sup> She did, however, submit examples of her work to the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung (AIZ)*, a weekly anti-Fascist magazine where several of her photographs were reproduced. Photographer Lotte Jacobi also provided assistance by giving Modotti access to her darkroom and studio, but during the summer of 1930 Modotti was sent on a series of clandestine missions (probably at the behest of Alfons Goldschmidt)—dangerous forays that took precedence over her photography efforts. Writer Anita Brenner, who had



**fig. 13** Edward Weston. *Nude*. 1927. Gelatin silver print, 6 3/8 × 9 1/8" (15.5 × 23.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gilman Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gifts. Digital image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image courtesy Art Resource, NY. Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents



**fig. 14** Edward Weston. *Shells*. 1927. Gelatin silver print, 9 7/8 × 8" (25.1 × 20.3 cm). Collection Center for Creative Photography. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents

previously commissioned Weston and Modotti to document more than 200 examples of indigenous Mexican arts and crafts, also happened to be passing through Germany on a Guggenheim Fellowship that summer, and she later recalled encountering Modotti in Hamburg, where Modotti had been sent on some covert assignment.<sup>48</sup>

Considering that so many of Weston's friends were in Germany in 1930, the possibilities that one or more of them intersected with Gurlitt and further encouraged his interest in Weston's work are myriad. Indeed, it was only a few weeks after Modotti's departure from Germany that Gurlitt requested another group of photographs from Weston. Weston responded by sending a package containing fifteen examples of his latest work, and on December 14, 1930, Gurlitt wrote to Weston indicating that he wished to purchase several of them:

*I'm returning 9 photographs to you. I'd like to keep 6. In addition, I'm sending you 3 photographs that the Deutsche Werkbund in Stuttgart sent me to review. I have them already [presumably, Gurlitt was referring to the three prints he had ordered from Weston in 1929].*

*Your work again pleased us very much, many thanks for sending it. If you have new [work] next year, please think of us again. But what should I pay you. The previous time we sent you \$10 for 3 photographs, so this time I'm sending \$20. I would be very grateful if this is acceptable to you.*

*Many thanks and best wishes. Yours devotedly, Gurlitt*<sup>49</sup>

Gurlitt's brief note is important for a number of reasons. By December 1930, he was no longer the director of the König-Albert-Museum in Zwickau, having been dismissed from that position the previous April reportedly because of his partial Jewish ancestry (his paternal grandmother was Jewish) and his controversial, avant-garde exhibitions. Although Gurlitt neglected to mention this to Weston, he was, in fact, now living in his parent's home in Dresden, where he was making a living as an art history professor at the Academy of Applied Arts and occasionally contributing articles to the *Vossische Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, well-known liberal newspapers published in Berlin and Frankfurt, respectively. Gurlitt's note to Weston is particularly significant because it provides conclusive evidence that by late 1930 Gurlitt was also working closely with a private collector named Kurt Kirchbach. A Dresden industrialist, Kirchbach had been inspired by the *Film und Foto* exhibition to begin assembling a collection of early-twentieth-century photography, with Gurlitt acting as his agent and advisor.<sup>50</sup> Their collaboration is clearly indicated by the return address Gurlitt included in his note—Stübel Allee, 29—which was the address of Kirchbach's residence in 1930.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the six Weston prints that Gurlitt purchased in December 1930 (and very likely the three he had ostensibly acquired for the König-Albert-Museum in July 1929) were almost certainly intended

for Kirchbach's private collection.<sup>52</sup> (Gurlitt's letter also suggests that other photographs from the *Film und Foto* exhibition might have been sent to Kirchbach as well.)

On April 13, 1931, Gurlitt assumed a new role as director and curator of the Kunstverein in Hamburg, a venerable institution founded in 1817 for the express purpose of exhibiting and selling the work of living artists.<sup>53</sup> Once ensconced there, Gurlitt was able to resume his curatorial activities, and from January 10 to February 14, 1932, he exhibited the photographs he had helped Kirchbach acquire thus far. The exhibition was accompanied by a modest catalogue in which Gurlitt explained the genesis of Kirchbach's collection and the themes on which it was based. In the final paragraph of his catalogue essay, Gurlitt noted:

*Photography remains rooted in the object, which plays an even bigger role [in photography] than in painting. Photography is not only reproduction and rendition of what already exists, it can—and here lies its true realm—provide new, very inspiring, very expressive views of and about the world. As long as a whole man stands behind the camera who knows what he wants to say and who sees the world in a deep and meaningful way, then photography can become a high exertion of the human spirit, then it can become creative. To show this is the aim of the Kirchbach Collection.*<sup>54</sup>

Sometime in the spring or early summer of 1933, Gurlitt again contacted Weston asking him to send along another group of photographs. On July 8, Weston wrote to his friend Willard Van Dyke about his upcoming exhibition at Van Dyke's studio/gallery: "Date for exhibit OK. But I will have to get busy at once. Have prints to get off for Gurlitt too."<sup>55</sup> Ten days later, Weston sent Van Dyke another communication in which he noted, "Address of: Dr. H. Gurlitt, Kunstverein in Hamburg, Hamburg 36. Neue Rabenstr[asse]. 25."<sup>56</sup> However, by the time Weston's shipment of photographs arrived at the Kunstverein, Gurlitt was no longer there to receive them.

Since the beginning of 1933, the political situation in Germany had changed rapidly and dramatically. In January, Adolf Hitler had been named Reich Chancellor of Germany, and by early July all other political parties had been declared illegal, thus completing Hitler's takeover. On July 14, 1933, just as Weston was preparing to send his next group of photographs to Germany, Gurlitt was dismissed as director of the Hamburg Kunstverein.<sup>57</sup> Shortly thereafter the association's board members were also replaced. Over the next several months, the Kunstverein's newly remodeled building was sold at a forced auction and what remained of the group's files and records were transferred to a room in the nearby Kunsthalle.<sup>58</sup> No other letters from Gurlitt exist among Weston's papers, so it is not known whether their long-distance communications continued beyond July 1933.

After losing his job at the Kunstverein, Gurlitt opened an art gallery in Hamburg and continued to advise private

collectors. Sometime in the late 1930s, in spite of Gurlitt's dismissal from his positions in Zwickau and Hamburg for being one-quarter Jewish, he was pressed into service as an agent for Hitler's regime, selling so-called *entartete Kunst* or "degenerate art" that had been confiscated by the Nazis. Of course, the great irony of Gurlitt's situation was that many of the artists whose work he was now obliged to liquidate were the same artists he had boldly championed prior to 1933. Around 1941 Gurlitt was handed a new mandate when he was ordered to begin acquiring artworks for Hitler's proposed Führermuseum, an activity he pursued until his June 1945 arrest and interrogation by members of the United States Army's Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives section, better known as the Monuments Men.

Further details of Gurlitt's wartime exploits have only recently begun to surface, prompted by the discovery of approximately 1,500 works of art hidden away in his reclusive son's Munich apartment and Salzburg residence. Only time and further research will adjudicate the controversy surrounding Gurlitt's activities, but one thing is certain: Weston

would be appalled to learn that the purchaser of his photographs later became one of the chief envoys in Hitler's monomaniacal scheme to purchase or plunder the greatest works of art in Europe for the glorification of Nazi Germany.

It nevertheless remains that the inspiration Weston received from his German friends and colleagues spurred him on to greater and greater achievements. His early interest in German theater and cinema broadened his visual vocabulary, and the support and encouragement of the many German-born and German-trained individuals he encountered during his early days in Los Angeles and Mexico City were critical to the evolution of his career. It is also evident that during the period when Weston's photographs were being largely ignored by the citizenry of Los Angeles, they were being widely admired in Berlin. Thanks to the Weston photographs in the Thomas Walther Collection—and the research they inspired—a bridge now exists between a photographer working on the far side of America and the invigorating *zeitgeist* of the Weimar Republic.

#### NOTES

1. Significant numbers of German immigrants arrived in Mexico during and after the First World War, attracted by business, agricultural, educational, and political opportunities. The largest German settlement was in Mexico City, where substantial German enclaves still exist.
2. Edward Weston, *Daybooks, Vol. I, Mexico* (Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1973), p. 82.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
7. Weston was probably referring to the Colegio Alemán Alexander von Humboldt, a school founded in Mexico City in 1894, now the largest German educational institution outside of Germany.
8. Weston, *Daybooks, Vol. I, Mexico*, p. 202.
9. See *Der Welt Spiegel* (magazine supplement to *Berliner Tageblatt und Handels Zeitung*), November 21, 1926, with Weston's *Steel: Armco, Middletown, Ohio* reproduced on the cover as *Phantastik des Alltags, Abzugsschleife einer Fabrik in Ohio, die wie gigantische Orgelpfeifen wirken*. (Reference courtesy of Paula Freedman and Paul Hertzmann.)
10. Edward Weston, *Daybooks, Vol. II, California* (Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1973), p. 4.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 92, 97–98, where Weston writes about viewing four films, all starring Emil Jannings: *The Last Laugh* (1924), directed by F. W. Murnau; *Street of Sin* (1928), directed by Ludwig Berger; *The Patriot* (1928), directed by Ernst Lubitsch; and *The Last Command* (1928), directed by Josef von Sternberg. Jannings, Murnau, Berger, and Lubitsch all owed their successful film careers to their earlier associations with Max Reinhardt.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
20. Besides sending sixteen examples of his own work, Steichen selected New York City photographers Berenice Abbott, Anton Bruehl, Paul Outerbridge, Charles Sheeler, and Ralph Steiner as the other American contributors to *Film und Foto*.
21. Weston, letter to Johan Hagemeyer, February 6, 1929, Edward Weston/Johan Hagemeyer Collection, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona.
22. Weston, letter to Hagemeyer, February 26, 1929, Edward Weston/Johan Hagemeyer Collection, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona.
23. Weston, letter to Hagemeyer, March 18, 1929, Edward Weston/Johan Hagemeyer Collection, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona.
24. Roger Sturtevant would later become an assistant to photographer Dorothea Lange.
25. See Weston, "Amerika und Fotografie," *Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds Film und Foto*, exh. cat. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Werkbund, 1929), pp. 13–14.
26. Richard Neutra, letter to Weston, n.d. [circa February or early March 1929], Edward Weston Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.
27. For a list of exhibited photographs by Weston see *Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds Film und Foto*, pp. 78–79.
28. Weston, *Daybooks, Vol. II, California*, p. 126.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

31. Much of the biographical information about Hildebrand Gurlitt comes from "Translation of a sworn statement written by Dr. Hildebrand Gurlitt," submitted in June 1945 to First Lieutenant Dwight McKay, member of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives section, United States Army (better known as the Monuments Men), following Gurlitt's capture at Schloss Aschbach near Bamberg, Germany. Although the first portion of Gurlitt's statement, in which he details his life prior to 1933, seems to be accurate, the latter portion, in which he describes his activities between 1934 and 1945, is highly suspect. Available online at The Monuments Men Foundation website, [www.monumentsmen-foundation.org](http://www.monumentsmen-foundation.org).
32. Weston, *Daybooks, Vol. II, California*, p. 130. The information in Weston's journal entry is echoed in a brief notice in "The Calendar: Art," *California Arts & Architecture* (October 1929), p. 63, which reads: "Edward Weston has been advised at his home in Carmel, California, that three photographs from the international exhibition recently held at Stuttgart, Germany, were sold to The King Albert Museum, Zwickau." (Reference courtesy of Paula Freedman and Paul Hertzmann.)
33. Hans Hildebrandt, "Die Fifo In Stuttgart," *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen Zeitschrift für Freunde der Photographie* 66, no. 10 (May 1929):211. Weston's *Juguetes, Doll and Sombbrero* is reproduced on p. 208, as *Erinnerungen an Mexico*. (Reference courtesy of Paula Freedman and Paul Hertzmann.)
34. Carl George Heise, "'Film und Foto,' zur Ausstellung der Deutschen Werkbundes in Stuttgart," *Lübeckischen Generalanzeiger*, June 18, 1929, p. 2. (Reference courtesy of Paula Freedman and Paul Hertzmann.)
35. Hans Windisch, "Die Neue Photographie," *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte* 44, no. 3 (November 1929):309-16. Weston's *Manuel Hernández Galván, Shooting* is reproduced on p. 311, as *Der Scharfschütze*. (Reference courtesy of Paula Freedman and Paul Hertzmann.)
36. A. Kraszna-Krausz, "Exhibition in Stuttgart, June, 1929, and Its Effect," *Close Up* 5, no. 6 (December 1929):455-64. (Reference courtesy of Paula Freedman and Paul Hertzmann.)
37. No checklist exists for the Berlin exhibition, but the Vienna exhibition catalogue lists only eight Weston photographs: *Nahui O lin* [sic] (here fig. 5), *Scharfschütze* (fig. 6), *Schiffsburg* (possibly fig. 11), *Erinnerung an Mexiko* (fig. 10), *Tonkrüge* (fig. 8), *Muschel* (fig. 3), *Zypressenstamm*, and *Kalifornisches Mädchen*. Michael Winkler, *Internationale Ausstellung: Film und Foto Wanderausstellung des Deutschen Werkbundes* (Vienna, n.d. [c. 1930]), p. 14. Weston's *Manuel Hernández Galván, Shooting* (fig. 6) is reproduced on p. 22, as *Scharfschütze*. (Reference courtesy of Paula Freedman and Paul Hertzmann.) For further discussion of *Film und Foto* and other photography exhibitions of the period, including installation photographs and touring schedules, see Olivier Lugon, "Prints from the Thomas Walther Collection and German Exhibitions around 1930," on this website; and Lugon, "Photography and Exhibition in Germany around 1930," in Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg, eds., *Object:Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909-1949* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014), pp. 366-75.
38. Weston, *Daybooks, Vol. II, California*, p. 147.
39. Weston, *Daybooks, Vol. II, California*, p. 149.
40. *Internationale Wanderausstellung des Deutschen Werkbundes Film und Foto Vom 19. Oktober Bis 17. November Im Lichthof des Ehemaligen Kunstgewerbemuseums Prinz-Albrecht Strasse 7* (Berlin: Deutscher Werkbund, 1929), introduction by Wolfgang Herrmann, essay by Weston, pp. 5-7. Weston's *Manuel Hernández Galván, Shooting* is reproduced on p. 31, as *Scharfschütze*. (Reference courtesy of Paula Freedman and Paul Hertzmann.)
41. Weston, quoting the foreword to the *Das Lichtbild* catalogue, *Daybooks, Vol. II, California*, p. 156.
42. "Questions," Nancy Newhall to Edward Weston, c. 1944-45, Edward Weston Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.
43. Max Beckmann's portrait, which is titled *Frau Dr. Heidel* according to the German custom of transferring the husband's title to the wife, is now thought to be a portrait of Astrid Matthias, painted during her first marriage to a Dr. Heidel. See Sabine Rewald, *Glitter and Doom: German Portraits from the 1920s* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), p. 98. Perhaps it is not by chance that the painting now resides at the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, the city where Gurlitt served as director of the Hamburg Kunstverein, an organization closely affiliated with the Kunsthalle.
44. *Richard Neutra: Promise and Fulfillment 1919-1932; Selections from the Letters and Diaries of Richard and Dione Neutra*, compiled and translated by Dione Neutra (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986), pp. 189-190.
45. Tina Modotti, letter to Weston, September 17, 1929, Edward Weston Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.
46. Tina Modotti to Edward Weston, April 4, 1930, Edward Weston Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.
47. Ibid.
48. Mildred Constantine, interview with Anita Brenner, *Research Papers regarding Tina Modotti, 1920-1993*, n.d., The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles, California.
49. Hildebrand Gurlitt, letter to Weston, December 14, 1930, English translation courtesy of Vince Doerfler and Dr. Beatrice Oshika, Edward Weston Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.
50. See "Fotografie als Handwerk: Zur Internationalen Foto-Sammlung Kurt Kirchbach, Dresden," *Internationale Foto Ausstellung*, January 10-February 14, 1932, exh. cat., Kunstverein, Hamburg. (Reference courtesy of Dr. Thomas Gilbhard, head of Gerd Bucerius Library and Rare Books Collection, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg; English translation courtesy of Dr. Iris Schmeisser, Provenance Specialist, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.)
51. See Cornelius Gurlitt, Kaitzer Strasse, 26, and Kurt Kirchbach, Stübelallee, 29, Dresden, Germany, *Adressbuch für Dresden und Vororte*, pp. 349, 705, Z. 4.27-1930 (1. Fi. Z. 161), available online at <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id32253159Z>. (Reference and translation courtesy of Dr. Iris Schmeisser, Provenance Specialist, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.)
52. Art historian Herbert Molderings has identified several photographs sold at auction in 1997 and 2008 as having come from Kirchbach's collection. (See Christoph Schaden, interview with Molderings, "'...whether Mr. Burdack had valid title to the collection' oder: der Fall der

“Helene Anderson Collection” [. . . Whether Mr. Burdack had valid title to the collection or: The Case of the “Helene Anderson Collection”], *Arbeiten zu Fotografie und Kunst*, available online at <http://www.christophschaden.de/de/schreiben/interviewen/herbert-molderings/herbert-molderings>.) These auctions included *Important Avant-Garde Photographs of the 1920s & 1930s: The Helene Anderson Collection*, Sotheby’s London, May 2, 1997, in which seven Weston photographs were sold (lots 212–18); and “Property from the Springefeld Collection,” *Photographs*, Christie’s London, May 15, 2008, in which one Weston photograph was sold (lot 32). These Weston photographs, all formerly in Kirchbach’s collection, account for eight of the nine photographs purchased by Gurlitt, on behalf of Kirchbach, in 1929 and 1930.

53. The date of Gurlitt’s hiring at the Hamburg Kunstverein was provided by Bettina Steinbruegge, director, Kunstverein in Hamburg, e-mail to the author, February 4, 2014.

54. Unfortunately, no listing of photographers or individual images was included in the catalogue prepared by Gurlitt for the exhibition of Kirchbach’s photography collection. Instead the exhibition was organized thematically, with photographs representing the following categories: Portraits of Famous People; Artists; Women of the 20th Century; Men of the 20th Century; Children; Animals; Plants; High Mountains; Water and Dunes; Landscapes; City and

Architecture; Aerial Views; Industry and Engineering; Film; Still Life; Representations of the Elements—Montages, Photograms, the Abstract; Dance; Sports; The Nude and Details of the Body; and Reportage. See “Fotografie als Handwerk: Zur Internationalen Foto-Sammlung Kurt Kirchbach, Dresden.” (Reference courtesy of Dr. Thomas Gilbhard, head of Gerd Bucerius Library and Rare Books Collection, Museum für Kunst and Gewerbe Hamburg; English translation courtesy of Dr. Iris Schmeisser, Provenance Specialist, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.)

55. Weston, letter to Willard Van Dyke, July 8, 1933, Willard Van Dyke Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.

56. Weston, letter to Van Dyke, July 18, 1933, Willard Van Dyke Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.

57. The date of Gurlitt’s dismissal from the Hamburg Kunstverein was provided by Bettina Steinbruegge, director, Kunstverein in Hamburg, e-mail to the author, February 4, 2014.

58. This information comes from the historical timeline on the Hamburg Kunstverein’s website, available online at [www.kunstverein.de/englisch/kunstverein/history/index/php](http://www.kunstverein.de/englisch/kunstverein/history/index/php).

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