

The Mosaic and Stained-Glass Company Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, and Its Interest in Medieval Mosaics: Objects and Documents from the Collections of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

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This contribution focuses on the Berlin mosaic and stained-glass company Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, with particular emphasis on its interest in the techniques and aesthetics of Early Christian and Medieval Italian mosaics. These were promoted between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, also through scholarly collaborations with famous mosaic experts of the time, such as Joseph Wilpert and Corrado Ricci. Drawing on objects and documents held at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, as well as new archival findings, this research aims to explore the firm's role in the ›revival‹ of Early Christian and Medieval mosaic in Berlin. It also highlights how the company worked with modern artists, such as Max Pechstein, in shaping new aesthetic tendencies in modern art and culture based on ancient models.

Introduction

In the context of the ideological and romantic reappraisal of the Middle Ages that began in Europe in the early nineteenth century, the Prussian court developed a renewed interest in Medieval mosaics.¹ This fascination is particularly evident in Berlin and Potsdam, beginning with the commissions of King Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1795–1861), following his journey to Italy in 1828. In 1834, while still Crown Prince, Friedrich Wilhelm purchased the apse mosaic from the S. Cipriano monastery in Murano (Venice), arranging for its removal and reinstallation in the Friedenskirche at Park Sanssouci, Potsdam – a neo-Romanesque basilica built between 1845 and 1854 after Roman models, which also housed fragments of Medieval sculpture brought from Italy by his trusted art dealer, Francesco Pajaro.² His acquisition in 1842 of the apse mosaic from the Church of S. Michele in Afrisco in Ravenna, by then as King of Prussia, further reflects his commitment to collecting and integrating Medieval art into his architectural projects.³ His brother, Prince Carl (1801–1883), similarly incorporated a Byzantine mosaic into the entrance portal of the neo-Medieval ›Klosterhof‹ [monastery courtyard], built in 1850 near the castle of Klein Glienicke, where additional Medieval sculptures and decorations were also displayed.⁴

The rulers' passion for Medieval mosaic was undoubtedly influenced by the medium's traditional use in decorating architectural surfaces in prestigious settings, renowned for their striking visual and scenographic impact. This fascination culminated in the commissioning of new mosaic decorations in Berlin, marked by a strong historicist character.

The mosaic and stained-glass company Puhl & Wagner, founded in Berlin in 1889 by Wilhelm Wiegmann (1851–1920), August Wagner

(1866–1952), and Friedrich Puhl (dates unknown) and active until 1969, capitalised on this ongoing ›Renaissance‹. It played a key role in shaping aesthetic tastes in Berlin at the turn of the twentieth century, and in

This paper summarises the results of the international scholarship programme for research and work residencies at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, conducted in 2024 at the Bode Museum as part of the project ›Unbekannte römische Mosaiken: Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff und die Wiederbelebung frühchristlicher und mittelalterlicher Mosaiken in Berlin‹ [Unknown Roman Mosaics: Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff and the Revival of Early Christian and Medieval Mosaics in Berlin]. I would like to express my gratitude to the entire academic staff of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin for opening the doors of their collections and archives to me, for fulfilling all my research requests, and in particular to Elisabeth Ehler, Cäcilia Fluck, and Tobias Kunz for their invaluable support and patience in supervising my work, as well as for their bibliographic guidance and for granting access to unpublished material. Special thanks are also due to Annika Weise, curator of the Kunstsammlungen Zwickau, Max-Pechstein-Museum, for her expert advice during my stay in Zwickau and her ongoing support in researching archival material. Finally, I am deeply grateful to Matthias and Susanne Wagner for welcoming me into their home and granting me access to archival records and objects related to the activities of the company Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, preserved in their private collection.

1 On this topic, see Dorothea Müller, *Bunte Würfel der Macht. Ein Überblick über die Geschichte und Bedeutung des Mosaiks in Deutschland zur Zeit des Historismus* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, vol. 228), Frankfurt am Main 1995; Barbara Schellewald, ›Le byzantinisme est le rêve qui a bercé l'art européen dans son enfance‹. Byzanz-Rezeption und die Wiederentdeckung des Mosaiks im 19. Jahrhundert, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* LII, 2008, I, pp. 123–148; Margherita Tabanelli, *Echi normanni nel palazzo imperiale di Poznań. Guglielmo II e l'arte normanno-sveva, tra storiografia e prassi architettonica*, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* LXI, 2019, I, pp. 105–133; Michela Agazzi, *Il mercato antiquariale nella Venezia di Ruskin. L'arte medievale in Germania*, in: Emma Sdegno et al. (eds.), *John Ruskin's Europe. A Collection of Cross-Cultural Essays* (Sources, Literatures, Arts & Landscapes of Europe, vol. 1), 2020, pp. 223–246.

2 Ibid., pp. 224–226; Ute Joks, *Das Apsismosaik der Klosterkirche S. Cipriano auf Murano aus dem 13. Jahrhundert in der Friedenskirche im Park Sanssouci in Potsdam: Werktechnik – Translozierung – Restaurierung*, in: *Mosaik: in situ – transloziert – museal. Beiträge des 15. Konservierungswissenschaftlichen Kolloquiums in Berlin/Brandenburg am 4. November 2022 im Friedenssaal der Evangelischen Friedenskirchengemeinde Potsdam* (Arbeitshefte des Brandenburgischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege und Archäologischen Landesmuseums, vol. LXIV), Petersberg 2022, pp. 63–77; Ute Joks, *Das venezianische Mosaik aus dem 13. Jahrhundert in der Potsdamer Friedenskirche*, in: *Bewahren?! Mosaiken und keramische Wandflächen in der Denkmalpflege. Konferenzband zur Fachtagung des Amtes für Kultur und Denkmalschutz der Landeshauptstadt Dresden*, 4. bis 6. Oktober 2022, Dresden 2022, pp. 24–31.

3 See p. 172 below.

4 Gerd-H. Zuchold, *Byzanz in Berlin. Der Klosterhof im Schlosspark Glienicke* (Berliner Forum, vol. 4/84), Berlin 1984, pp. 16–19; Gerd-H. Zuchold, *Der ›Klosterhof‹ des Prinzen Karl von Preussen im Park von Schloss Glienicke in Berlin*, Bd. 2, *Katalog der von Prinz Karl von Preussen im ›Klosterhof‹ aufbewahrten Kunstwerke* (Die Bauwerke und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin, vol. 21), Berlin 1993, cat. no. 2a, pp. 11–12; Schellewald 2008, as note 1, pp. 136–137.

fostering a renewed interest in the art of mosaic.⁵ Influenced by the work of Antonio Salviati (1816–1890) and his Venetian mosaic workshop, the company decorated major public buildings in accordance with the self-representational and cultural policies of the German emperors.⁶

Modernising classical mosaic techniques was essential to achieving leadership in the field. From Late Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages, workshops typically prepared wall and vault mosaics ›in situ‹, applying two or more layers of mortar in small sections, with underdrawings and painted silhouettes to guide the placement of the tesserae. Puhl & Wagner, however, adopted and refined the so-called ›indirect‹ or ›reverse method‹, introduced to Berlin by the Salviati firm.⁷ Although known since Antiquity, this technique had been widely revived by Italian mosaicists from the early nineteenth century, especially for the restoration of ancient mosaics.⁸ Based on a full-scale preparatory drawing (cartoon), the mosaic was assembled in small sections in the workshop. The tesserae, laid upside down, were glued with flour paste onto numbered sheets of paper or canvas and then affixed face-up to the final surface with mortar. The reverse method, together with new machinery for producing and cutting tesserae, contributed to the industrialisation of mosaic production, enabling the company to cover large architectural surfaces within a reasonable timeframe, while preserving the quality and beauty of ancient mosaics.⁹

Between 1891 and 1895, Puhl & Wagner decorated the impressive Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche in Berlin.¹⁰ Commissioned by Emperor Wilhelm II (1859–1941) in memory of his grandfather, Wilhelm I, the church's iconographic programme reflected Wilhelm II's imperial policy and celebrated the rise of the Hohenzollern dynasty.¹¹ Historicism played a key role in Puhl & Wagner's aesthetic approach. The company collaborated with various artists from the imperial court – including Hermann Schaper, Max Seliger, Alexander Linnemann, August Oetken, and Ernst Christian Pfannschmidt – to design the neo-Byzantine decorations.¹² The memorial church became an important site for experimenting with the reverse method, which proved particularly effective for covering such large architectural surfaces.¹³

To date, a comprehensive catalogue of the works of Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff is still lacking¹⁴ – partly due to the dispersal of many of their creations caused by the destruction of the Second World War, and perhaps also due to the shadow later cast on August Wagner's legacy because of his collusion with National Socialism.¹⁵ However, a number of objects and documents preserved in the collections of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin shed valuable light on how the company operated from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, and how it contributed to the ›revival‹ of the aesthetics and technique of Early Christian and Medieval mosaic in Berlin.

The S. Vitale mosaic replicas (1899), now on loan to the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte [Museum for Pre- and Early History]

Puhl & Wagner's interest in the iconography and aesthetics of Early Christian and Medieval mosaic was already evident by the end of the nineteenth century, as demonstrated by the creation, in 1899, of two highly accurate, life-size replicas of the *Processions of Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora* from the presbytery of the sixth-century

Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna. Each replica (266 × 405 cm) consists of five segments set in cement, reinforced by metal brackets and connected by locking mechanisms for assembly and display (fig. 1). The figures were rendered using glass and gold-leaf tesserae, as well as natural stone and mother-of-pearl inlays.

The two mosaics remained in Puhl & Wagner's workshop until the company closed in 1969 – likely because they were not intended for sale but rather to showcase the aesthetic potential of the firm's production. The *Theodora* panel, for instance, was mounted on the back wall of Hans Wagner's (1903–1963) office (fig. 2).

On 2 June 1970, the mosaics were loaned to the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte [Museum for Pre- and Early History] in West Berlin (SMB-MVF, inv. nos. L 60/1; L 60/2) by the company, then operating under the name August Wagner – Vereinigte Werkstätten für Mosaik und Glasmalerei K.G. [August Wagner – United Workshops for Mosaic and Stained Glass, Ltd.] and represented by Jucunda Wagner-Weinmeister.¹⁶ From 1977 to at least 1994,¹⁷ they were exhibited in the museum's Medieval art section, located in the building designed by Carl Gotthard Langhans in Charlottenburg, within the »Dauerausstellung zum Thema Eisenzeit bis zum Mittelalter« [Permanent Exhibition on the Iron Age to the Middle Ages], Room V, first floor (fig. 3).

5 Peter Springer, *Modernisierung einer alten Kunst. Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von Mosaik, Zeit und Avantgarde*, in: Helmut Geisert, Gabriele Struck, Ruth Irmgard Dalinghaus (eds.), *Wände aus farbigem Glas. Das Archiv der Vereinigten Werkstätten für Mosaik und Glasmalerei Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff. Mosaik und Glasmalerei, exh. cat.* [Berlin, Martin-Gropius-Bau, 8.12.1989–21.1.1990], Berlin 1989, pp. 98–102.

6 On the history of the company, see Dorothea Kolland et al. (eds.), *In Kaiser's und Onassis' Diensten. Die Deutsche Glasmosaik-Anstalt Puhl & Wagner in Neukölln, exh. cat.* [Berlin, Kunstamt Neukölln-Heimathmuseum, 13.3.–15.5.1985], Berlin 1985; Rainer W. Leonhardt, *Mosaiken der Macht aus Berlin für die Welt. Die Geschichte der Berliner Mosaikfabrik Puhl & Wagner*, in: *Bewahren?! 2022*, as note 2, pp. 32–45; Ursula Müller, *Mosaik reloaded – die Glasmosaikproduktion der Berliner Werkstätten Puhl & Wagner, 1889–1969*, in: *Mosaik: in situ – transloziert – museal 2022*, as note 2, pp. 90–100.

7 Springer 1989, as note 5, p. 98.

8 Ilaria Pennati, *Storia e teoria del restauro dei mosaici. Un itinerario dall'antichità al XX secolo* (Storia e teoria del restauro, vol. 32), Florence 2019, pp. 22–24.

9 Springer 1989, as note 5, p. 98; Müller 2022, as note 6, pp. 93–97.

10 On the history of the building, architecture, and decorations, see Vera Frowein-Ziroff, *Die Kaiser Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche. Entstehung und Bedeutung* (Die Bauwerke und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin, vol. 9), Berlin 1982.

11 Leonhardt 2022, as note 6, pp. 35–36.

12 Frowein-Ziroff 1982, as note 10, pp. 185–301.

13 Ibid., pp. 301–305.

14 A key source on the company's works is Geisert, Struck, Dalinghaus 1989, as note 5.

15 It is crucial to acknowledge that Wagner's collusion with National Socialism led to Gottfried Heinersdorff's removal from the company. Heinersdorff was banned from practicing his profession after being declared a »half-Jew« in 1935. See Inka Bertz, Gottfried Heinersdorff und das Ende der Moderne in der Mosaikfabrik Puhl & Wagner, in: Dorothea Kolland (ed.), »Zehn Brüder waren wir gewesen...« *Spuren jüdischen Lebens in Neukölln*, Berlin 2012, pp. 313–325. On the company's work during the National Socialist regime, see Gabriella Cianciolo Cosentino, *Arte del popolo, architettura del Reich. Mosaici e nazionalsocialismo*, in: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 43, 2016, pp. 149–189.

16 SMB-MVF, Archiv/Sammlungsverwaltung, C-2d, »Leihnahmen Berlin, Leihvereinbarung mit Firma August Wagner, vereinigte Werkstätten f. Mosaik u. Glasmalerei, Frau Jucunda Wagner-Weinmeister, Berlin-Neukölln betreffend zwei Kopien von Wandmosaik aus der Kirche San Vitale in Ravenna«, inv. nos. L 60/1; L 60/2, acknowledgment receipt, 2.6.1970.

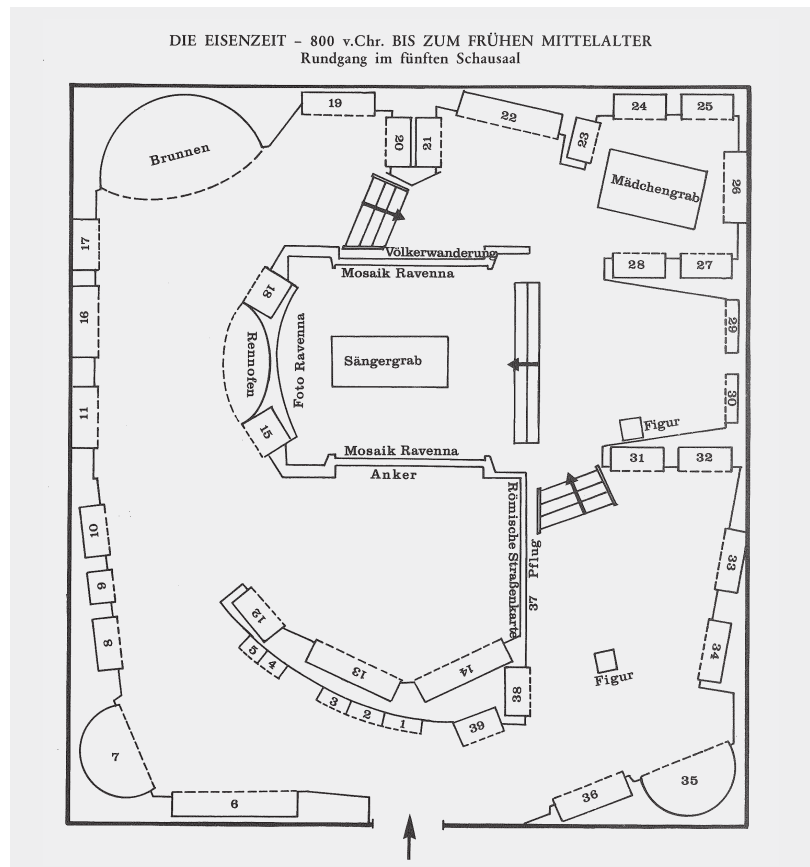
17 SMB-MVF, Archiv/Sammlungsverwaltung, C-2d, letter from Ingrid Griesa to Jucunda Wagner-Weinmeister, 11.7.1994.



1a–b Puhl & Wagner, one of the segments from the two mosaic replicas depicting the *Processions of Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora*, from the Basilica of San Vitale, Ravenna, 1899, glass, stone, gold-leaf tesserae, and mother-of-pearl inlays, 266 × 81 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, inv. nos. L 60/1; L 60/2



2 The mosaic replica depicting the *Procession of Empress Theodora*, displayed in Hans Wagner's office, c. 1960, Kommunalarchiv Minden, Nachlass Eva Kramer, inv. no. A_0412_24-30



3 Plan of Room V of the former Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in the Langhansbau, Charlottenburg (Berlin), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Archiv/Sammlungsverwaltung, C-2d



4 The two mosaic replicas in the modern display of Room V, enhanced with a photograph of the Basilica of San Vitale by Angelo Lorizzo, c. 1990, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Archiv/Sammlungsverwaltung, C-2d

The modern scenography designed to display the mosaics also deserves attention. The panels were displayed in a central niche accessed by two steps. Beneath a glass panel in the floor was a reconstruction of a fifth-century grave of an Alemannic warrior from Oberflacht near Tuttlingen in Württemberg (SMB-MVF, inv. no. IIc 4538). The *Justinian* panel was placed on the left wall of the niche, and *Theodora* on the right, echoing their original positioning in the basilica. In 1979, the end wall was covered with a large-format photograph of the apse of San Vitale (fig. 4), commissioned by the then-curator of the museum, Gustav Mahr, from Angelo Lorizzo.¹⁸ Lorizzo, at the time director of the Azienda Autonoma di Soggiorno e Turismo [Independent Tourist Board] in Ravenna, had published a detailed photographic survey of the city's Medieval mosaics in 1976.¹⁹

Using a photograph by Lorizzo to represent the Basilica of San Vitale underscores the importance of documentary photography in museum displays and highlights how technological advancements have enhanced the ability to convey the aesthetic qualities of wall mosaics beyond their original architectural context. The modern display offered visitors an immersive experience, evoking the space and architecture of San Vitale. From that moment on, the two replicas assumed a new role: as museum objects, they became true stand-ins for their original counterparts, enabling audiences to appreciate them in a new setting, with a clear educational purpose.²⁰

As emerges from the correspondence with Mahr, Lorizzo wished to contribute to the display of the so-called ›Ravennasaal‹²¹ and offered to help set up a photographic exhibition entitled ›Die Mosaiken von Ravenna von Anfang bis zu unseren Tagen‹ [The Mosaics of Ravenna from the Beginning to the Present Day].²² The exhibition was to feature 74 photographs arranged on eleven metal panels, each dedicated to a specific Medieval monument in Ravenna. Most of the material came from the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut [German Archaeological Institute] in Rome. The eleventh panel showcased images of mosaic works and samples by the Gruppo Mosaicisti [Mosaicists' Group] of the

Accademia di Belle Arti [Academy of Fine Arts] in Ravenna, along with mosaics inspired by paintings by modern artists such as Renato Guttuso, probably drawn from the newly established collection of the then Pinacoteca Comunale [Municipal Art Gallery].²³ Additional information panels in Italian, German, French, and English were to be provided by Lorizzo himself.

The exhibition, as described by Lorizzo, does not appear to have taken place in the Langhans building in Charlottenburg, likely due to a lack of space.²⁴ In 1994, the two mosaic replicas were transferred to an external depot of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz [Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation], where they are still held today on behalf of Wagner's heirs. A takeover bid in 1998 by the then Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst [Museum of Late Antique and Byzantine Art] was unsuccessful.²⁵

The documentation of the restoration of the mosaic from the Church of San Michele in Africisco in Ravenna (1900–1904), at the Bode Museum

The exceptional quality of Puhl & Wagner's work convinced Wilhelm Bode, the first director of the former Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin, to entrust the company with the important task of restoring the apse mosaic from the sixth-century Church of San Michele in Africisco in Ravenna and displaying it in a specially designated room.²⁶ However, the acquisition and transport to Berlin of the mosaic, purchased by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, were both disastrous. It was roughly detached from its original backing by Pajaro, then disassembled and extensively restored between 1850 and 1851 by the mosaicist Giovanni Moro in Venice, who replaced much of the original material with modern tesserae.²⁷ The fragments were shipped in five crates to Berlin, where they remained hidden for nearly 50 years in a humid cellar of the Königliches Schloss [King's Palace] – a period interrupted only by a

18 SMB-MVF, Archiv/Sammlungsverwaltung, C-2d, letter from Peter Fischer on behalf of Gustav Mahr to Angelo Lorizzo and Angelo Longo, 10.4.1977.

19 Angelo Lorizzo, *I mosaici di Ravenna*, Ravenna 1976.

20 On this topic, see Timothy Grundy, Erwin Panofsky, Original and facsimile reproduction [1930], in: RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics LVII/LVIII, Spring/Autumn 2010, pp. 330–338.

21 SMB-MVF, Archiv/Sammlungsverwaltung, C-2d, letters from Angelo Lorizzo to Gustav Mahr, 19.4.1977, 25.8.1977.

22 SMB-MVF, Archiv/Sammlungsverwaltung, C-2d, letters from Angelo Lorizzo to Gustav Mahr, 2.2.1979.

23 Today the Museo d'Arte della città di Ravenna. On the collection of modern mosaics, see Linda Kniffitz, Chiara Pausini (eds.), *La collezione dei mosaici contemporanei*, Ravenna 2017.

24 SMB-MVF, Archiv/Sammlungsverwaltung, C-2d, letter from Gustav Mahr to Angelo Lorizzo, 20.4.1979; letter from Angelo Lorizzo to Gustav Mahr, 4.5.1979.

25 Now the Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. See SMB-MVF, Archiv/Sammlungsverwaltung, C-2d, letter from Wilfried Menghin to Arne Effenberger, 10.2.1998; letter from Arne Effenberger to Wilfried Menghin, 23.2.1998.

26 On the mosaic, see Claudio Spadoni, Linda Kniffitz (eds.), *San Michele in Africisco e l'età giustiniana a Ravenna. Giornate di studio in memoria di Giuseppe Bovini*, conference proceedings [Ravenna, Sala dei Mosaici, 21.–22.4.2005] (Biblioteca d'arte, vol. 12), Ravenna 2007, with further bibliography.

27 See Irina Andreescu-Treadgold, *I mosaici antichi e quelli ottocenteschi di San Michele in Africisco: lo studio filologico*, in: Spadoni, Kniffitz 2007, as note 26, pp. 112–149, with further bibliography.



5 Overview of the ongoing restoration of the apse mosaic from S. Michele in Africisco by Puhl & Wagner, 1900–1904, pencil, ink, and water-colour on cardboard, 63 × 78 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 12/2025

minor conservation intervention by the Salviati workshop in 1875 – before being rediscovered by Bode in 1893.²⁸

The controversial restoration carried out by Puhl & Wagner between 1900 and 1904, along with the mosaic's new setting, led to a dispute between the museum's assistant curator, Oskar Wulff, and Corrado Ricci (1858–1934), the first Superintendent of Monuments in Ravenna, concerning the 'authenticity' of the wall mosaic, as the company was accused of having further altered its original iconography.²⁹ Today, the extent of the interventions attributed solely to Puhl & Wagner can be more accurately assessed thanks to a re-examination of the remaining mosaic fragments – now in Room 115 (SMB-MBK, inv. no. 6642) and in storage (SMB-MBK, inv. no. 6642a) at the Bode Museum – compared with the original restoration documentation, which is also partially preserved there.³⁰

Two drawings in particular offer valuable insight into how the company approached the restoration of a 'Medieval' artefact, in what was the only instance of its involvement in such a project. The first (SMB-MBK, inv. no. 12/2025), executed in pencil, ink, and watercolour on paper, bears the company's signature on the right-hand side (fig. 5). It was most likely produced at a stage when the missing parts of the triumphal arch and the wings of both angels flanking Christ at the centre of the composition had already been extensively restored by the company, further highlighting the gaps in the apse basin and the two

spandrels. It should therefore be interpreted as a 'site drawing' – a carefully rendered graphic restitution intended to be presented to Bode or others to illustrate how the mosaic, once shipped from Venice to Berlin, would appear when mounted in the new niche specifically designed for its display. A scale in centimetres and metres – corresponding to the actual size of the mosaic and its new mortar bed – is later penciled beneath the drawing.

A second drawing (SMB-MBK, inv. no. 16/2025) was attributed to Puhl & Wagner by Arne Effenberger, despite a handwritten note on the

28 Oskar Wulff, Das Ravennatische Mosaik von S. Michele in Affricisco im Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, in: *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* XXV, 1904, IV pp. 374–401.

29 Corrado Ricci, La chiesa di S. Michele »ad Frisigelo« in Ravenna, in: *Rassegna d'Arte* V, 1905, IX, pp. 136–142; Oskar Wulff, Der Erhaltungszustand des ravennatischen Mosaiks im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, in: *Kunstchronik* XVII, 1905–1906, I, col. 8–10; Corrado Ricci, Ancora del mosaico già in S. Michele di Ravenna ora nel Museo di Berlino, in: *Rassegna d'Arte* V, 1905, XI, p. 176; Oskar Wulff, Ein Schlusswort über das Mosaik von S. Michele in Affricisco, in: *Kunstchronik* XVII, 1905–1906, VI, col. 87–88.

30 Federica Tagliatesta, Das Mosaik von S. Michele in Africisco in Ravenna im 20. Jahrhundert: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Restaurierung der Firma Puhl & Wagner, in: Elisabeth Ehler, Uwe Peltz (eds.), *KulturGUTerhalten: Rekonstruktion – Ergänzung – Retusche. Geschichte(n) der Restaurierung archäologischer Schätze*, conference proceedings [Berlin, Bode Museum, 29.–31.5.2024] (forthcoming).



6 Assembly project of the mosaic fragments attributed to Puhl & Wagner, c. 1903, pencil on cardboard, 61 × 93 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 16/2025

back referencing Pajaro: »PAJARO'SCHE / AUFNAHMEN / DES MO-SAIKS VON RAVENNA / JAHRBUCH 1904« [»PAJARO'S / RECORDS / OF THE MOSAIC OF RAVENNA / YEARBOOK 1904«] (fig. 6).³¹ This pencil drawing on cardboard features a mirrored reproduction of the mosaic, illustrating the plan for assembling the fragments in the museum's niche using the reverse method – that is, mounting them onto numbered sheets of paper or canvas. This drawing also shows extensive gaps in the background and spandrels, confirming that these sections of the mosaic were already missing at the time of restoration.

Max Pechstein and the mosaic decorations of the Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt: The cartoon of the *Expulsion from Paradise* (1917), now at the Neue Nationalgalerie [New National Gallery]

In 1914, the company merged with the firm of Gottfried Heinersdorff, becoming the Vereinigte Werkstätten für Mosaik und Glasmalerei Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff [United Workshops for Mosaics and Stained-Glass Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff].³²

Heinersdorff (1883–1941), a stained-glass specialist who had worked with Expressionist artists, helped the company expand its engagement with modern art.³³ Fascinated by Medieval art, he sought to recapture the effects of Gothic stained glass using modern artistic techniques.

Heinersdorff began his collaboration with the artist Max Pechstein (1881–1955) in 1910, with the founding of the Berliner Künstlerbund für Glasmalerei und Glasmosaik [Berlin Artists' Association for Stained Glass and Glass Mosaic], an alliance of architects and artists committed to elevating decorative stained glass and mosaics to the same artistic status as oil painting, including through exhibitions.³⁴

Heinersdorff's work reflects a desire to adopt the monumentality and noble simplicity of ancient models, such as those from Ravenna, by

31 Arne Effenberger, Das Apsismosaik aus der ravenatischen Kirche San Michele in Africisco. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion, in: Heinrich L. Nickel (ed.), Beiträge zur byzantinischen und osteuropäischen Kunst des Mittelalters (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, vol. 46), Berlin 1977, p. 37, no. 17.

32 On Gottfried Heinersdorff, his collaborations and works, see most recently Burkhard Leismann (ed.), Farblicht – Kunst und Künstler im Wirkungskreis des Glasmalers Gottfried Heinersdorff (1883–1941), exh. cat. [Ahlen, Kunst-Museum, 18.2.–22.4.2001; Neu-Ulm, Edwin Scharff Museum, 6.5.–15.7.2001; Neuss, Clemens-Sels-Museum, 19.8.–28.10.2001], Hagen 2001.

33 Springer 1989, as note 5, pp. 102–106.

34 Maria-Katharina Schulz, Glasmalerei der Klassischen Moderne in Deutschland (Europäische Hochschulschriften, vol. 28), Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York/Paris 1987, pp. 33–35; Springer 1989, as note 5, p. 105; Petra Lewey, Aufbruch zu neuen Ufern: Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit, in: Petra Lewey, Wilfried Stoye (eds.), Die Zwickauer Gemäldesammlung: Ausgewählte Werke, Bielefeld 2007, p. 228.



7 Max Pechstein, *Expulsion from Paradise and Adoration of the Magi*, glass wall mosaics, Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt, Berlin, 1917



8 Max Pechstein, *Expulsion from Paradise*, glass wall mosaic, Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt, Berlin, 1917, Archiv der Städtischen Kunstsammlungen Zwickau und Max-Pechstein-Museum, HMP, inv. no. 122

applying mosaic techniques to sacred and public buildings, while also adapting them for use in modern private homes. A striking example of this vision was the monumental mosaic project for the apartment of Wolfgang Gurlitt (1888–1965) at 113 Potsdamer Straße in Berlin – also the location of the Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt – commissioned from Pechstein and executed in the workshop of Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff in 1917.³⁵

The mosaics adorned both sides of the walls along the vaulted corridor connecting the apartment to a large exhibition hall. The biblical motifs – *Expulsion from Paradise* from the Old Testament and *Adoration of the Magi* from the New Testament – reflect the revival of Early Christian art initiated by Puhl & Wagner through Heinersdorff's modernising vision. This is also evident in the iconography, which can be traced directly to the art of the third-century Roman catacombs,³⁶ reinterpreted through the lens of contemporary developments in Expressionism.³⁷

None of Pechstein's original mosaics survive today, as the building was destroyed during the Second World War in 1943. However, two black-and-white photographs from the time show the decorations 'in situ' (figs. 7–8). These images are invaluable for understanding the innovative character of the compositions, particularly regarding the treatment of the background. While the dado was framed with mosaics, the upper sections of both walls were intentionally left at the mortar preparation stage rather than being completed with tesserae, as is typical in mosaic decoration. This deliberate choice allowed the light grey mortar to become an integral part of the mosaic's aesthetic, playing a significant role in its visual impact. It also helped brighten the corridor, which received little natural light during the day.³⁸

The Staatliche Museen zu Berlin preserve one of the two full-sized cartoons³⁹ for the decorations, purchased from the artist in 1951 for the Galerie des 20. Jahrhunderts [Twentieth-Century Gallery] in West Berlin, and stored from 1968 in the Neue Nationalgalerie [New National Gallery] (SMB-NNG, inv. no. B 51/15).⁴⁰ This glue tempera on brown

cardboard depicts the biblical episode of the *Expulsion from Paradise* and is of exceptional value for reconstructing the iconography and

35 Max Osborn, *Max Pechstein*, Berlin 1922, pp. 178–179, 181, 183, 186–190; Dagmar Schmidt, *Expressionistische und konstruktive Tendenzen in der profanen Glasbildkunst*, in: Leismann 2001, as note 32, pp. 21–24; Aya Soika, *Ein Exklusivvertrag mit Folgen. Max Pechstein und Wolfgang Gurlitt*, in: Elisabeth Nowak-Thaller, Hemma Schmutz (eds.), *Wolfgang Gurlitt Zauberprinz: Kunsthändler – Sammler*, exh. cat. [Lentos Kunstmuseum Linz, 4.10.2019–19.1.2020; Würzburg, Museum im Kulturspeicher, 8.2.2020–3.5.2020], Munich 2019, p. 183. On Max Pechstein's glass paintings and mosaics, see Günter Krüger, *Glasmalereien der »Brücke«-Künstler*, in: *Brücke-Archiv* 1, 1967, pp. 19–40; Schulz 1987, as note 34, pp. 50–58.

36 On the motifs of the *Expulsion from Paradise* and the *Adoration of the Magi* in Early Christian art, see Daniela Calcagnini, s.v. Adamo ed Eva, in: Fabrizio Bisconti (ed.), *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana*, Vatican City 2000, pp. 96–101; Francesca Paola Massara, s.v. Magi, in: *ibid.*, pp. 205–211, with further bibliography.

37 Aya Soika sees in the *Expulsion* a reference to Pechstein's eviction from Palau during the First World War, see Aya Soika, *Paradise, War and Revolution, 1914–1919*, in: Bernhard Fulda, Aya Soika, *Max Pechstein: The Rise and Fall of Expressionism* (Interdisciplinary German Cultural Studies, vol. 11), Berlin 2012, p. 198. On this renewed understanding and appreciation of Late Antique and Byzantine art, see Maria Andaloro, *Bisanzio e il Novecento*, in: Giovanni Morello (ed.), *Splendori di Bisanzio. Testimonianze e riflessi d'arte e cultura bizantina nelle chiese d'Italia*, exh. cat. [Ravenna, Museo Nazionale, 27.7.–11.11.1990], Milan 1990, pp. 55–67; Simona Moretti, *Roma bizantina. Opere d'arte dall'impero di Costantinopoli nelle collezioni romane*, Rome 2014, esp. p. 179.

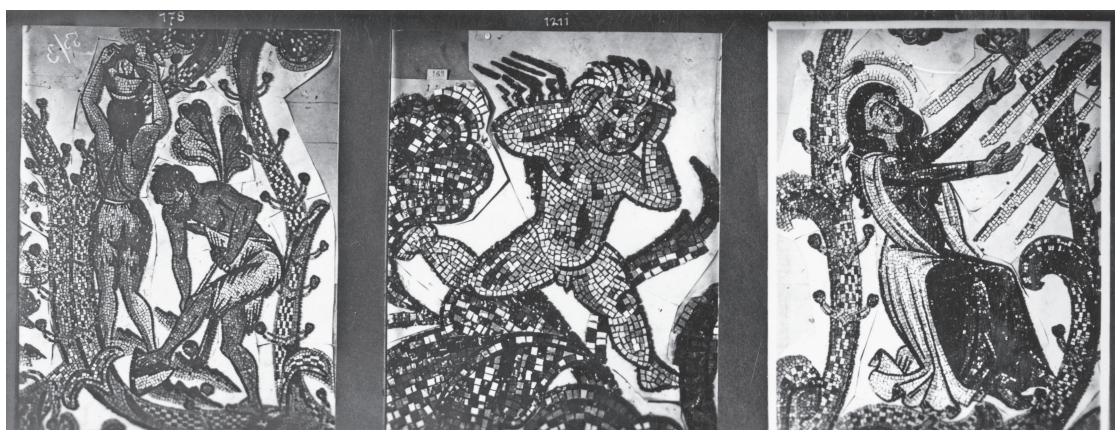
38 Osborn 1922, as note 35, p. 186.

39 The counterpart depicting the *Adoration of the Magi* was owned by Marta Pechstein in Berlin, who gave it on permanent loan to the Kunstsammlungen Zwickau, Max-Pechstein-Museum (no inventory number). See Stadtverwaltung Zwickau, *Kulturamt, Kunstsammlungen Zwickau Max-Pechstein-Museum* (eds.), *Wände her für Max Pechstein! Das Max-Pechstein-Museum in den Kunstsammlungen Zwickau*, Zwickau 2014, pp. 10–11, fig. 9. On the use of cartoons during the mosaic-making process, see Reinhard Spiess, *Werkkartons und Probemosaiken. Beispiele ihrer Verwendung*, in: Geisert, Struck, Dalinghaus 1989, as note 5, pp. 115–116.

40 Christina Thomson, *Vertreibung aus dem Paradies 1917*, in: Christina Thomson, Petra Winter (eds.), *Die Galerie des 20. Jahrhunderts in Berlin 1945–1968. Der Weg zur Neuen Nationalgalerie*, Berlin/Munich 2015, p. 337; Aya Soika, *Vertreibung aus dem Paradies, 1917*, in: Maike Steinkamp, Emily Joyce Evans (eds.), *Die Sammlung der Nationalgalerie 1905 bis 1945, 2: L–Z*, Berlin 2021, p. 684.



9 Max Pechstein, preparatory study for *Expulsion from Paradise*, 1917, glue tempera on brown cardboard, 207 x 402 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, inv. no. B 51/15



10 Preparation of the mosaic sections of *Expulsion from Paradise* and *Adoration of the Magi* in the workshop of Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, c. 1917, Archiv der Städtischen Kunstsammlungen Zwickau und Max-Pechstein-Museum, HMP, inv. no. 122

original vibrant colours of the artwork (fig. 9). The image is divided by ornamental vines from which a winged putto emerges, framing three distinct scenes that can be read from right to left. The first depicts Adam and Eve in paradise, embracing as they look up towards the serpent of temptation offering the fruit of knowledge. This is followed by their expulsion from paradise by an angel, and concludes with the proto-parents gathering fruit and cultivating the land, symbolising their earthly labours.

This preparatory study has an interesting history: during a restoration conducted in 1956, it was divided into three equal parts and mounted on plywood panels due to space issues. It was precisely this reformatting that inadvertently led to the work being temporarily 'lost' in the depots of the Neue Nationalgalerie, as the plywood panels resembled storage materials, until it was rediscovered by chance in 2011.

Further insights into the next steps in the execution of both mosaics are provided by Pechstein's surviving mosaic samples – produced in the workshop to emulate the appearance of the final work in the areas

of greatest iconographic interest and to estimate the general economic cost⁴¹ – and by a series of archival photographs from Günter Krüger's legacy in Zwickau.⁴² These images document the process of constructing figures in the mosaic workshop using the reverse method, where tesserae were glued upside-down onto mirrored paper segments before being assembled upright on the walls (fig. 10).⁴³

41 Spiess 1989, as note 39, pp. 116–119; Bernhard Fulda, Aya Soika, Max Pechstein 1881–1955. Lebensdaten, in: Peter Thurmann (ed.), Max Pechstein: Ein Expressionist aus Leidenschaft. Retrospektive, exh. cat. [Kiel, Kunsthalle, 19.9.2010–9.1.2011; Regensburg, Kunstforum Ostdeutsche Galerie, 6.3.–26.6.2011; Ahlen, Kunstmuseum, 10.6–30.10.2011], Munich 2010, p. 329. See p. 179 below.

42 Archiv der Städtischen Kunstsammlungen Zwickau und Max-Pechstein-Museum, HMP, inv. no. 122. These materials were collected by Günter Krüger during his research on Max Pechstein's work and were partially incorporated into Krüger 1967, as note 35.

43 Spiess 1989, as note 39, p. 119.

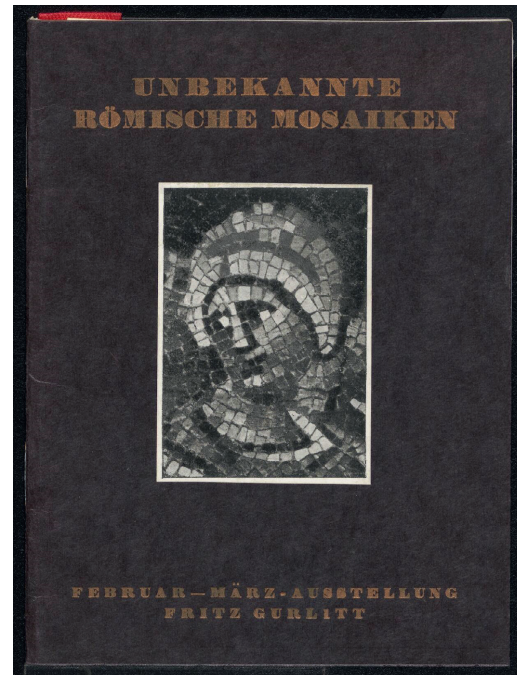
The collaboration with Joseph Wilpert and Corrado Ricci: The exhibition »Unbekannte römische Mosaiken« [Unknown Roman Mosaics] at the Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt (1919) and the four mosaic replicas sold to Bode for the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum

The company continued its engagement with Italian mosaic art throughout the twentieth century. Beginning in 1916, Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff enlisted the cooperation of two prominent figures in Italian mosaic studies of the period to develop a business based on the mass production of life-sized replicas of details from Early Christian and Medieval Italian mosaics: Joseph Wilpert and Corrado Ricci⁴⁴.

Wilpert (1856–1944) was a renowned Silesian art historian and archaeologist based in Rome who, by the early twentieth century, had already embarked on an ambitious project to depict Early Christian and Medieval frescoes and mosaics using his innovative »watercolour photography« technique. Developed in collaboration with the photographer Pompeo Sansaini and the painter Carlo Tabanelli, this method involved producing large-format black-and-white salted paper photographs of the decorations, which were then retouched by the painter with a layer of watercolour.⁴⁵ This process enabled the rapid creation of highly accurate coloured illustrations, the first of which were published in the landmark volume on Roman catacomb art in 1903.⁴⁶ By 1916, Wilpert had already established contact with the German court, having received financial support from Wilhelm II for the publication of the catacomb volume,⁴⁷ as well as for a second volume dedicated to the wall paintings and mosaics of Rome, after he presented the emperor with a selection of watercolour plates depicting the decorations of the catacombs and pictures of the Early Medieval paintings of the Roman church of S. Maria Antiqua.⁴⁸

To sponsor this successful collaboration with the Italian scholars and lay the groundwork for potential commissions, Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, in cooperation with Wolfgang Gurlitt, organised an exhibition titled »Unbekannte römische Mosaiken« [Unknown Roman Mosaics], which opened on 16 February 1919 at the Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt (fig. 11).⁴⁹ The exhibition showcased 20 mosaic replicas created between 1916 and 1918 in the firm's workshop, inspired by a series of illustrations from Wilpert's 1916 volume (cat. nos. 1–14)⁵⁰ and photographs by Ricci (cat. nos. 17–21). Also included was a replica of the *Head of St Paul* from the Roman Basilica of SS. Cosmas and Damian, based on a photograph by Pfannschmidt (cat. no. 16),⁵¹ as well as an original watercolour plate by Wilpert depicting the *Crossing of the Red Sea* from the mosaics of the church of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (cat. no. 15).⁵²

The correspondence between the firm and Wilpert's painter, Carlo Tabanelli, preserved in the Archive of the Berlinische Galerie, regarding a request for a watercolour of the mosaic apse of the Roman Basilica of S. Clemente – intended to facilitate the creation of an exact copy for St Joseph Church in Wedding – also sheds light on the business strategy and production process behind these smaller, portable mosaics based on Wilpert's work.⁵³ For a substantial fee, Wilpert, via Tabanelli, sent the mosaicists his watercolour plates illustrating each mosaic to be reproduced (fig. 12). In the workshop, the plates were enlarged with millimetre-level precision to achieve a 1:1 scale replica of the original decoration, and served as the basis for gluing the mosaic tesserae up-



11 Cover of the catalogue for the exhibition »Unbekannte römische Mosaiken« [Unknown Roman Mosaics], opened on 16 February 1919 at the Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt, Berlin

44 On Ricci, see p. 173 above.

45 On this technique and its use in documenting the Early Christian and Medieval decorations of Rome, see Per Jonas Nordhagen, Working with Wilpert. The illustrations in *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien* and their Source Value, in Hjalmar Torp et al. (eds.), *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia. Series altera* in 8, V, 1985, pp. 247–257; Giulia Bordi, Giuseppe Wilpert e la scoperta della pittura altomedievale a Roma, in: Stefan Heid (ed.), *Giuseppe Wilpert archeologo cristiano, conference proceedings* [Rome, 16.–19.5.2007], Vatican City 2009, esp. p. 338; Fabrizio Bisconti, Pubblicazioni e collezioni del Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, in: *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* XC, 2014, pp. 27–36.

46 Joseph Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1903.

47 See the acknowledgment Wilpert gave to the emperor in the preface: *ibid.*, p. XII.

48 A dedication to Wilhelm II appears on the title page of the volume: Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1916. See also Joseph Wilpert, *Erlebnisse und Ergebnisse im Dienste der christlichen Archäologie: Rückblick auf eine fünfundvierzigjährige wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit in Rom, Freiburg im Breisgau 1930*, p. 109–110; Jürgen Krüger, *Rom und Jerusalem. Kirchenbauvorstellungen der Hohenzollern im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1995, p. 233; Bordi 2009, as note 45, p. 332.

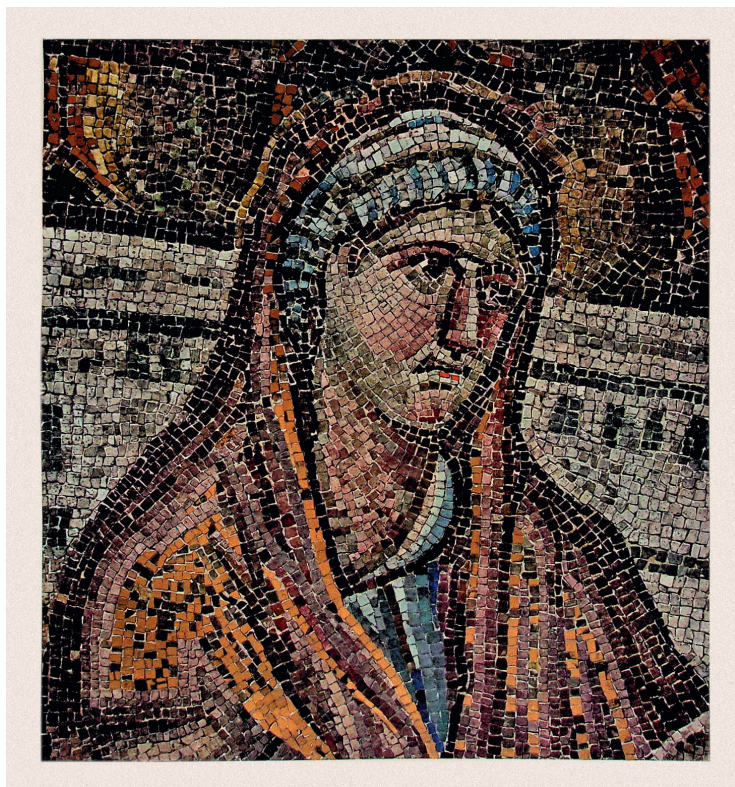
49 Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt: Galerie Fritz Gurlitt, *Unbekannte römische Mosaiken, Februar-März-Ausstellung 1919*, Berlin 1919. Hints on the exhibition in Katrin Schmidt, »Ausstellen – Eine Kunst für sich«. Die Galerie Fritz Gurlitt in Berlin (1880–1943), in: Nowak-Thaller, Schmutz 2019, as note 35, p. 156.

50 Wilpert 1916, as note 48.

51 This is clarified in the catalogue of the later exhibition on mosaics held at the Orangerie of Sanssouci in 1923, where the replicas were once again displayed. See Potsdamer Kunstverein e.V. (ed.), *Kunstsommer: Mosaik und Glasmalerei, Internationale Ausstellung, Sanssouci, Orangerie, Juni–September 1923*, Potsdam 1923, p. 12, no. 30. See p. 182 below.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 14, no. 32.

53 Berlinische Galerie, Archiv Puhl & Wagner, G. Heinersdorff (Schriftenarchiv), folder no. 810, P&W 1920–1921, I/Italien, »Antonio Labus, Rom, betr. Zahlung für Maler Tabanelli (malt antike Fresken) erw. Monsignore Wilpert (anl. 1 Foto: Arbeiter/Maler in einer Werkstatt), Abrechnung mit Labus, Fotos von St. Clement«, letter from Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff to Carlo Tabanelli, 5.11.1921; Carlo Tabanelli's quote for a watercolour of the apse mosaic of the Basilica of S. Clemente, Rome, to be sent to Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, 22.10.1921. Hints also in Wilpert 1930, as note 48, p. 129. On the St Joseph Church and its mosaic decoration, see André Franik, *Die St.-Joseph-Kirche in der Müllerstraße*, in: *Berlinische Monatsschrift* 8, 1999, 11, pp. 70–75; Christine Goetz, *Kunst und Kirche*, in: *Festschrift anlässlich der 100. Wiederkehr der Kirchweihe der katholischen Kirche St. Joseph in Berlin-Wedding am 2. Mai 2009*, Berlin 2009, pp. 55–56.



12 Wilpert's watercolour plate depicting the *Ecclesia ex Gentibus*, from »Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert« [Roman Mosaics and Paintings in Ecclesiastical Buildings from the Fourth to the Thirteenth Century]



13 Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, *Head of the Ecclesia ex Gentibus*, from the Basilica of S. Pudenziana, Rome, displayed at Fritz Gurlitt's »Unbekannte römische Mosaiken« [Unknown Roman Mosaics] exhibition, c. 1916–1918, glass mosaic in wooden frame, 70 × 64 cm, original negative plate, c. 1919, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Wolfgang Gurlitt-Archiv, image file no. fm146092 (P & W, H, no. 6; Gurlitt, no. 513)

side-down. Meanwhile, the workshop was busy producing and precisely cutting mosaic stones in the exact colour nuances needed to construct the images. Each mosaic, still attached to its paper backing, was then reassembled upright into a wooden-framed mortar bed – much like mosaic samples⁵⁴ – and prepared for sale (fig. 13).

Regarding Ricci, no direct information survives about the photographs sent to the Berlin company for producing the replicas. However, it is plausible that they were related to the preparatory material for the plates in his monumental work on the Ravenna mosaics restorations, which was ultimately published between 1930 and 1937.⁵⁵

Wilpert and Ricci already had experience with similar projects, notably the »Esposizione Italo-Bizantina« [Italo-Byzantine Exposition], held in 1905 at the Abbey of Grottaferrata near Rome.⁵⁶ Although this exhibition focused on Byzantine art, it also showcased modern technologies developed by early twentieth-century specialists in art history and archaeology for visualising mosaics and frescoes. On this occasion, Ricci provided several replicas of the Ravenna mosaics for one of the exhibition rooms dedicated to the artistic scene of the Adriatic city during the Byzantine period. These included reproductions of the *Processions of Justinian and Theodora* from S. Vitale, as well as the enthroned *Virgin and Child Among Angels* from S. Apollinare Nuovo.⁵⁷ Moreover, from 1909 onwards, the plates in Wilpert's volume on the Roman catacombs served as the basis for creating accurate reproductions of Early Christian and Medieval frescoes in the facsimile catacombs constructed in Valkenburg, the Netherlands.⁵⁸

As can be deduced from a comparison between the company's price list preserved in the Archive of the Berlinische Galerie⁵⁹ and the photographs taken during the exhibition,⁶⁰ the subjects were:

54 Spiess 1989, as note 39, p. 116.

55 Corrado Ricci, *Monumenti. Tavole storiche dei mosaici di Ravenna*, Rome 1930–1937. On the process behind the realisation of the plates, see Massimiliano David, Corrado Ricci and his *Tavole storiche dei mosaici di Ravenna* (1930–1937), in: Linda Kniffitz, Ermanno Carbonara (eds.), *Ravenna Musiva. Preservation and restoration of architectural decoration mosaics and frescoes*, conference proceedings [Ravenna, 8.–10.5.2014], Ravenna 2015, pp. 254–261.

56 *Esposizione italo-bizantina*, exh. cat., Grottaferrata 1905. See lastly Giovanni Gasbarri, *Riscoprire Bisanzio. Lo studio dell'arte bizantina a Roma e in Italia tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Rome 2015, pp. 156–172, with further bibliography.

57 *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 167.

58 See Reiner Sörries, Josef Wilpert: *Ein Leben im Dienste der Christlichen Archäologie* (1857–1944), Würzburg 1998, pp. 62–63; Anke Reiß, *Rezeption frühchristlicher Kunst im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Christlichen Archäologie und zum Historismus*, Dettelbach 2008, p. 43; Federica Tagliatesta, *The (Re)Discovery of the Salvatore Olandese in the Katakomben-Stichting Archive*, in: *Papers of the British School at Rome* 93, 2025 (forthcoming).

59 Berlinische Galerie, Archiv Puhl & Wagner, G. Heinersdorff (Schriftenarchiv), folder no. 1328, *M Mosaikkopie, Kopien römischer Mosaiken*, »Preisverzeichnis der antiken römischen Mosaiken« (henceforth P & W, H).

60 Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Wolfgang Gurlitt-Archiv, image file nos.: fm146072 (P & W, H, no. 1; Gurlitt, no. 505); fm146075 (P & W, H, no. 2; Gurlitt, no. 506); fm146074 (P & W, H, no. 3; Gurlitt, no. 507); fm146085 (P & W, H, no. 4; Gurlitt, no. 486); fm146079 (P & W, H, no. 5; Gurlitt, no. 524); fm146092 (P & W, H, no. 6; Gurlitt, no. 513); fm146096 (P & W, H,

- 1) *The Israelites Rise Against Moses*, from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.
- 2) *Jochebed Presenting Moses to Pharaoh's Daughter*, from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.
- 3) *The Parting of Lot and Abraham*, from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.
- 4) *Apostle*, from the Baptistery of S. Giovanni in Fonte, Naples.
- 5) *Apostle with Martyr's Wreath*, from the Baptistery of S. Giovanni in Fonte, Naples.
- 6) »Pudentianakopf« [sic], i.e., *Head of the Ecclesia ex Gentibus*, from the Basilica of S. Pudenziana, Rome.
- 7) *Angel's Head* from the episode where Aphrodisius, governor of the Egyptian city of Sotinen, receives the Holy Family, from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.
- 8) *Two Angels* from the *Annunciations to the Virgin Mary and St Joseph*, from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.
- 9) *Apostle Judas the Zealot*, from the Baptistery of Neon, Ravenna.
- 10) *St Victor*, from the Chapel of St Victor in the Basilica of S. Ambrogio, Milan.
- 11) *Bust of Christ*, from the Archbishop's Chapel, Ravenna.
- 12) *Christ Dividing the Sheep from the Goats*, from the Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.
- 13) *St Agnes*, from the Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.
- 14) »Frauenkopf, aus dem Museum des Laterans« [sic], i.e., *Female figure from The Bath of the Infant Jesus*, from the Old Basilica of St Peter, Oratory of Pope John VII, now in the Sacre Grotte Vaticane, Vatican City.
- 15) Wilpert's original watercolour plate of the mosaic *Crossing of the Red Sea*, from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.⁶¹
- 16) *Head of St Paul*, from the Basilica of SS. Cosmas and Damian, Rome.
- 17) *Good Shepherd*, from the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna.
- 18) *Head of St Bartholomew*, from the Baptistery of Neon, Ravenna.
- 19) *Head of St Peter*, from the Baptistery of Neon, Ravenna.
- 20) *Emperor Justinian*, from the Basilica of S. Vitale, Ravenna.
- 21) *Bishop Maximian*, from the Basilica of S. Vitale, Ravenna.

The introduction to Gurlitt's catalogue and the brief note by Karl Scheffler published in »Kunst und Künstler« [Art and Artist] offer insight into the motivations behind this impressive exhibition.⁶² According to the promoters, most of the monuments displayed were »unknown« until then, often inaccessible and only superficially mentioned in the specialised literature. Wilpert-Sansaini-Tabanelli's meticulous graphic renderings of the photographed monuments ensured a »Stein für Stein« [tessera-by-tessera] level of accuracy.⁶³ Since the plates were created based on pre-First World War photographs, they possess significant scientific value, serving as crucial documentation of the mosaics' conservation status at the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as an invaluable tool for identifying additions and alterations made after that period. However, as two-dimensional media, the plates fell short of conveying the plasticity of artworks such as wall mosaics, resulting in a genuine »Sehnsucht nach den Originalen« [longing for the originals].⁶⁴ The replicas produced in the workshop of Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff promised to fill that void by faithfully representing the original decorations' plastic qualities. This effect was achieved by me-

ticulously replicating each tessera's nuanced colour and variable inclination within the mortar, allowing the aesthetic and three-dimensional qualities of the mosaics to be appreciated even outside their original context, such as at the Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt. Naturally, the colour aspect of these replicas was emphasised in the catalogue. As knowledge of the monuments had previously been based primarily on black-and-white photographs, the public was, for the first time, given the opportunity to marvel at these ancient artworks rendered in their original bright, iridescent hues.

Wolfgang Gurlitt demonstrated boldness in curating a unique exhibition on Italian mosaics, showcasing not a single ancient artefact, but only carefully crafted replicas. This approach blended aesthetic and artistic values, imbuing the reproductions with an aura of »authenticity«. However, the exhibition was not exclusively centred around mosaic reproductions. The gallery also presented works by several German artists with whom Puhl & Wagner and Gottfried Heinersdorff collaborated, such as Harold Bengen, César Klein, Max Pechstein, Johan Thorn-Prikker, Max Unold, and later Hermann Schaper. These included cartoons and samples related to their mosaic artworks, some inspired by Medieval and Byzantine art. Among Max Pechstein's contributions were selected samples derived from the mosaics depicting *Expulsion from Paradise* and *Adoration of the Magi*, produced in 1917 (fig. 14).⁶⁵

As Scheffler emphasised in his critical note, the exhibition's focus was precisely on establishing a link between Late Antiquity/Early Middle Ages and the contemporary artistic trends in Germany. It highlighted the roles of the artist and artisan in reviving mosaic art, underscoring their obligations to past traditions while questioning whether mosaic still held a place in the modern art panorama.⁶⁶ To further promote the quality of his workshop's output, August Wagner published a

no. 7; Gurlitt, no. 509); fm146077 (P & W, H, no. 8; Gurlitt, no. 508); fm146091 (P & W, H, no. 9; Gurlitt, no. 515); fm146095 (P & W, H, no. 10; Gurlitt, no. 510); fm146089 (P & W, H, no. 11; Gurlitt, no. 514); fm146071 (P & W, H, no. 12; Gurlitt, no. 504); fm146078 (P & W, H, no. 13; Gurlitt, no. 525); fm146094 (P & W, H, no. 14; Gurlitt, no. 511); fm146093 (P & W, H, no. 17; Gurlitt, no. 512); fm146088 (P & W, H, no. 21; Gurlitt, no. 485). Pictures of P & W, H, nos. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20 are missing. A picture of no. 18 is published in Galerie Fritz Gurlitt 1919, as note 49, p. 11.

61 The 15th entry on the price list of the Berlinische Galerie is left blank; however, its content can be reconstructed from an earlier version preserved in the Zentralarchiv of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. This earlier list was enclosed with a letter addressed to Oskar Wulff in May 1919, in which the mosaic replicas were offered by the company to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum at preferential rates. In that version, the 15th entry lists a »gemalte Kopie« [painted copy] of the mosaic *Crossing of the Red Sea* from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, which can be identified as Wilpert's original watercolour plate shown at the Gurlitt exhibition. According to a note added by Wulff at the bottom of the price list, the plate would be given to the museum free of charge upon the purchase of several replicas. Indeed, four pieces (P&W, H, nos. 7, 9, 10, and 12) had already been selected for acquisition, as indicated by Wulff's handwritten »X« next to them. The watercolour – the only one-of-a-kind item – was subsequently omitted from the updated price list, as it had already been earmarked for the museum. SMB-ZA, I/FBS 1, F 999/1919, »Preisauflistung der altrömischen Mosaikkopien«.

62 Karl Scheffler, *Kunstaustellungen*, in: *Kunst und Künstler XVII*, 1919, pp. 275–278.

63 Ibid., p. 275.

64 Galerie Fritz Gurlitt 1919, as note 49, p. 4.

65 Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Wolfgang Gurlitt-Archiv, image file nos.: fm146080 (Gurlitt, no. 530); fm146081 (Gurlitt, no. 534); fm146082 (Gurlitt, no. 533); fm146083 (Gurlitt, no. 353); fm146087 (Gurlitt, no. 487); fm146090 (Gurlitt, no. 532).

66 Scheffler 1919, as note 62, p. 276.



14a–f Max Pechstein, mosaic samples from *Expulsion from Paradise* and *Adoration of the Magi*, displayed at Fritz Gurlitt's »Unbekannte römische Mosaiken« [Unknown Roman Mosaics] exhibition, c. 1917, original negative plates, c. 1919, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Wolfgang Gurlitt-Archiv, image file nos. fm146080 (Gurlitt, no. 530); fm146081 (Gurlitt, no. 534); fm146082 (Gurlitt, no. 533); fm146083 (Gurlitt, no. 353); fm146087 (Gurlitt, no. 487); fm146090 (Gurlitt, no. 532)

brief memorandum on the importance of mosaics in modern German art and culture, which included reproductions of some of the replicas.⁶⁷

In May 1919, Wilhelm von Bode commissioned four copies from the company to be displayed alongside the mosaic of S. Michele in Afri-cisco at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. The then Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung [Ministry of Science, Art, and National Education] provided an extraordinary grant for the acquisition of these works.⁶⁸ A comparison of archival records, a photograph showing the layout of the Early Christian and Byzantine room after 1919 (fig. 15), preserved in the Zentralarchiv, and the photographs from the Gurlitt exhibition held in the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg (fig. 16) makes it possible to identify the subjects of the replicas acquired by Bode: *Christ Dividing the Sheep from the Goats* from S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (SMB-MBK, inv. no. 6853),⁶⁹ the *Angel's Head* from S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (SMB-MBK, inv. no. 6851),⁷⁰ *Apostle Judas the Zealot* from the Baptistery of Neon in Ravenna (SMB-MBK, inv. no. 6854),⁷¹ and *St Victor* from his chapel in S. Ambrogio in Milan (SMB-MBK, inv. no. 6852).⁷² The third work was mistakenly identified at the time of acquisition as depicting »Simon Zelotes« from a »Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte in Ravenna« – in fact, the baptistery is located in Naples.⁷³ The Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum also received, free of charge,

Wilpert's watercolour plate representing the *Crossing of the Red Sea*.⁷⁴ The four replicas sold to the museum were presumed lost after 1945 due to the Second World War. Three of them are now housed in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg.⁷⁵ The watercolour is currently missing.

67 August Wagner (ed.), »Mosaik in Not«, Denkschrift über die Notlage der deutschen Mosaikkunst, Rudolstadt 1921. The memorandum contains 18 expert reports from well-known artists and architects, praising the company's achievements and emphasising the necessity of preserving this wealth of mosaic technologies painstakingly acquired in Germany over the past 30 years. See Leonhardt 2022, as note 6, p. 41.

68 Verzeichnis der Erwerbungen im Oktober und November. Bildwerke der christlichen Epoche, in: Berliner Museen. Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen 41, 1919–1920, col. 97.

69 P & W, H, no. 12.

70 P & W, H, no. 7.

71 P & W, H, no. 9.

72 P & W, H, no. 10.

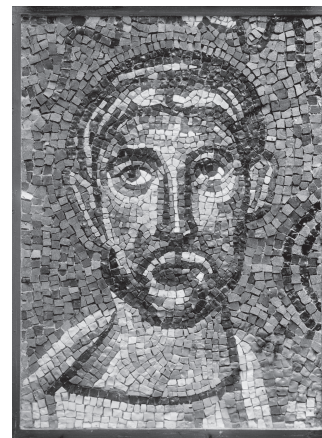
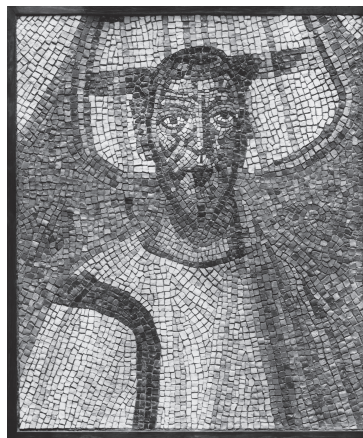
73 Verzeichnis der Erwerbungen 1919–1920, as note 68, col. 97.

74 P & W, H, no. 15. See note 61 above.

75 Hermitage Museum: *St Victor* (ИHB.№ BBcэ-1322), *Christ Dividing the Sheep from the Goats* (ИHB.№ BBcэ-1321), and *Apostle Judas the Zealot* (ИHB.№ BBcэ-1323).



15 Layout of the Early Christian and Byzantine art room at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum after 1919, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv, SMB-ZA, 2.18.-0990



16a–d Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, *Christ Dividing the Sheep from the Goats*, from S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna; *Angel's Head* from S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; *Apostle Judas the Zealot*, from the Baptistry of Neon, Ravenna; *St Victor*, from the Chapel of St Victor, Milan, displayed at Fritz Gurlitt's »Unbekannte römische Mosaiken« [Unknown Roman Mosaics] exhibition, c. 1916–1918, glass mosaics in wooden frames, 100 × 142 cm; 36 × 28 cm; 70 × 60 cm; 50 × 36 cm, original negative plates, c. 1919, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Wolfgang Gurlitt-Archiv, image file nos. fm146071 (P & W, H, no. 12; Gurlitt, no. 504); fm146096 (P & W, H, no. 7; Gurlitt, no. 509); fm146091 (P & W, H, no. 9; Gurlitt, no. 515); fm146095 (P & W, H, no. 10; Gurlitt, no. 510)



17 Orangerie Sanssouci, Potsdamer Kunstsommer, international exhibition »Mosaik und Glasmalerei« [Mosaic and Stained Glass], 1923, Archiv der Städtischen Kunstsammlungen Zwickau und Max-Pechstein-Museum, HMP, inv. no. 113



18 Mosaic decoration in the apartment of Gottfried Heinersdorff in Lichterfelde (Berlin), c. 1929

The initiative was met with acclaim and resonated significantly within Berlin's cultural circles, likely contributing to the broader circulation of these works both in Germany and abroad.

The Caspary Gallery in Munich organised an exhibition on mosaics in the summer of 1919, once again displaying some of the »unknown Roman mosaics«.⁷⁶ In 1923, the replicas were shown in the international exhibition »Mosaik und Glasmalerei« [Mosaic and Stained-Glass], held in the Orangerie of Sanssouci, alongside Wilpert's watercolour of the *Crossing of the Red Sea* from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum and Max Pechstein's cartoons and samples related to the mosaics *Expulsion from Paradise* and *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 17).⁷⁷

Over the subsequent years, the mosaic workshop sought to establish a profitable business model by marketing these serially produced replicas to other museums and cultural institutions, including the British Museum and the facsimile catacombs in Valkenburg, both of which received price lists and photographs of the available pieces.⁷⁸ In 1922, the company expanded its operations overseas. August Wagner's son, Gerhard, assumed the directorship of the Ravenna Mosaic Company, founded by Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff in St Louis and New York.⁷⁹ New replicas based on Roman and Ravennate models were produced there and, between 1924 and 1925, sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where they remain today.⁸⁰

Heinersdorff kept a replica of the *Two Angels* from S. Maria Maggiore⁸¹ and of *Bishop Maximilian* from the Basilica of S. Vitale⁸² hanging in his apartment in Lichterfelde (Berlin). Designed in 1928 by the architect Walter Würzbach, the apartment was furnished by Marcel Breuer and decorated with geometric mosaic patterns (fig. 18), demonstrating the aesthetic and expressive potential of the encounter between the ancient and the modern, Historicism and Bauhaus.⁸³

Max Pechstein's mosaic samples, produced in collaboration with Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff in 1917, were exhibited in vari-

76 See Adolf Feulner, *Mosaiken und Glasmalereien*, in: *Die christliche Kunst* 18, 1921–1922, pp. 1–18.

77 Potsdamer Kunstverein e.V. 1923, as note 51, pp. 12–14, 30–31. See Schulz 1987, as note 34, p. 49; Kunstwissenschaftler- und Kunstkritikerverband in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Potsdamer Kunstverein e.V. (eds.), *Der Potsdamer Kunstverein des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Potsdam 2025, pp. 60–62.

78 Berlinische Galerie, Archiv Puhl & Wagner, G. Heinersdorff (Schriftenarchiv), folder no. 810, P&W, H, Ausland, 1920/21, E–Z, und Dossier Ausland, A–Z, 1922–, D/Dalton, Prof. O.M., British Museum, London, »betr. Angebot römische Mosaiken nach Vorlagen von Wilpert Römische Mosaiken und Wandmalereien«, letter from Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff to Ormonde Maddock, 31.1.1921; H/Holland, Jan Diepen, Falkenburg/Prov. Limburg, »betr. Preise für Kopien altrömischer Mosaiken«, letter from Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff to Jan Diepen, 6.12.1921.

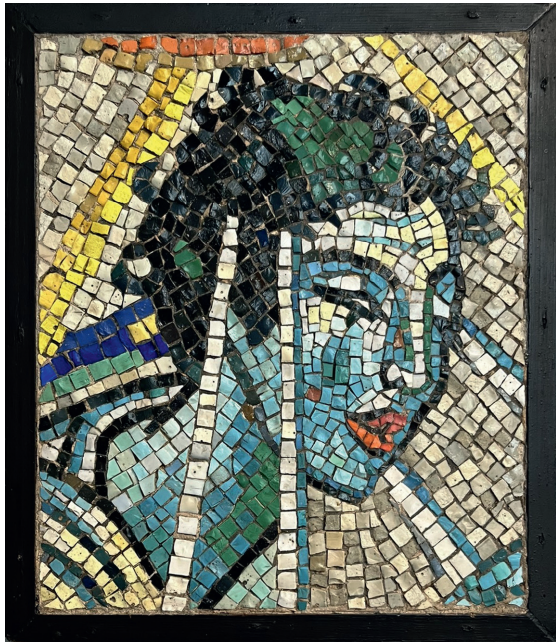
79 Kolland et al. 1985, as note 15, pp. 22–24.

80 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Medieval Art Collection: *The Israelites Rise Against Moses*, from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome (object no. 24.144.1); *Crossing of the Red Sea*, from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome (object no. 24.144.2); *Agnus Dei*, from the Basilica of SS. Cosmas and Damian, Rome (object no. 24.144.3); *Christ Dividing the Sheep from the Goats*, from the Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (object no. 24.144.4); *Saint Agnes*, from the Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (object no. 24.144.5a, b); *Bust of Christ*, from the Archbishop's Chapel, Ravenna (object no. 24.144.6); *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, from the Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (object no. 24.144.7); *The Processions of Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora*, from the Basilica of S. Vitale, Ravenna (object no. 25.100.1a–e). See Stephen R. Zwirn, *Apse Decoration of S. Vitale: The emperor Justinian and Archbishop Maximianus and members of their courts; The empress Theodora and members of her court*, in: Kurt Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, exh. cat. [New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 19.11.1977–12.2.1978], New York 1979, cat. nos. 65–66, pp. 76–78; Herbert H. Kessler, *Old Testament Panel from Sta. Maria Maggiore*, in: *ibid.*, cat. no. 420, pp. 468–469.

81 P & W, H, no. 8.

82 P & W, H, no. 21.

83 Springer 1989, as note 5, pp. 104, 106; Kai Habermehl, *Einführung. Lichtsteine. Gottfried Heinersdorff und die Erneuerung der Glasmalerei in Deutschland*, in: Leismann 2001, as note 32, p. 11; Elke Doppebauer, Kai Habermehl, *Biographische Notizen Gottfried Heinersdorff*, in: *ibid.*, p. 125.



19 Max Pechstein, mosaic sample of the *Angel's Head* from *Expulsion from Paradise*, 1917, glass mosaic in wooden frame, 37,5 × 32,5 cm, Kunstsammlungen Zwickau, Max-Pechstein-Museum, inv. no. 2010/16/K3



20 Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, *Jochebed Presenting Moses to Pharaoh's Daughter*, from the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, glass mosaic in wooden frame, 101 × 151 cm, Berlin, private collection

ous venues, and some have recently been sold at auction. One sample of *Angel's Head* – related to *Expulsion from Paradise* – is currently on display at the Kunstsammlungen Zwickau, Max-Pechstein-Museum (fig. 19),⁸⁴ while the one depicting a *Putto* is held in a private collection.⁸⁵ Lastly, both a larger version of the mosaic replica from S. Maria Maggiore, illustrating *Jochebed Presenting Moses to Pharaoh's Daughter*,⁸⁶ and the *Martyr with the Crown* remain in the collections of Wagner's heirs in Berlin (fig. 20) and Switzerland.⁸⁷

Credits

1a, b: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte / Federica Tagliatesta. – 2: Kommunalarchiv Minden, Nachlass Eva Kramer / Eva Kramer. – 3, 4: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. – 5, 6: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst / Antje Voigt. – 7: Max Osborn, Max Pechstein, Berlin 1922, no page number. – 8, 10, 17: Archiv der Städtischen Kunstsammlungen Zwickau und Max-Pechstein-Museum, HMP. – 9: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie / Roman März. – 11: Kunstsalon Fritz Gurlitt: Galerie Fritz Gurlitt, Unbekannte römische Mosaiken, Februar-März-Ausstellung 1919, Berlin 1919, cover. – 12: Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1916, pl. 46. – 13, 14a–f, 16a–d: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Wolfgang Gurlitt-Archiv. – 15: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv. – 18: Peter Springer, *Modernisierung einer alten Kunst. Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von Mosaik, Zeit und Avantgarde*, in: Helmut Geisert, Gabriele Struck, Ruth Irmgard (eds.), *Wände aus farbigem Glas. Das Archiv der Vereinigten Werkstätten für Mosaik und Glasmalerei Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff. Mosaik und Glasmalerei*, Berlin 1989, p. 104. – 19: Kunstsammlungen Zwickau, Max-Pechstein-Museum / Federica Tagliatesta. – 20: Private collection.

⁸⁴ Inv. no. 2010/16/K3. See Stadtverwaltung Zwickau, Kulturamt, *Kunstsammlungen Zwickau Max-Pechstein-Museum* 2014, as note 39, pp. 10–11.

⁸⁵ Schmidt 2001, as note 35, pp. 21–24.

⁸⁶ P & W, H, no. 2.

⁸⁷ P & W, H, no. 5. For a colour reproduction of this mosaic, see Josef Ludwig Fischer, *Deutsches Mosaik und seine geschichtlichen Quellen*, Leipzig 1939, pl. I.