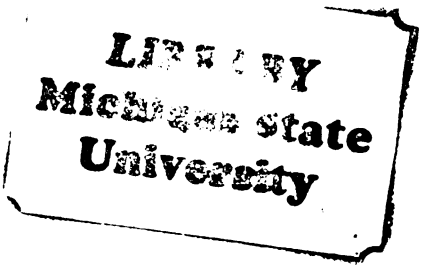

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

A STUDY OF RUDOLF STEINER'S FIRST GOETHEANUM

presented by

Bernadette (Becky) Schwartz

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Master of Arts degree in History of Art

Major professor

Eldon VanLiere

Date 1 August 1983

A STUDY OF RUDOLF STEINER'S FIRST GOETHEANUM

By

Bernadette (Becky) Schwarz

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Art

1983

ABSTRACT

A Study of Rudolf Steiner's First Goetheanum

By

Bernadette (Becky) Schwarz

The First Goetheanum, a double-domed structure near Basel, Switzerland, was an architectural expression of Rudolf Steiner, an Austrian scientist, mystic and educator. Begun in 1914, it was destroyed by arson in 1923.

Steiner edited the works of Goethe, and lectured in the Theosophical Society of Germany prior to breaking from that group to form the Anthroposophical Society in 1912. In 1914, with architectural assistance, he designed for his followers a meeting place, the Goetheanum. Steiner's artistic style drew from Goethe's writings on metamorphosis.

My examination of this building, and its charismatic creator, focuses on their art historical context. Steiner's theories remain a mystery to me; I question why the Goetheanum was ignored by the art critics of its day despite its standing in the heart of western Europe. I have sought to link Steiner's architectural style with the artistic modes of his contemporaries. Finally, I have attempted to clarify the intended relationship between Steiner's spiritualism and the future of architecture.

To Papa...

who taught me to live...

to learn...

to love...

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the members of my thesis committee, Drs. Webster Smith, Fred Graham, and especially Dr. Eldon VanLiere for his patience, encouragement and insight as well as for his friendship.

I appreciate greatly Andrea Schwarz's multi-lingual translations. A special debt of gratitude is owed to my husband Tom, my son Gabriel, and to Mary and Dick Schneider for their constant support in a multitude of circumstances. Thanks is also due to Nina for her "soul support", and in particular, I would like to thank Eileen, without whose way with words and love this writing could never have been accomplished.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1914, there arose above the landscape of a small Swiss village in the Jura Mountains, a wondrous and awesome sight: two domes scintillating brilliantly at dawn like twin amorphous jewels, glowing with blinding luminescence in the midday sun, and dulling to a forbidding grey by nightfall. (Fig. 1) This amazing daily visual transformation dominated the subdued countryside which lay around it with the force of a coup d'etat, a dominion rendered all the more powerful by its location in its submissive Swiss environs.

These two domes of unequal diameter closed in upon themselves like shells, extending their reach as close to the rugged terrain as their drooping eaves would permit. Like liquid silver, the slate shingles oozed across the roofline and overhung the edges of a large building made of several types of carved laminated hardwoods. (Fig. 2) Because of the constantly changing patterns of sunlight playing upon the domical slate surface, certainly the entire structure must have appeared to be alive, moving and fluidly organic, yet contradictorily solid in its mass which blended with the rock surrounding it.

The double-domed edifice, with its appendages of anterooms and curvilinear dormers, rested on a concrete base

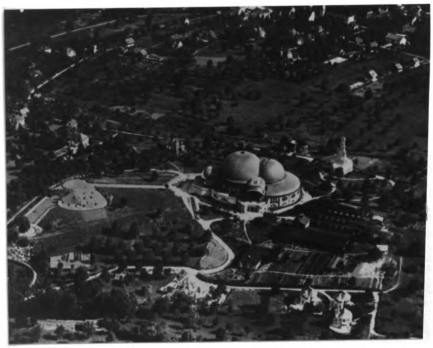

Fig. 1 Aerial view of First Goetheanum

Fig. 2 Exterior of double domes of First Goetheanum

set upon a plateau in the rockbound terrain outside Dornach near Basel. (Fig. 3) This building was called the Goetheanum and was unique in the Western world. It was the culmination of a lifetime's work---the spiritual quest of Rudolf Steiner.

An architect neither by training nor by experience, Steiner employed the talents of many designers and laborers in order to create the physical embodiment of his philosophy. Never before had he constructed any building, but his inspiration for a center for his spiritual activities grew steadily from his preceding career and thought. At age fifty-three, he had finally realized the completion of the first Goetheanum, a building which underscored the philosophical conclusions of a man beset for most of his life with the esoteric task of reshaping the soul sphere of Western mankind.

My personal interest in Rudolf Steiner has its roots in the history and heritage of my family. My father's aunt, Lina Schwarz, was a devoted supporter of Steiner during the initial days of his prominence in the early years of this century. Her enthusiasm for Anthroposophy spread to several other family members in my father's own generation. My father himself was introduced to Steiner's ideas during his childhood, and he continued what was to be a lifetime fascination with the man and his philosophy. However, due to my father's inquisitive nature, he never fully accepted, but rather was, to his deathbed, merely intrigued by Rudolf

Fig. 3 West wing, exterior

Steiner.

Like my father, I too am a seeker. I was raised in an environment rich in a variety of spiritual traditions, an awareness of Anthroposophy among them. In my travels in Europe, I visited the Second Goetheanum. My formal studies in art history subsequently afforded me the opportunity to further explore the background of this structure and its architect. As a result, I am not yet fully convinced of all to which Steiner attested. It is, however, undeniable that his architecture bore an ethereal quality which is not completely explainable in rational architectural terms.

In completing a thorough investigation of the architecture of the first Goetheanum, it would seem highly unrealistic, if not impossible, to sever the relationships between the building, the ideological viewpoint of the builder, and the context of the turbulent end of the nineteenth century. The era in which Steiner worked was rampant with quasi-mystical sects and cults, as well as an almost obsessive search for the great spiritual.

A sense of spiritual awakening had directly preceded the growth of Expressionist architecture and had subsequently deeply influenced the beginnings of the Bauhaus in Germany.[1] Despite the general acceptance of the spiritual references made by Kandinsky in 1909, in his treatise Uber das Geistige in der Kunst,[2] (Concerning The Spiritual In Art), the actual shift of art and architecture toward Expressionism was gradual. However, it clearly can be noted

that some of Steiner's contemporaries in the art world sought visual harmonies which were strikingly similar to those of Steiner in his building design. The aesthetics of Expressionism embodied by the Austrian architect Otto Wagner for example, who lived and worked at the same time as Steiner created works of architecture to simulate the soul-experience by virtue, merely, of the intermingling of their forms in new and expressive ways. But to claim that spirituality was their center point stretches reality too far.

The strikingly unique element in Steiner was that the concept of the existence of a higher world and this was a basic and formative underpinning of all of his work, in architecture as well as in his many other areas of study. Although one could feasibly highlight solely his architectural activities, one could not possibly comprehend more than the physical details by doing so. In order to understand the first Goetheanum, it is mandatory that the historian comprehend Steiner's deep belief in the world of higher knowledge, and the undeniable influence of his beliefs upon his activities. "Steiner...believed in a perception of higher worlds and in the visibility of spiritual states and circumstances behind physical reality, and he was convinced that this transcendental realm was revealed in 'spirit organs' in man."[3]

The building itself as a symbol and a medium for mystical thought, was an inspiration given tangible form through the unflagging energy of Rudolf Steiner and the

dauntless devotion of his followers. The first Goetheanum rose from a wellspring of hope, from the discovery of a "spiritual science" in Steiner's philosophy called Anthroposophy, which was to answer the needs and aspirations of the twentieth century. As it was a culmination of spiritual meaning in its lifetime, perhaps too, this building can also be seen as a harbinger of the destruction which was to dominate our time. For as the new century ushered in an epoch of global violence, the first Goetheanum met own destruction in a fire purportedly set by a hostile arsonist on the dawn of on New Year's Day, 1923.

CHAPTER I

RUDOLF STEINER: BIOGRAPHY, AESTHETICS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTHROPOSOPHY

Rudolf Steiner was born in Kraljevic, Hungary (now Yugoslavia), in 1861, at a time when the European world had been consumed by the industrial revolution, a period which generated a surge of interest in technology and applied science. He spent his childhood near Vienna, and from his earliest years showed an affinity for mathematics and classical languages. He attended primary school at Vienna, Wiener-Neustadt, and continued his studies at the Technical University of Vienna, where he took courses in science and mathematics. There, he was introduced to the writings of Goethe by Professor Karl Julius Schroeder. Steiner's father had wanted him to become a civil engineer and, while following the course of study for that professor, he supplemented his required curriculum with courses at Vienna University in philosophy and the humanities. He was involved in several political, educational and social circles, and met people with diverse interests in the arts, theatre, literature and philosophy.

It may be recalled that the city of Vienna itself had undergone since 1858 a period of reconstruction in the central area of the Ringstrasse. Steiner was certainly aware of the architecture which shaped his local environment, and the Ringstrasse comprised an extraordinary variety of

the Ringstrasse comprised an extraordinary variety of architectural styles. The Neo-Gothic Rathaus by Friedrich Schmidt, the Votivkirch, and the University of Vienna itself (where Steiner studied) by Heinrich von Ferstel, represented some of the many divergent motifs of the leading Historicist architects of the day.

When Steiner designed the first Goetheanum, he addressed in speeches his feelings that contemporary architecture did not adequately express the nature of man. These statements seem incompatible with his acknowledgement of Joseph Baier, a student of Gottfried Semper, as one of his architectural teachers.[1] For the theories of Semper led directly to the unorthodox modern architecture of Otto Wagner, which embodied striking similarities in outlook to Steiner's first Goetheanum. Wagner's urge for "contemporaneity", "truth", and "honesty to materials"[2] were coincidental with elements of Steiner's own philosophy.

By 1883, at the age of twenty-one, Steiner had been chosen to edit Goethe's scientific writings in Weimar, Germany. From Goethe, he absorbed the notion of the duality of the physical and the spiritual in nature, an idea which was to fascinate him throughout his life, and which was represented in his architecture. By 1886, Steiner was associating himself with the literary circles of Weimar and by 1890, he had moved to Weimar to work at the Goethe archives there. During the following decade, he devoted much of his energy to formulating a "spiritual science" which he

carried with him into the highly regarded literary groups in Berlin. There, he held the editorship for a periodical called Magazin fur Literatur, from 1897 to 1900. He visited Nietzsche, wrote introductions to the works of Schopenhauer and became well versed in philosophy, as well as being active in several philosophical, scientific and literary societies. During these years, he also became heavily involved with the left-wing Arbeiterbildungsschule At this time, he also initiated an interest in the study of Theosophy.

The turn of the century in Europe had also engendered a great deal of spiritual upheaval which carried in its wake many cults and quasi-religious associations in response to metaphysical aspirants in European society. The Theosophical Society had been founded by Madame H.P. Blavatsky and had established a theosophical library in Berlin. There, Steiner absorbed much theosophical thought into his own expanding spiritual consciousness. In 1902 at the age of forty-one, Rudolf Steiner was appointed general secretary of the German section of the Theosophical Society.

The theosophical message that Steiner adopted at the time was expounded at length in Madame Blavatsky's book Key To Theosophy.[3] The basic accomplishment of the theosophists was to link East with West, binding the culture of India with our own. Basing their methods on ancient wisdom, the theosophists and their philosophy were further elucidated by Steiner in his book Theosophie.[4] The paths of knowledge were written about by Steiner in the periodical Lucifer Gnosis.[5]

Between 1902 and 1912, he wrote six books, numerous articles and made over two thousand lecture appearances. His public activities were commonly known among educated members of German society, and his work became increasingly recognized in the sphere of higher learning. Although the evolution of Steiner's concept of a "spiritual science" was innovative, it did not arise unprecedented in a German culture which was to produce such contemporary literary figures as Herman Hesse and Thomas Mann, both of whom looked to the East as a source of inspiration for Western spirituality. Because he was born into the established traditions of German thought and had been educated in a thorough European scholarly awareness of philosophy, literature, the arts and natural sciences, it is by no means an abherration but rather a natural outcome that Steiner's own philosophy, which he called Anthroposophy, should arise in the time and place that it did.

By 1911, Steiner had gathered around him many followers who were growing discontented with some elements of the Theosophical Society. In the ambience of their mutual spirituality within the Society, Steiner had developed the first of what was to be a series of four mystery dramas. These four plays traced the development of human destinies which were believed to be linked through a succession of earthly lives. They demonstrated how spiritual pilgrims who travelled the road of self-knowledge were guided to the threshold of the spiritual world. The dramas were entitled

"The Portal of Initiation" (1910); "The Probation of the Soul" (1911); "The Guardian of the Threshold" (1912); and "The Souls' Awakening" (1913).[6] Steiner and his followers held the view that things experienced in the present time were also windows upon the Middle Ages, to Ancient Egypt and other significant civilizations. It followed that the Mystery Dramas were considered to be Steiner's revelations of the spirit of past epochs, presented in an art form. In time, they were felt by his breakaway followers to contain all the knowledge of Steiner's writings about human destiny, presented in dramatic form.

The first of the mystery plays had been staged before 1907 within the context of the Theosophical Society. Steiner was assisted by Marie von Sivers, who was the moving spirit behind the early theatrical productions of what was to become the Anthroposophical Society. Trained as an actress in St. Petersburg, Russia, she had been about to launch her stage career when, from a spiritual search, she encountered Theosophy and met Rudolf Steiner. She became his devoted co-worker and companion as well as, in 1914, his wife. Von Sivers had translated Edward Schure's reconstruction of the Eleusinian mystery dramas, which Steiner then edited for a theatrical presentation. The text of this drama was then added to the annual program of the Theosophical Society during its Fourth Annual Congress of its European branches in 1907.

The linking of both the Theosophical Society and

Steiner's eventual Anthroposophical Society with actual artistry and with architecture was a point of great importance to Steiner. He sought a bond with the ancient mysteries, but even more intentionally, he intended to unite his metaphysical philosophy with the reality of artistic expression.

By 1911, Steiner had planned to build a twin-domed meeting hall for his spiritual entourage to be located in Schwabing, a suburb of Munich. Prior to the design of this building, the early productions of the mystery dramas were held in various theatres around Munich: Theater am Gartnerplatz, Volkstheater, and Schauspielhaus. However, Steiner felt a growing need for a stage beyond the ordinary theatre provisions for his mystery dramas, "a need for a building in which these productions could be housed in an atmosphere that was in harmony with their spiritual nature."[7]

This structure was to be named the Johannesbau, literally John-building, a name derived from a character in one of Steiner's mystery dramas. Steiner sought to provide a stage for the presentations of the mystery dramas, and also a focus for spiritual and Theosophical activities in Germany. Steiner's architectural design included an inside meeting room which was screened from the outside world in two ways: through a foyer with emanating passages, and by a complex surrounding the building which was to consist of storehouses and homes for his followers (Fig. 4). Steiner had completed all the plans, but local building authorities interfered with

the actual initiation of work on this project.

Because the man Rudolf Steiner was an extremely complex person whose influence extended to a vast variety of areas of life, it is impossible to examine his architectural endeavors in isolation from his philosophical outlook. In 1912, Steiner's involvement with the Theosophical Society and his leadership of the German branch of that organization came to an abrupt ending precisely because of ideological conflicts. The primary objection which Steiner had with the Theosophists, and particularly with Madame Blavatsky, centered on the quintessential meaning for Steiner of the existence of Jesus Christ. Steiner's experience and thoughts allowed for the influence and importance of Oriental mysticism, much like the Theosophists, who welcomed the meditative spirituality which sprang from Eastern sources. But the Theosophists, with the strong influence of Blavatsky, gave way to the Oriental outlook, to the point of accepting the existence of the young boy Krishnamurti as an incarnation of God Himself. This degree of openness was abhorred by Steiner, who insisted upon the sole existence of Jesus Christ as God's Son as <u>the</u> turning point of utmost importance to the spiritual life of the Western world. It was not so much the denial of the Theosophical point of view which was Steiner's focus, but rather the affirmation of the tremendous significance of Christianity for the cultures of the West.

This concern of Steiner's, if it is considered to be

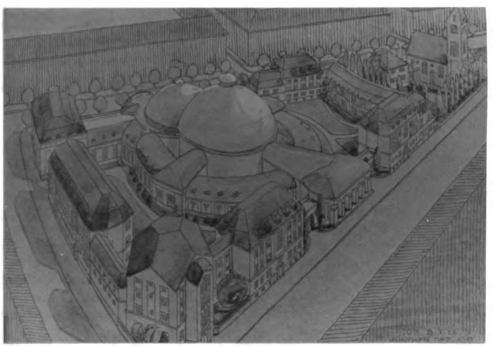

Fig. 4 Model sketch of Johannes Building - 1912

solely theological would have little bearing to the subject of this writing. On the contrary, because Steiner felt this concept should be embodied in material expression, it is of utmost significance in the comprehension of the Goetheanum building. The centering of his own spirituality in the foundation of Christianity provided for Steiner an historical context and an architectural heritage which was inextricably bound to European tradition, and which afforded him an invaluable asset in its general acceptability within the traditional German social structure. The unique fusing of his conceptual ideology with the corporeal presence of his building, both of them linked to tradition, surely must have impressed and intrigued the general public.

In 1913, Steiner finally abandoned the Theosophical Society to form his own Anthroposophical Society. The movement he created derived its name from the Greek words "Anthropos", meaning "man", and "Sophos", meaning "wise"; the wisdom of mankind. In this way, Anthroposophy was to become the study of the science of mankind. Steiner's own definition stated that "Anthroposophy is the path of knowledge to guide the Spiritual in the human being to the Spiritual in the Universe. It arises as a need of the heart of the life of feeling; and it can only be justified inasmuch as it can satisfy this inner need." [8]

Rudolf Steiner was a charismatic leader, a man who acted

in several roles toward his followers. He was, indeed, revered by his students, and imbued with near-sainthood by some for his achievements. Although he retained an inner sense of modesty regarding his artistic work, he was highly respected by many of his disciples [9]. He himself sought cooperation and technical assistance from architects, artists and engineers in the construction of the first Goetheanum building. It is, then, quite astounding that he received very little reinforcement or support from the recognized art world of his contemporaries.

The fact that Anthroposophy survived more successfully than many of the cults which emerged during the period of German Expressionism begs the question, "Why?" There were many overwhelming pseudo-religious cults at this time which are now extinct. The success of Anthroposophy was due largely to the person of Rudolf Steiner and the physical presence of the Goetheanum. Steiner was a powerful and impressive individual whose ideas and designs commanded a following. "Almost apostolically, he sought to create a new order, relating man and the world to a perception of rhythms of time." [10]

CHAPTER II

STEINER'S RELATIONSHIP TO GOETHE

Steiner had edited the scientific writings of Goethe in Joseph Kuerschner's Deutscher Nationalliteratur before 1888. Judging from his commentaries and introductions to these works, Steiner had no intentions of remaining objective regarding this undertaking: he gave his unequivocal agreement to, and support for, Goethe's approach to nature. During his work at the Goethe Archives in Weimar, Steiner also wrote his own studies which he entitled "Goethe als Vater einer neuen Asthetiker", which he rewrote in 1909 following the influence of Theosophy upon his life.

In 1897, Goethe's Weltanschaung was published by Steiner, in which he again advocated a Goethean approach to science as opposed to "positivistic science."[1] This was prior to Steiner's interest in Theosophy, and his outlook was considered to be "a mixture of Goethean thought with the romanticism of Schilling and the idealism of Lotze,"[2] with the theosophical influence appearing later.

Steiner's interest in the aesthetics of Goethe was based on a specific choice of narrowly drawn statements from selections of Goethe's Maxims and Reflections, and the essay "Winckelmann." The basic thesis in Steiner's acknowledgement of Goethe was that Goethe joined together the arts and the natural sciences. Steiner felt drawn to the joining of the arts and sciences in his own time. He had

discovered in Goethe a truth that works of art were produced according to the divine necessity of true laws of nature, exactly as works of nature are produced. For Steiner, this was a momentous realization: the perfection of artistic creation increased proportionally to the allowance for natural laws to find their own expression in art. The artist was to make real the ideas of nature, by showing what Nature would look like were its inherent, invisible forces accessible to direct perception.[3] Steiner asserted that according to Goethe, "the Beautiful is a manifestation of secret laws of nature which otherwise would have remained hidden forever."[4] On this basis Steiner felt that art was potentially truer than nature, since it represented that which Nature was attempting to become. Steiner claimed that a work of art brought eternal ideas to the realm of the physical world. Steiner attributed to Goethe the discovery that "the beautiful is not, as (Platonic) art theory asserts, an Idea in the form of a sensory occurence, but rather, a sensory phenomenon in the form of an idea."[5]

The unity of art, religion and science was significant. The connection with the Divine which was the legacy of the artist was not only the opening up of self to allow the Divine to flow into the world, but the raising of the materials of art to the realm of the Divine. This directional missive was the "cosmic mission of the artist." [6] The appeal which Steiner made in his essay on Goethe was a call to artists for a new theory of aesthetics in the light of a

Goethean world view. With this knowledge, it is impossible to ignore the impact which Steiner had on Kandinsky and that artist's subsequent publication of Uber das Geistige in der Kunst (Concerning the Spiritual in Art), which reflected Goethean notions according to Steiner's interpretations. In Steiner's view, Goethe had eliminated the Platonic dichotomy between Nature and Art.

On August 28, 1911, Steiner spoke on Our Age and Goethe. In this lecture, he stressed Goethe's relation to his own teaching, saying that the contemplation of Goethe was the point of departure for "spiritual science" (as he termed Anthroposophy).[7] "Much of what one may call true illumination of our progress in the spiritual world, of our whole spiritual science, indeed, may take as its point of departure the contemplation of Goethe: because in Goethe everything is sound...Goethe is to be counted among those spirits best able to stimulate us in an Anthroposophical sense."[8]

Steiner referred to Goethe frequently in lectures he gave, recalling both Faust and also Goethe's observation of nature. Steiner felt that Goethe's endeavors awakened in humanity a sense for the influence of the supersensible, and it was upon this insight that he chose the name Goetheanum for what he considered to be a building for humanity. The principle of spiritual continuity, and its renewal through continued searching and research, was greatly revered by Steiner in Goethe.

Steiner's knowledge of Goethe stemmed from his having

edited Goethe's natural-scientific writings, his presentation of Goethe's Faust as a part of the spiritual meetings of the German Theosophical Society, and the subsequent lectures on Faust which Steiner gave annually. Already in 1884, before his full acceptance of Theosophy, and prior to the development of his unique Anthroposophy, Steiner had designated Goethe and the concept of a "Goetheanum" center as the heart of the ultimate continuity to culture which Middle Europe of his time was destined to give to humanity. The naming of the actual first Goetheanum building, thirty-three years after Steiner edited Goethe's writings, did not merely confer "honor upon a great person of the past, but designated this building as a working center for his spirit in the twentieth century."[9]

CHAPTER III

THE BUILDING OF THE FIRST GOETHEANUM

In the Spring of 1907, the European Section of the Theosophical Society, headed by Rudolf Steiner, had convened a congress in Munich at the Tonhalle in Turkenstrasse. The meeting hall, at Steiner's direction, was draped with red cloth and adorned with seven columns painted illusionistically on boards, precedents for the eventual seven pairs of columns in the first Goetheanum meeting room. (Fig. 5) Each of the seven capitals of these painted columns signified one of the planets, paired with an apocalyptic seal. The impression of that hall on the associates of Rudolf Steiner was great. A student asked Steiner for an architectural motif which would incorporate Theosophical symbols. Steiner drew an elliptical shape on an east-west axis (Fig. 6). Seven columns on either side of the axis supported a dome in the form of a tri-axial ellipsoid, surrounded by a roofed ambulatory, flanked by smaller ellipsoid domes. The main dome was pierced by an elliptical opening, the single light source of the building. Steiner positioned this feature so that during the equinoxes of the year, light would pinpoint a particular area of the inside of the building.

E.A. Karl Stockmeyer built a small prototype of this building, following the essential features of Steiner's design, at Malsch, south of Karlsruhe, Germany, in 1908-09.

Fig. 5 First Goetheanum with Boilerhouse and Glass Studios

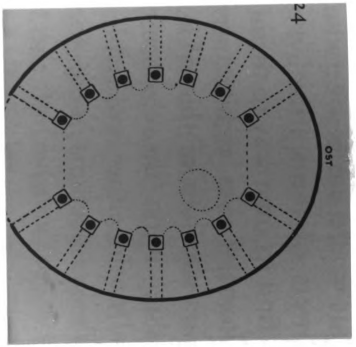

Fig. 6 Design for Steiner's ellipsoid centralized floor plan

Significant mathematical, statistical and practical problems were encountered by Stockmeyer in this venture. The scale of his building was very limited (to a total height of 1.74 metres), and the floor level was lowered so that one could stand inside the building and experience the structure as a larger space than it actually was. (Fig. 7) This small model building must have been an accurate reflection of Steiner's architectural ideas in 1908; Steiner himself in a symbolic gesture laid the foundation "stone" of the model.[1]

During 1907, Steiner had also designed another structure, this one featuring a double dome in place of the center ellipsoid (Fig. 8). He eventually abandoned the scheme, shown in Stockmeyer's model, for ellipsoid ambulatory domes intersecting a single main dome. In the double-dome plan the two main, interpenetrating domed sections were laid out on an axis, the larger, auditorium section opening itself to the smaller stage section (Fig. 9). This structure in two sections, each shrouded by its own dome, was meant to serve as the ambience for the dramatization of the four mystery plays written by Steiner, and the conducting of eurythmic or spiritual dance performances (Fig. 10). Steiner probably also envisioned this building as a kind of spiritual center or university, where the spiritual dimension of life could be exercised and developed in many forms under his guidance.

Steiner's design which evolved into the first Goetheanum was bi-partite, with the two intersecting circular spaces

Fig. 7 Malsch model building at Karlsruhe, view eastward from entrance

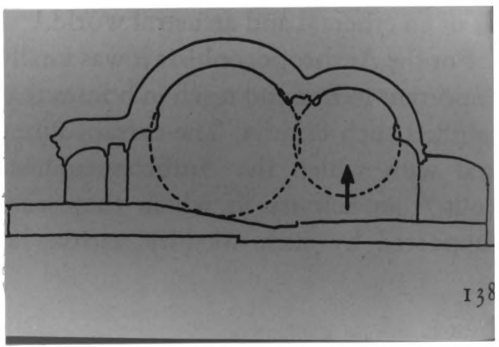

Fig. 8 Double dome design by Steiner

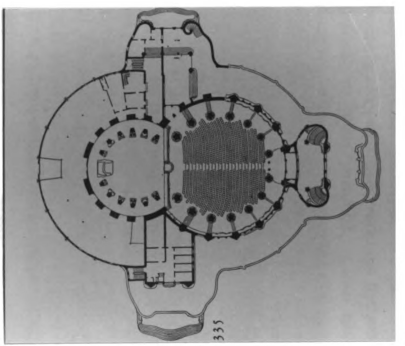

Fig. 9 Floor plan for double dome structure

Fig. 10 Eurythmy performance

differing in size, one larger and one smaller, as already seen in Figure 9. Both were designated by Steiner to have equal importance in much the same way as the chancel and the congregation in Christian churches are counterparts to one another.[2] The difference in dimension indicated the greater conscious preoccupation in most people with the physical as opposed to the spiritual.

It was this concept of a double-domed church-like structure that Steiner presented to the architect Carl Schmid-Curtius. (Fig. 11) Schmid-Curtius had been the architect of the Stuttgart branch of the Theosophical Society, and already in 1911, had built a model of Stockmeyer's prototype discussed previously. It must be recalled that in 1911, Steiner's affiliation with the Theosophists was still active, and that he and Schmid-Curtius had shared a spiritual affinity with one another, until the formation of the Anthroposophical Society. Schmid-Curtius followed Steiner's charismatic lead when the Theosophical Society turned its attention more and more to the East, while Steiner insisted that the West needed to deepen its roots in Western spirituality, and specifically, in Christianity.

Schmid-Curtius worked on a geometrical construction plan to fulfill Steiner's designations. "The points of intersection and the radii of the two circles, as well as the course of the inner circle of columns, were worked out on the basis of a pentagram construction." [3] (Fig. 12) It has been deemed more than mere coincidence that these divisions

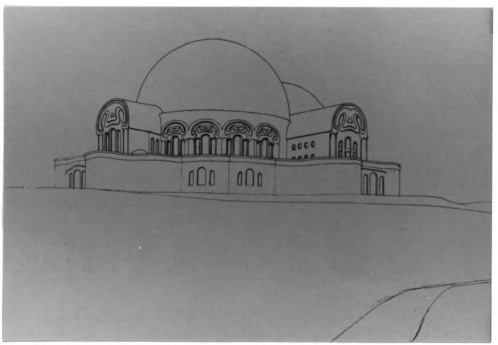

Fig. 11 Drawing of Steiner's double dome for Schmid-Curtius

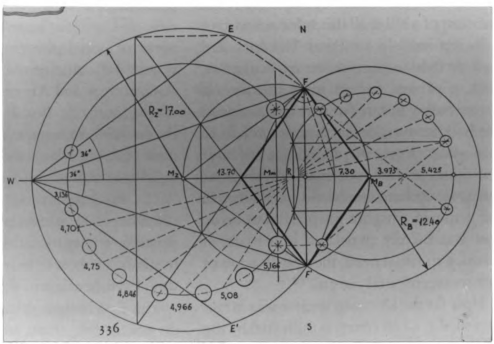

Fig. 12 Pentagram analysis of Steiner's plan

fell into the ratio of the Golden Section.[4] Steiner also set the absolute distance of a line between the center of the auditorium and the center of the stage at twenty-one metres, the identical number thought to be the length of King Solomon's temple.[5]

On February 3, 1913, Steiner convened the first official meeting of the Anthroposophical Society. On May 15-16 of that year, Steiner went to Switzerland to inspect a building site at Dornach near Basel, which had been made available by a friend there, for the erection of a central building for the Anthroposophical Movement. A Swiss affiliate of Steiner's, Dr. Emil Grosheintz, had donated the land in the midst of the Jura Mountains overlooking Switzerland, Germany and France.

In the summer of 1913, on the hill at Dornach, there had stood just one private residence, the House Brodbeck, where Steiner had established living quarters for himself on the first floor. There he created his first plasticine model of the Goetheanum building itself. (Fig. 13) Also during that summer, the first entering roads to the site were constructed.

On September 30, 1913, at 6:00 p.m., the foundation stone for the first Goetheanum was laid in a cylindrical pit, accessible by nine steps. The foundation stone consisted of two interpenetrating pentagonduodecahedrons, a larger and a smaller one, formed out of copper. This form was placed directly under the spot where the speaker's desk would

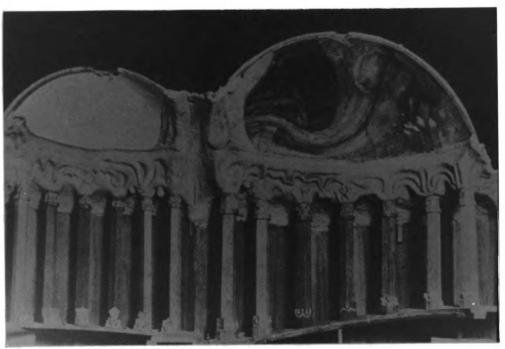

Fig. 13 Interior of Steiner's model for the First Goetheanum

eventually stand in the finished building, "from which the word would pass out to human beings within the great domed hall."[6] It was put into the ground so that the larger pentagonduodecahedron pointed toward the East, the smaller toward the West, interchanging the eventual arrangement of the building itself, which was to have the smaller dome on the East end, the larger on the West. Within the stone was enclosed an original document of information indicating the day, the cosmic constellation of the hour, "...on the twentieth day of September, 1880, after the Mystery of Golgotha, that is, 1913 after the birth of Christ, when Merkurius as the evening star stood in Libra..."[7]

At the beginning of the ceremony, Steiner invoked the spiritual "hierarchies", to be "protectors and guides" in the dedication. He said, "...as a symbol of the human soul, which is dedicated to our great work, we have formed this stone. It is a symbol to us in its double-twelve form, of the striving human soul enclosed as microcosm within the macrocosm, anthropos, the human being, as he is guided here by Beings of the divine---spiritual Hierarchies. Thus this foundation stone of ours is a symbol of our own souls which we incorporate into that which we consider to be the right spiritual striving for the present time. Thus, we shall sink this stone, which is formed in accordance with the cosmic picture of the human soul, into the kingdom of the elements."[8]

Following the completion of the roadways, an enormous

machine tool shop called the "Schreinerei" was built. It was a wooden structure intended as a temporary site for materials, but which remained and was later used for lectures and artistic events. During the construction of the first Goetheanum, the Schreinerei was a depository for the tremendous stores of lumber needed in construction. The artisans who worked at the building numbered between 150 and 200, between the Fall of 1913 and Spring of 1914.

It is undeniable that in its time the Goetheanum, begun in 1912, was idiosyncratic, original, eccentric. The only contemporary structure which equalled it in size was the Centenary Hall (1910-12) built of reinforced concrete by Max Berg in Breslau, Poland. The vast interior space of that meeting place consisted of a central circular area with four radiating apses, a dome with four apsial semi-domes, the fourth of which was coincidentally a theatre. In contrast to the Centenary Hall, the first Goetheanum building designed by Steiner was constructed completely of carved wood, founded on a huge concrete substructure. (Fig. 14) That Steiner chose wood to construct his first Goetheanum was evidence of his personal affinity for nature and for organic elements. Wood was a material of tradition, a living material; it came from the earth and eventually returned to dust. It was the antithesis of modern, industrialized, anti-organic society. The choice of a variety of hardwoods and slate for the first Goetheanum was in itself a forthright statement by Steiner, a declaration of the timeless nature he wanted his building to

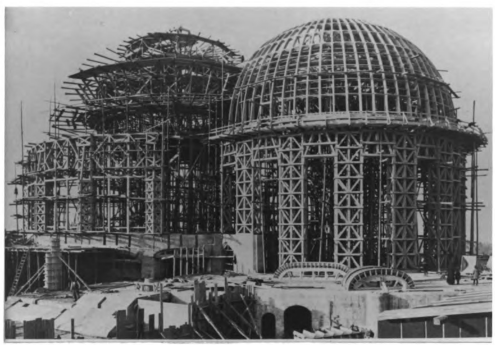

Fig. 14 First Goetheanum under construction - 1914

have. How much greater, then, the pitiful irony of its untimely demise!

The Goetheanum's tremendous size measured 272 feet in length, 243 feet in width at the widest point, with a height of 111 feet at the peak of the larger dome. The dimension of its inner area measured 65,000 cubic meters. (Fig. 15) The axial plan was oriented from East to West, and contained two circular rooms, an auditorium and a stage, covered by intersecting domes of two sizes, the larger of which covered the seating space, and the smaller of which covered the stage. Emerging from the larger central area were three smaller hooded semi-domes which covered the entranceways (Fig. 16).

The large section which was to accommodate the audience was to embody a sense of "the physical", while the smaller was to express the "spiritual-supersensory". [9] Steiner's architectural aim was to represent the union of form and function. This was accomplished by, among other means, the interaction of the twin domes which expressed dualities such as actor-audience and speaker-listener.[10]

Historically, the contrasting forms of the longitudinal and centralized plans have both served the need of providing a large interior space for spiritual functions. One of the notable historical gathering places in Greece was the square centralized plan of the Telesterion designed by Iktinos for the production of Mystery Dramas in Eleusis near Athens in the Fifth Century B.C. During the course of Christianity,

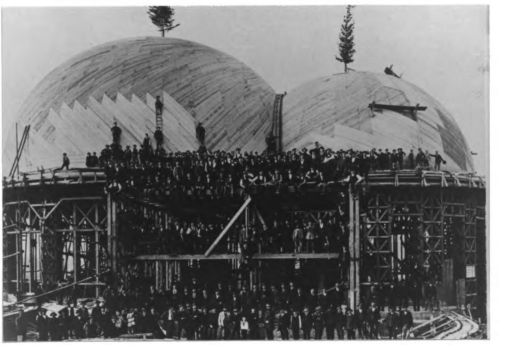

Fig. 15 First Goetheanum roofing ceremony
April 1, 1914

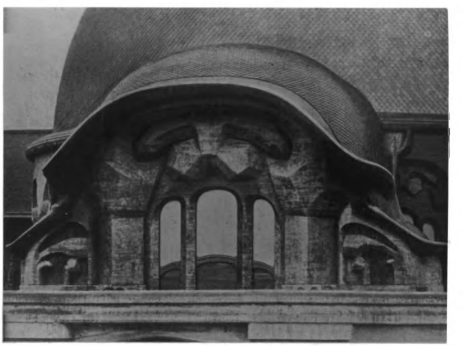

Fig. 16 West wing entrance to First Goetheanum

both the longitudinal and centralized forms provided the media for much, if not all, religious architecture, with the longitudinal basilica format leading the participant into active motion proceeding toward the altar, and the rotunda plan having the effect of quietude by its centering. There seem to be undeniable correlations between the altar in Christian churches and the speaker's rostrum (both sources for the Word), the crucifix and the sculptural grouping, as well as the Mass itself and Steiner's dramatic enactments. In Steiner's estimation, the double-domed building could only generate a "new experience of freedom in spatial perception, which is generated when the rotunda and cupola effect is brought into a fluctuating equilibrium with the longitudinal axis effect."[11] The reason for this assessment was that the person who participated in such a building could be drawn from the entranceway forward, toward a sculptural grouping to be located at the far end of the second, smaller rotunda and thus to the words spoken from the speaker's rostrum. Or, he could maintain the restful, harmonious stance of being integrated into the first circular cupola. The visitor could choose for himself which experience he wanted to receive, and thus confirm the effect of flexibility and spatial freedom in the buidling.

It is also significant to note that the double-dome construction carried with it an Eastern flavor which was congruent with the influence of Theosophy in Steiner's philosophical outlook. The dome was a much more prevalent

feature of Eastern architecture, and certainly the turning of the Theosophists toward the East for their inspiration awakened in Steiner a new consciousness of that form.

As for a precedent for twin domes of unequal radii, the precursor is not quite as apparent. However, since the central focal point in the history of the Cosmos was Christ, in Anthroposophical terms, it can be recognized that looking toward the non-Christian East alone would not suffice for Steiner. In examining Christian precedents for this abberant design, it behooves the author to consider the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople with its single dome intersected by two horseshoe half-domes. Perhaps even more significant was the design for the original Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which was purported by Eusebius in the Third Century to consist of two domes of unequal dimension linked by a long narrow basilica. I find it unusually coincidental that the smaller of the twin domes in this church was to enshrine the actual tomb of Christ, while the larger was to be a meeting hall for the gathering of the faithful. It is fascinating to note that the numbers of columns in the Holy Sepulchre rotundas matched exactly those numbers chosen "intuitively" by Steiner.[12]

Steiner's terminology for the two distinct aspects of being was that of two principles which were in tension with one another. He named them Ahriman and Lucifer. The Ahrimanic principle was named for the Zoroastrian god of darkness and stood for that aspect of self which was closed. The

Luciferian principle named for Lucifer was the symbol of openness. These two contrasting principles which represented the polarities in human nature were to be reconciled in the symbolism of the first Goetheanum and the point of reconciliation in Steiner's scheme was the figure of Christ as "The Representative of Humanity". It was for this purpose that Steiner himself eventually modelled from plasticine and then carved from elm wood an over-life-sized (nine meters high) sculptured group consisting of the three figures, Christ, Lucifer and Ahriman. (Fig. 17)

The sculpture, which was to create equilibrium between the two poles of man's nature, combined the talents of Edith Maryon, an anthroposophical sculptor. The figure of Christ lifts its left hand, while the right hand points downward. (Fig. 18) Lucifer, at Christ's right hand, surges upward, while at Christ's left hand, Ahriman reaches toward the ground. Lucifer represents desire while Ahriman embodied intellect. The lines of the sculpture flow in asymmetrical concavities, extended and cramped forms. Because this piece was unfinished and housed in a nearby sculpture workshop at the time when the first Goetheanum was destroyed by fire, it was spared destruction, and now stands in the second Goetheanum building.

Steiner's choice of the twin dome for his building according to anthroposophical writers was derived from his subliminal consciousness. Although his preparatory drawings are rough, it is apparent that one interpretation of the

Fig. 17 Central figure of the wooden sculpture "The Representative of Humanity

Fig. 18 Full frontal view of sculpture grouping

interpenetrating circles is the outline of a skull. (Fig. 19) This idea gains credence when it is complemented by Steiner's sketch of his comprehension of man's position in the universe, which includes the force of the "earth-will" (Fig. 20), which he deemed to emanate from within the earth out into the expanses of cosmic space. He professed that there were not merely physical but also spiritual forces which permeate the body of man when he attains an upright position. Since we are born with no ability to control our bodies, we are confined to a horizontal position, but as we become erect, we join in the direction of the Earth-Will. In opposition to the forces of the Earth-Will are the forces of the Moon-Will which, in Steiner's estimation, at one time worked outward from the moon, and which, in the process of evolution caused the hardening of the bones of the skull. The diagrammatic explanation which Steiner gives for these forces bears a striking resemblance to the eventual design of the first Goetheanum.[13]

In addition, Steiner himself linked the explanation of these cosmic forces to his architecture when he referred, in the same lecture, to the densification of the body as we become upright. As man passed through seven life periods (ages one to seven, seven to fourteen, etc.), new lines were supposedly formed within the body, indicating the different forces which passed through the body. These lines were called pillars, and they were added in pair every seventh year in a person's life. The different pillar formations

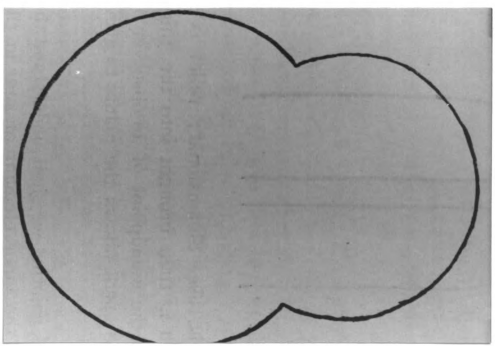

Fig. 19 Skull drawing by Rudolf Steiner

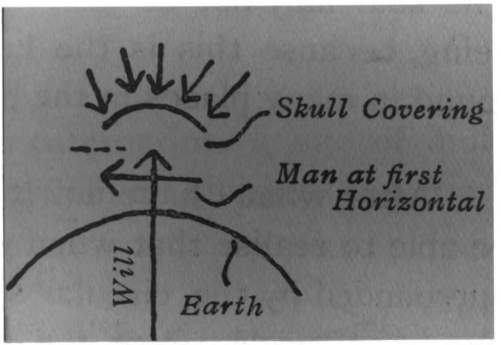

Fig. 20 Schematic expression of Earth Will and the forces of Life

within man which developed over the passage of his life every seven years were to bear his skull. Steiner then said, "When we have understood this, we shall have a living conception of the larger section of our building. We enter at the West and say to ourselves: 'up to the first pair of pillars we see how man develops in the first seven years of his life; the second pair of pillars denotes his development to his fourteenth year; then on to the twenty-first year and so on. And the etheric sheath of the head is always around us. Man the living being is poured out into the forms AS AN ETHERIC BEING.'"[14]

The intention of the building was expressed by Steiner when he stated, "We should feel the walls as the living negative of the words that are spoken and the deeds that are done in the building."[15] It is evident in this quotation that Steiner as architect was inseparable from Steiner as philosopher, and consequently that this building was constructed solely for the purpose of edifying the cult and culture of the Anthroposophical movement. The architectural and design qualities which were chosen by Steiner for the Goetheanum are intimately linked with the activities for which the building was intended.

For Steiner, art held great significance beyond its mere physical presence. He stated that "...art is born from the depths of man's being..." and continued by saying that it was the development of clairvoyance which could lead man to the

realm beyond the sensory world.[16] In this regard art was given a spiritual significance and a link with the divine which was articulated and definite.

By the first of April, 1914, the two domes were enclosed, and a roofing festival was held. Also on April first, Steiner himself had moved to "House Hansi", another construction based on Steiner's architectural and spiritual ideals, on the grounds, and had begun to work in a studio attached to the Schreinerei. It was there that he began the modelling of his greater-than-life-size statue of Christ between Lucifer and Ahriman. Construction work on the Goetheanum building up to this point was directed by the architect Dr. Schmid-Curtius. There appears to have been a philosophical rift between Steiner and Schmid-Curtius at this time, which caused a dissolution in their relationship, and precipitated an ending to Schmid-Curtius' further participation in the construction of the first Goetheanum. The differences between the two men were never elaborated in any text which I have read. Without explanation, it was written only that in Spring, 1914, Schmid-Curtius transferred his authority to a group of architects of whom Ernst Aisenpreis and Herman Ranzenberger remained connected with the building. The follow-through on the construction was done by Aisenpreis, who also supervised the construction of the second Goetheanum. Included in the group of architects who continued to work for Steiner was Albert von Baravalle. By July of 1914, the domes had been covered; the gray slate had

the effect of "sparkling brilliantly in the sun, which wove the building like a living being into the changing light reflections of the atmosphere."[17]

Later, Steiner invented other ideas for geometrical plans for his Goetheanum which would have divided the length of the axis into two, three, four, five, seven, and twelve equal parts. Each of these numerical divisions carried with it its own distinct and rich mystical and symbological content. At the same time, Steiner emphatically denied that the Goetheanum embodied any secret mysticism whatsoever. He maintained that the proportions of the building had simply acted in harmony with the underlying principles of the creative cosmic world.

CHAPTER IV

THE INTERIOR OF THE FIRST GOETHEANUM

The interior of the first Goetheanum building was both decorated and supported by a series of oversized hand-carved wooden columns, architraves, and capitals, which had been carved by a number of different artists simultaneously. (Fig. 21) Each of the bases and capitals were sculpted in motifs derived by Steiner from Goethe's morphological studies. (Fig. 22) The principle underlying Goethe's work was that basic motifs exist in nature, and those motifs "alter their form, according to the situation and circumstances in which they occur."[1] There were seven pairs of supports in the larger room, which recalled "the rhythm of human life, the epochs of civilization and the souls of the various peoples on earth."[2] In the smaller room were twelve columns with capitals, recalling the symbols of the plants. But despite the obvious interpretation of these phenomena, Steiner disregarded any relationship between his design and generally accepted symbolism.

In a scientific text of Goethe, which Steiner had edited during his days in Weimar, there ran a quotation: "...Nature has neither core/Nor surface/Nature is everything at once."[3] Steiner felt the surface image which an object presented could not be separated from the actual object being signified.

This is a highly crucial point in the understanding of

Fig. 21 Wood carving of capitals

Fig. 22 Capitals and architraves in the large rotunda

Steiner and of Anthroposophy, and of the Goetheanum. Although it may seem arbitrary, to Steiner it was imperative to understand that art was a medium which could reflect the objective and quantifiable reality of nature, and the cosmic laws which governed nature. Steiner spoke of a "homogeneous world...in which the material reflects the spirit, and the spirit is revealed in the material."[4] In essence, all elements in natural phenomena, from their tangible reality to their intangible cosmic origins to their external symbols, were, to Steiner, a unified whole, and could not be relegated to the arbitrary divisions of symbols versus reality.

To be truly outstanding, a work of art must be able to contain its merit within the experience it carries. It must transcend all other interpretations, such as those derived from symbolism, logic, the discovery hidden meaning and the summation of parts, all of which are as much a function of the interpreter's subconscious as they are of the artist. In architecture one must be able to enter into the space and experience the artistry, grace, strength and harmony which spring forth from its forms. Form, then, does not merely follow function, but rather it serves to enhance, enrich and nourish the person if it is to be more than merely utilitarian.

Rudolf Steiner sought to express his own experience of the concept of metamorphosis in the world of nature when he built the first Goetheanum. It was not intended to be interpreted in the wide variety of ways which art historians

and critics are prone to do. On the contrary, it was intended to be an immediate experience for those who entered into it. Steiner was neither an architect nor a theoretician. He was a person with an impulse to create, and specifically to organize space in a particular way which emerged from his inner experience of the natural world, his studies of that world, and from his spiritual self.

The principles of natural growth expressed in the interior of the first Goetheanum were comparable to the stages of growth in plants, but the forms and shapes used in its motifs were not precise plant forms copied from nature. Instead, they resulted from the inner experience of metamorphosis which occurred in the mind of Rudolf Steiner (Fig. 23). From an architectural point of view, it is the interior of the building which should be stressed in this regard. The interior expression of these principles appeared to be more cohesive and encompassing than the exterior of this first architectural undertaking. By way of contrast, the exterior was not totally successful in its attempt at a unified expression of the growth principle. This lack of complete realization is exemplified by the somewhat awkward overhanging eaves which draped the entranceways and seem to be an afterthought added later by Steiner. The main theme of the rounded, sculpted forms was repeated on the West, North and South ends of the building, and this form was certainly innovative in building architecture in the early part of this century. (Fig. 24) Similar organic plant forms were utilized

Fig. 23 Capital of the sixth column in the large rotunda

Fig. 24 South terrace

utilized by other architects of the era, including Victor Horta in Brussels, Antonio Gaudi in Barcelona, and Antoine Guimard in Paris.

But Steiner's interior application of organic shapes had, as its base, a singular striking difference from the way such shapes were employed by others at the time. It was perhaps this foundation, which cast Rudolf Steiner into an entirely different realm from that of his artistic and architectural contemporaries, and which prevented his work from receiving much attention from the world of contemporary art criticism for years following the construction of the first Goetheanum. The radical difference which lay between Steiner and any of his fello artists of his time was the single element of the spiritual, which he experienced deeply in his life. The personal truth which he insisted upon, which was rooted in his sensation of the life forces in this world, was a deeply felt spiritual fact.

The motifs which he then chose to express his experience were those he felt in nature rather than those he knew in nature; his process of arriving at forms was intuitive, rather than intellectual. His intuitiveness was exemplified in many ways in the first Goetheanum's interior. When one entered into the vestibule of the structure, one went into the coat room, then turned back into the entryway before turning left or right to ascend a staircase on either side. (Fig. 25) This cross-circulation, which had been criticized as congestive and overcrowding of the entry space by some,

Fig. 25 Foyer and staircase

was directly and pointedly intended by Steiner.

The need for neighborliness, for the connection of one surface with another, was an integral part of the entire building, and it began with and echoed the experience of meeting one another for the participants. No element in the structure could be complete in and of itself. Each needed balance, a neighbor, a complement in the other parts of the building, to create an inner harmony.[5]

For example, in the capitals of the fourteen columns which surrounded the auditorium rotunda, Steiner began by carving the wood in facets or faces, intending that each be dependent upon the next to lead one around the circumference of the column. Within each capital, beginning with the most simple at the entranceway of the West end, the forms of upward support and downward thrust are contrasted, echoing the actual function of the column as an intermediary between the floor and the dome. The balance between both upward and downward forces was one which Steiner and we could appreciate readily in the growth of plants in nature. The development of this language of forms which was intended to enrich our lives was motivated from these most basic discoveries in nature.

The forms on the lower part of the capitals move progressively to come between the expanding forms reaching out to them from the upper part of the capital. Gradually, in the last of the columns toward the two intersecting rotundas, these lower-placed forms open up, reminiscent of the metamorphosis of a blossoming plant. Never do the forms

attempt to duplicate any specific plant; instead, they serve to awaken in the viewer the echoes of his inner experience with this growth cycle in nature.

In addition, the columns in the auditorium space were positioned on a sloping ground line. In order to resolve the inconsistency in spatial levels from the entranceway columns to those at the intersecting midpoint of the two rotundas, Steiner arrived at an innovative solution. He abandoned the traditional unifying groundline which would have been a resolution inconsistent with the actual descending level of the floor. In its place, he expanded the comparative lengths and widths of each of the columns, so that, from the entrance point moving around the rotunda in either direction, there was a series of seven columns with each of these columns being proportionately longer and thicker than the one preceding it. This gradation in size had the intended effect of making the viewer entirely comfortable with the sculptural progression, although in fact, the viewer was confronted with seven columns of different lengths and widths in one harmonious line, the final one being forty percent larger than the first. It was a strange contradiction which was to cause a harmonious effect: in isolation, it would seen that seven columns of unequal measurements in a line would be mismatched and discomforting, but in the reality of Steiner's design, the very opposite result was evident. The seven columns appeared instead to be a metamorphosis of forms, each one by itself appearing to contain and hold its forebears in

the progression, by virtue of its ever increasing size. Once again, the spirit of neighborliness set the balance in Steiner's design.

The columns which encircled the space of the stage in the smaller rotunda expressed this sense of metamorphosis in a bit more complicated and less clear manner. Perhaps this was attributable to the use of corresponding, progressive geometric forms, rather than plant forms, in this smaller circular area. It is almost as if Rudolf Steiner, whose concept of the spiritual so thoroughly permeated his life experience, sensed precisely the same order in mathematics as he did in the botanical realm. For, on the bases of the columns in the stage area, geometric forms were carved, ranging from the simple triangle to the square, the pentagon, the hexagon, and then, in descending order from that with the most sides to the triangle again. In Steiner's view, these were not merely a series of representational, symbolic shapes, rich in the history with which our analyses have imbued them. Rudolf Steiner urged us to experience as he did the organic evolution of geometric shapes from the simplest to the most complex, in exactly the same natural metamorphosis as that which occurred in the life of plants from seed to blossom. Each of the fourteen columns was hand-carved from a different sort of wood, with a sensuously asymmetrical carving unique to each one.

Inside the building, line was continually in motion. The interior concaved surface of the domes was painted in bright,

transparent watercolors (Figs. 26, 27). These paintings were supervised by Steiner himself, and depicted the succession of the generations of civilization. All the epochs of history centered upon the painted Christ figure, which dominated the smaller dome. [6] This focal point was the direct expression of Steiner's conviction that Christ was the turning point in the history of civilization. It was apparent that Steiner repeatedly stressed the significance of Christ in all of the media in which he worked.

Steiner was apparently aware of Goethe's color theory, and the element of translucent color was of great importance to Steiner's building design. Stained glass windows were intended to join the outer and inner worlds of the Goetheanum. (Fig. 28) Each window was created of a single color, with all the distinct colors being utilized in various parts of the building. The glass was designed so that each pane had areas which were thick and thin, in order to allow light to shine more strongly in some areas than in others. To Steiner, this signified the "connection between spirit and matter."[7] When describing the windows of the first Goetheanum, Steiner attempted to unify the arts. He used metaphors from speech and music, saying that the windows expressed "spiritual, musical harmony of the outer with the inner world."[8] The openings in each wall which allowed the entrance of light and color were to admit the presence of the Spirit.

Fig. 26 Watercolor painting in small rotunda

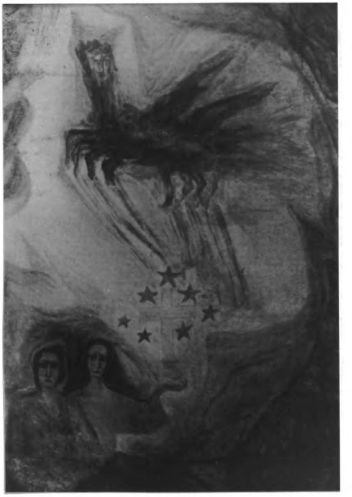

Fig. 27 Watercolor painting detail

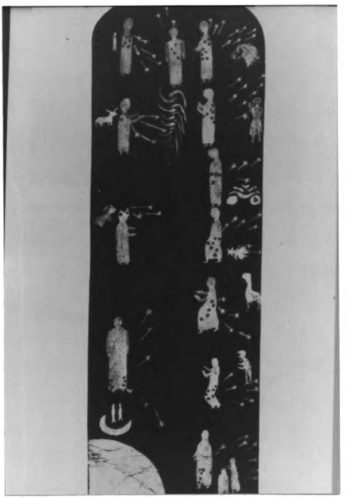

Fig. 28 Stained glass window in First Goetheanum

If there were to be given any reason or rationale for his understanding and its expression in architecture, I think it would be that the place in which the community share its highest thoughts and actions demanded an environment as fully human and harmonious as possible. Rudolf Steiner created the Goetheanum from an acute need he felt for an active spiritual center. His intention for this entire building was that it should embody integration, a harmonious joining together, a meeting of creative forces, both architecturally and humanistically.

If one imagines the experience, though short-lived, of the first Goetheanum, one can experience this unity. The architecture surrounded the person, while the sculpture created for the center of the rear of the stage in the figure of the Representative of Humanity came forward figuratively to meet the person. The painting in the domes above covered the person, and the colored glass lit the interior through windows at one's sides. The music exuded from the organ loft behind. Above the entranceway echoed the theatrical speech and drama of the stage ahead. In sum, one could be fully within the experience of the total integration of the arts.

In Steiner's thought, the hidden laws of life were revealed through the services of the artist and the seer; "artistic fantasy and sagacious insight point to a hidden power behind them in the human soul in which they both are one."[9] In his 1907 introduction to the German translation of French Theosophist Edouard Schure's Les grands inities,

Steiner attempted to combine Goethe with Theosophy, and in doing so, made considerable reference to psychic and spiritual "research" as proofs that there would be an eventual synthesis of science, religion and arts.[10] Madame Blavatsky's Key to Theosophy also referred to visual images, exemplified by her comparison of Theosophy with a ray of white light which incorporated seven prismatic colors symbolizing the seven religions of humankind.

The Theosophist viewpoint was that Light (or Theosophy) equalled Truth, a Truth which had been, at times, masked by human inadequacy, but which was present in all religions and philosophies and even more so in the doctrines of the initiates. It was certainly possible to extract the Truth from its imperfect manifestations in the history of the world, and the Theosophists believed that the evolution of humanity had reached a turning point wherein eternal Truth could finally be manifested. In Steiner's publication Theosophie, and in his articles in Lucifer-Gnosis, he expounded the theosophical position of color-mysticism. He described how clairvoyants were able to see "thought-forms" and "human auras".[11] The impressions of higher worlds received by these seers were analagous to the colors observed in the physical world. As viewed with the spiritual eye, people were surrounded by a halo of light. This aura was organized into color areas whose patterns represent the inner aspects of each person's life. With each color was associated a meaning: red indicated thought emitted by the sensual life;

yellow was linked with the intellect; blue was indicative of spirituality.[12]

Steiner also linked theosophical color theory with Goethean Taten und Leiden of light and in another series, he described the three stages of initiation (Preparation, Illumination, Initiation), with their supersensible counterparts in colors and tones.[13] The origins of Steiner's occult color theories are undeniably present in two earlier theosophical works, Thought Forms of 1901 by Annie Besant, and in C.W. Leadbeater's Man Visible and Invisible of 1902. These authors find their roots in Madame Blavatsky, as they describe the seven bodies of man, beginning with the physical body which we share with the mineral and vegetable worlds, the astral body shared with animals, the mental body which is uniquely the domain of humanity, and the four higher bodies on a spiritual plane.

Each body belonged to a plane of nature which had a color significance from the brown tones at the base, to the violet on the Fifth Plane of Nirvana, and ending with the pure light of the two highest planes.[14] These theories were to have a direct application in the color scheme of the first Goetheanum's interior.

In the interior of Rudolf Steiner's first Goetheanum, one was able to discover, or to rediscover, plasticity, proportion, grace and strength. Beyond these material qualities, it was the experience of life and light of the Spiritual which distinguished Steiner's work in architecture

from any of the concurrent constructions of its time.Often, in his talks to his followers, Steiner would reiterate his ideal of the union of the spiritual with the material in art, and specifically in his own architecture, by using the words "etheric" and "spiritual", as well as "living" to describe the very walls themselves.[15] Inevitably, Steiner's view of the Goetheanum was an organic one, which forbade any dissociation whatsoever of the spiritual from the material, of the interior from the exterior, etc. A wall had meaning, for instance, only when it was considered as an outgrowth of the entire building. "The wall is living, just like a living organism that allows elevations and depressions to grow out of itself. The wall lives..."[16] Once again, the language used by Steiner conjured the plastic, sculptural qualities of the architecture. He insisted that the interior be "one plastic form, a continuous relief sculpture on the capitals, plinths, architraves. They grow out of the wall, and the wall is their basis, their soil, without which they could not exist."[17]

There was a great deal of relief carving in the interior of the first building. This carving represented the evolution of plant and animal life, although it did not emulate directly any motifs which can be visually attained in nature. Instead, the motifs were merely representative of the artist's interpretation of the continuous progression of evolution.

There is no doubt in my mind that Steiner and his followers were inspired by a spiritual calling, both in the

philosophy they espoused, and in the artistic expression they chose. The difficulty in writing a scholarly text based on these matters is the unavailability of proper documentation, an issue, however, which would have been quite beside the point as far as Steiner would be concerned. His speeches were apparently directed toward those who would listen, and listen spellbound, not to those who would not, or could not, accept or comprehend them. Steiner believed intensely in the inherent organic inspiration which moved him to speak and to create, and neither he nor his associates appeared at any point to doubt the validity of the inner spiritual nature of the world they perceived. This is not a matter for the critic to accept or deny; it is simply a matter to be acknowledged and to be constantly considered when one is attempting to understand the architectural achievement of Rudolf Steiner.

In one of his speeches to his co-workers, he openly stated: "I did not intend to-night merely to speak of matters which may help to make art more intelligible. I have spoken as I have because I pray that something of what I feel may flow from my heart to yours. I want your hearts to be lovingly permeated with a feeling inwardly vibrant with the sense of the holiness of this work. We dedicate this house of labour most fitly if as we leave the doors we concentrate with all the forces of our hearts on love for the world of man and of spirit, to the end that the way to the Spirit may be found through what is accomplished here...There have been swelling places of the Gods, sanctuaries of the community,

and there yet will be an organ of speech for the Spirit, a building which points out the way to the Spirit. The God dwelt in the Greek Temple; the spirit of the community may dwell within the Roman or Gothic edifice; but THE WORLD OF THE SPIRIT ITSELF MUST SPEAK THROUGH THE BUILDING OF THE FUTURE."[18]

CHAPTER V

STEINER'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE ARCHITECTURAL MILIEU

It has been acknowledged that Steiner's architecture was virtually without precedent in the history of art.[1] The origins of his buildings cannot be linked directly to any identifiable source, and have since inspired no tradition in the mainstream of the art world. Since Steiner himself, the man and the architect, was adulated by his proteges as a mentor in both the spiritual and material realms, he and he alone appeared to be the precursor of Anthroposophical architecture which followed his example. Nevertheless, it is useful to construct the possible contemporary artistic connections which must have, to some degree, affected Steiner's cultural development.

During the years when Steiner lived in Vienna, the architectural milieu consisted almost entirely of old masters of schooled historicism.[2] Austrian architecture as a field was dominated by such men as Thophil Hansen and Heinrich Von Ferstel. Otto Wagner, who together with his followers had designed a domed building, the Palace of Scientific Associations for Occultism in Paris, began to teach in Vienna in 1894 after Rudolf Steiner had moved to Weimar, so his influence, although perhaps stylistically related, remains only hypothetical.

The first architect to formulate the concept of the "working together of the various arts, demanding a synthesis

of the arts"[3] was Henry Van de Velde, in 1885. This idea was visible in his own works and in his writings. He said in 1902: "...only those works of which all parts are in harmony give the impression that they are eternal and produce an unparalleled shock to those who are ready for it. Alone through those works we are allowed to experience eternity and the blessing of all that is unchangeable and enjoyable."[4]

Architecture was often used as a framework for attempts toward "integration of the arts" (houses, railroad stations, government buildings, museums, theaters, etc.). Into the same category belonged the attempts by Rudolf Steiner in the building of the first and second Goetheanum in Dornach. The concept of an "integration of the arts" or of a "work of art as a whole (a 'complete art')" had to be born from a longing for the lost. It did not create anything new, something that had never existed before. Rather, it emphasized the recreation and repetition of something that had been created previously. Whenever this concept was considered, epochs of the past were called to mind by Steiner: Greek cultural buildings, the gothic cathedral, the church or castle building of the Baroque era, etc. Whenever the question arose for the reasons of the "disintegration of the arts", the culture of the 19th Century itself seemed to be responsible.

It was obvious that the high points of "disintegration" happened during the 19th Century, a time of accentuated individualism. Around the turn of the century, several European architects tried to break away from an unidentified

style or a mere melange of diverse style elements. At that time, a new style was created: the joining of traditional "free art" and applied art with technical construction (as exemplified by Semper).[5] This development affected all the technical aspects of design, fashion, theatre and lifestyle as a whole. This style was considered by Steiner's followers to be the connecting, integrating power which should have been the basis to any expression of the time. Often unspoken, but sometimes visibly formulated, it was the aim of the Anthroposophists to create a new style in the arts which succeeded in merging several major art forms. In the first Goetheanum building, Steiner designated that in order to achieve a "Gesamtkunstwerk" (integrated work of art), a specific spiritual basis was necessary to keep in mind: a "Weltanschauung" that the building would be a place of gatherings for a closely knit community's spiritual experience as well as a place for the arts to flourish. Therefore, in the two senses of the word, it would be a "Kultbau"---a culture building, as well as a cult-building.[6]

Even if one were a stranger to Steiner's teachings, one conclusion would be inescapable: that certain spiritual precepts were necessary for the creation of this architecture. The organic nature of its appearance gave way to an expression of some form of knowledge of the spiritual and supernatural world. This knowledge, in Steiner's viewpoint, was to be achieved through a planned schooling of the intellect, through contemplation and meditation. These

activities would bring the disciple to the knowledge of a higher world. The first Goetheanum was originally a gathering center and a stage for artistic performances, but beyond that it became the central point of a kind of anthroposophical university.

The key to understanding Steiner's vision may nevertheless lie in a broader comprehension of his time. Although he may very well have envisioned himself a harbinger of a new style in architecture, he was undeniably a product of the western world in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, a time of tremendous spiritual and material upheaval. Perhaps it is due to the shakiness of a world in the throes of the turn of the century and on the verge of the largest, most devastating global war to that date, that many of Steiner's contemporaries sought some solace in new artistic patterns which struggled against the status quo.

Certainly the Symbolists, who turned their artistic attentions in painting toward the expression of the spiritual world beyond visible reality, are related in their concerns to Steiner. Their reaction toward the formlessness and the objectivity of Impressionism, and their integration of material from mythology, dream and fantasy, were similar to Steiner's creation of new fluid, organic wooden forms in the first Goetheanum, which were entirely subject to his philosophical and spiritual outlook.

The Goetheanum also appeared to adapt some of the elements of Cubism, which centered on the concepts of the

shattering or penetrating of objects. Steiner had the advantage of utilizing a three-dimensional medium in architecture, which certainly was simpler to manipulate than canvas, but in a sense, his building entertained the multi-leveled planar quality which was inspired by the Cubists. Beginning with Cezanne, the manipulation of planes in real objects had been used to reshape a structure of form. The Cubists altered the color breakdown of material reality by imposing their own, mostly monochromatic, color planes on the object. The ideas which inspired the representation of intersecting planes spread quickly to become the primary artistic influence on visual design in our time.

Steiner's distortion of conventional forms was anarchic as well as organic. For example, mouldings on his Boiler House at Dornach, which was built at the same time as the first Goetheanum, were applied upside down, lintels in the first Goetheanum were set at eccentric angles, roofs and corners were rounded. The clashing of curving surfaces and bulbous shapes with straight lines and specific angles demonstrated a possible influence of the general tendency of Cubism. In particular, Steiner seemed to shatter any predictable architectural image, replacing it with his unique forms. The first Goetheanum was an assemblage of surfaces, from its wide concrete base to its upper story, topped by its mushroom-lidded roof. The deep crevices and sculpted windows, as well as the overhanging rounded cornices, represented clearly the organic forces of nature.

Steiner was concurrently manipulating planes in an architectural and a sculptural context. The sharp, twisting movements which mesh the interior and exterior dimensions of the buildings adds a similar intensity to that of the Cubist tradition. Additionally, the time in which Steiner designed and worked on his building was coexistent with the years of the Fauves, who had rediscovered the creative impulse of African sculpture, with its divisions into geometrical planes. The doorways of the first Goetheanum, however subliminally, appeared to give way to oversimplified faces, similar in effect to the flangelike, abruptly planar faces of African masks. In the doorways were sharply deformed piercings which evoked strangely human features, swollen and distorted, reduced to elemental form, and not immediately recognizable as derivatives of nature.

The subconscious roots of Steiner's architecture were visible, although cryptic. In his romanticism, he imbued some forms with a symbolic content, while others remained static in their inherent symbolism. All of his forms appeared to be inspired by nature, and much of his sinuous lines appeared to this author to be erotic, which would also constitute a connection with nature. The erotic line of Steiner is similar also to the rounded forms in the sculptures of primitive artists, and Steiner gave some credence to this analysis when he stated: "Many of the forms to be found in primitive art can only be understood when we realize that they were the outcome of the primordial clairvoyant consciousness."[7]

Steiner's deliberate relationship with the past and with primitive societies was most likely intended to validate his philosophical outlook with the support of historical precedence.[8] But the curved line was at its roots inspired by nature. Hector Guimard, August Endell, and Victor Horta exhibited a similar inspiration to that of Rudolf Steiner, with the result being an architectural rendering of forms in nature.

The influence of Art Nouveau, and in particular, the Jugendstil movement in Germany, upon Steiner's design is clear: the asymmetrical nature of Art Nouveau, as well as the emphasis on line as a force of movement, had emerged as a European decorative style around 1892. Because of its widespread national interpretations, I believe it is safe to assume that Steiner's artistic awareness included the vast influence of this style, although this contention is repeatedly denied by Anthroposophical followers of Steiner. My assumption is augmented by the fact that one of the most significant characteristics of Art Nouveau is "...the balanced relation between ornament and surface, while at the same time the ornament appears to fuse with the structure of the object it ornaments. Consequently the various elements in a design seem to flow into one another."[9]

The interpretation of Art Nouveau in the German and Austrian schools had a distinctively constructive and geometric form, and this uniquely Jugendstil characteristic flourished during the exact years when Steiner was

formulating his own philosophical and architectural principles. Because of its prominent interest in a unification of expression, the idea of the integration of sculptural elements into architecture was encouraged. This unification was certainly attempted by Steiner in his acute attentiveness to the details of his building. It was evident from observation that the window mouldings, door jambs, knobs, and keyholes were outlined by Steiner, along with their specific symbolic reference. This attention to integration of details in design was elucidated by an anecdote which told of Steiner's pursuit of a triangular key as the solely appropriate shape for the door opening of the Goetheanum, because of its historic significance.

In addition, the Art Nouveau style influenced the external form language of architecture.[10] The shape of the gently flattened arch which was rounded off slightly at its base was the most often-used arch in Art Nouveau, although it was not entirely new at the turn of the century. It was precisely this arch, with its rounded edges, that Steiner cast into three dimensionality in his first Goetheanum. The form was reminiscent of German military helmets at the time of World War I, with its softly rounded arch united with an undeniable assymmetry in the mismatched twin domes of the Goetheanum.

Asymmetry, which was a cultivated characteristic in Art Nouveau, appeared to be absorbed into Steiner's aesthetics, and into the foundations he relied upon in nature. Art

Nouveau symmetry reflected also the tendencies found in Romanticism, the neo-Baroque, and in Japanese prints. For Steiner these trends could only have reinforced the impulse toward asymmetry which he had discovered for himself time and again in nature. The Art Nouveau style accelerated a general development which had preceded its time, and Steiner's architecture elaborated upon the form-language and relation of surface to decoration within that style.

The first Goetheanum can be viewed as a merging point for architecture and sculpture, a union which had never been fully realized in Art Nouveau. Depending upon the critic's outlook, the building could be recognized as a curious hybrid or a meaningful synthesis of ideas. The union of the material with the spiritual world had been an objective of most religious architecture throughout history; the expression of the world of the divine through physical evidence had been a motivating force in the creation of many buildings for the purpose of worship. Steiner's eclectic blend of personal influence with material and spiritual elements perhaps accounted for the strikingly unique character of the Goetheanum.

To Steiner, the erection of this building was not an end in itself; rather, it was a means toward an end. He began with the basic spiritual nature he felt was present in man, and with the need to strengthen and develop that nature. The Goetheanum was to be a sort of "spiritual workshop", where knowledge, art and social life could together be mutually

enhanced. It was also to be a place for celebration of festivals which were born out of human creativity and profound spiritual insight. The building was founded upon a specific philosophical outlook which generated human activity based on spiritual understanding.[11]

It was because of this basis in an integrated spiritual and physical life that Steiner's building was to be considered as a sort of anti-materialist materialism. Steiner believed strongly that the design of a building must have a close and direct correspondence to the function of that building, to the activities it would house. The function of the building is then inextricably bound on one hand to its philosophical concept, and on the other hand to the stylistic elements chosen to express that philosophy. The stylistic elements had to allow for both the function and the philosophy. All that was material in this building must have been seen as symbolic of the "inner principle". The shapes and forms of the Goetheanum were shaped and carved from material, but they pointed toward the spiritual. In this dimension, they call to mind the temples of other great civilizations which aspired to the spiritual of their time: the shrines of the Greeks and the great cathedrals of Gothic times are echoed in the spiritual sentiments of Steiner. This intent was expressed by Steiner in the words, "We should feel the walls as living negative of the words that are spoken and the deeds that are done in the building."[12] Obviously, as architect Steiner believed that the architecture and

environment had a powerful effect on the human beings who entered into it. If the spaces were developed "right", they could strongly enhance the work performed within; if they were "wrong", they would hinder the activities within, if only in subtle and insiduous ways not immediately noticeable to the occupants.[13]

It was obvious from appearances alone, casting aside any regard for its philosophical foundations, that the Goetheanum represented, to a great extent, the inner mind of Rudolf Steiner. Beyond both the practical considerations of architecture and the aesthetic treatment of sculpture, Steiner's own observation and intuition of life forces, which he maintained were born out of tangible, apparent phenomena, were the added differential in the creation of the first Goetheanum.

The artistic future of which Steiner was such a significant harbinger, manifested itself in the likes of Paul Klee, Franz Marc, and Wassily Kandinsky, all of whom made serious attempts to express the spiritual world, and particularly musical forms, in a non-objective manner. Each of these artists made pilgrimages in the realm of Theosophy; each was cognizant of Steiner's writing. The subsequent development of the Bauhaus was continually factionalized by the countering concerns for the spiritual in art and the technical in art. Painters Johannes Itten and Oskar Schlemmer joined the spiritual factions and respected the alternative disciplines of astrology, phrenology, graphology, etc. The

abstract artist Kandinsky utilized several of Steiner's thoughts as a basis for his spiritual philosophical thesis on art, Uber das Geistige in der Kunst.

Kandinsky had wanted to express "Kosmos der Geistig Wirkenden Wesen", (Cosmos of the Spiritually Influencing Being)[14] and in Steiner, he had discovered vivid portrayals of "Geistige Wesenheiten" (spiritual existences).[15] "Steiner's descriptions depict a spiritual world where freely floating colors and forms, detached from material objects, reveal the feelings, ideas and thoughts of spiritual beings, a world where the observer feels himself in the midst of the creative laws of the Cosmos."[16] The illustrations Steiner included were based on just such spiritual encounters, and were executed in a non-objective manner at least ten years prior to the first non-objective watercolors by Kandinsky.

Kandinsky's appreciation of Steiner went beyond his admiration for the Theosophists in general, primarily because of Steiner's unique combination of the Theosophic gnosis with the aesthetic tradition of Goethe and the German Romantic painters. Steiner had stated that artistic awareness was the key to spiritual awakening since artistic sensitivity "penetrates through the surface of things, reaching their secrets."[17]

In Steiner's first Goetheanum, the "cosmic laws" of Theosophy were given an aesthetic application, while the Goethean "laws of nature" were given a graphic expression in the form of a combined material and spiritual vision of

free-flowing colors and forms. Because Steiner felt that the world of his time was at the threshold of a new spiritual era, he asserted that the time was ripe for higher consciousness to become manifest in humanity. The experience of the spiritual through material but abstract artistic expression was to continue to be a demand of the world of the future.

Globally, prior to World War I, nature had been of some importance in architecture, as well as in the other visual arts. The expansion of industry had a distinct influence on construction. In the United States, Louis Sullivan designed large commercial buildings and retained in their ornamentation a decided respect for the laws of nature. He had indicated that the construction of a skyscraper paralleled the natural laws which governed the growth cycles of a tree. His instincts toward observation of nature and harmony with nature were followed by his student, Frank Lloyd Wright.

Because of its blending of sculptural and architectural arts, Antonio Gaudi's Casa Mila (1903-07, Barcelona, Spain) can be considered in relation to the Goetheanum, although it is impossible to link Gaudi and Steiner geographically. (There is no substantiation of which I am aware, of the knowledge of one architect by the other.) Not a straight line was apparent in either the Casa Mila or the Goetheanum. The curvaceous sculptured forms in architecture contributed decidedly to the turmoil and activity of both structures and

evolved in both cases from the comprehension of the laws of nature. Significantly, both architects utilized materials which clearly are those of sculpture, not architecture: Gaudi employed cut stone, marble slabs and marble fragments, as well as glass chips for his facade and roof with sculpted chimneys, while Steiner chose many varieties of wood for his Goetheanum. Both architects were uniquely creative geniuses, as well as spiritual mystics, whose inspirations and illuminating form language traversed the boundary between utilitarian building and artistic three-dimensional design. The question of the distinction between architecture and sculpture rises to importance as we identify the undeniably modelled quality of the Goetheanum.

The German "Werkbund" Confederation of Designers and Craftsmen had made its unequivocal stamp upon the future of Western European architecture in the first decade of this century. Peter Behrens' tendency toward classicism was evident in the industrial halls he designed for Siemens in Berlin. Behrens' most recognized student was Walter Gropius, who followed in the linearity which had been espoused by his teacher. But beyond line, the startling innovative genius of Gropius was exhibited in the design he made for his factory known as Fagus Works, in Alfeld/Leine. In this building, and in subsequent designs, Gropius felt a discernable urge to utilize various materials such as glass, for purely aesthetic purposes.

This attention paid by Gropius to the union of

architectural and aesthetic qualities seems to me to be related in an intuitive sense to the architectural instinct of Rudolf Steiner. The turn of the century was granted an access to materials never before possible in the history of the arts. It was by no mere coincidence then, that simple function could give rise so readily to a new awareness on the part of architects to aesthetics, and to the creative qualities beyond structure which were yet to be imagined in contemporary materials.

The result of industrial expansion for late 19th Century architects was a liberation which allowed them to explore the qualitative experiences of substances used in their work. In France, August Perret designed buildings in reinforced concrete. In Poland, Max Berg had utilized the same medium, in the bold structural design of the interior of the Centenary Hall at Breslau.

For the exhibition of the Werkbund in 1914, in Cologne, Bruno Taut had created a glass house consisting of a concrete base with a braced steel wall construction filled by glass bricks and topped by a glass dome. This work was contemporary with work of the poet and architect Paul Scheerbart, who envisioned glass as a medium symbolizing both eternity and the morality of the future. The history of our own century in architecture certainly springs from such innovative efforts in cast concrete, steel and glass.

CONCLUSION

"The Goetheanum, as a finished structure in all its beauty, was able to speak its message to humanity only for a few short years. The full wonder of it was revealed to but a small group of people, although day in and day out crowds of eager sight-seers wound up the hill, there to open their hearts to the breath of the Spirit, in curiosity, wonder, admiration, emotion, and---richer by yet another longing---once again to wend their way back to the world of banality. For a short span of time certain human souls had gazed at wonderland, had been raised above themselves, while others were seized by the forces of hatred and anger. Nobody was left indifferent. To those, however, who had learnt to understand the language of the forms, who had actually moulded them from the substance of wood with all its earthy solidity and at the same time ethereal flexibility---to those and to their companions in this work of regeneration, were revealed ever deeper, ever vaster world-connections under the mighty sweep of the architraves, between the capitals and plinths of the columns, whose motifs stood out with sudden boldness and novelty in the process of metamorphosis. There they wound, in and out each other, striving organically from primordial simplicity to complexity of form, and then back in a decrescendo to an inwardly deepened simplicity.

"It was an architecture that developed onward like a symphony, flowing into harmony---an architecture condensed

into earthy substance from ethereal worlds, sending forth into space formative forces which were bound to take hold of the creative impulses of man and transmute them. The proportions of this architecture rendered it a dream in wood, too fair to endure, too pure not to be hated to its destruction, yet strong enough to call the new, of like nature with itself, into being."[1]

Although Steiner is not easily cast with a particular art historical movement, his first Goetheanum could have been the focal expression of the tumultuous times in which it existed, had it not been eradicated. Pathetically, and significantly enough, the European culture which entered this century with such potential met with nearly fatal devastation in the ravages of World War I. The spiritual upheaval of the latter 19th Century had given birth to much creativity in a tremendous variety of philosophical and artistic outlets. Rudolf Steiner and Anthroposophy were products of this explosion of creative force. Together with their dynamic cultural and social milieu, they were destined for a fateful destruction which seemed prophetic of the turbulent century to follow. The burning to the ground of the first Goetheanum building early in the morning on New Year's Day in 1923 paralleled relentlessly the shattering of European politics and culture which resulted from the first global war.

Nevertheless, Steiner's followers doggedly persisted. A second Goetheanum was being constructed when Rudolf Steiner died at Dornach on March 30, 1925. Curiously, as if in sheer

defiance, the second Goetheanum was constructed of cast concrete and glass, the very materials which were ushered into use by the Twentieth Century. It stands today on the site of the first Goetheanum like a bizarre fortress, armed and shielded to resist, at all cost, the horrors of our time.

NOTES

NOTES

Introduction

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Steiner's Relationship To Goethe

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[6] Rudolf Steiner, Goethe als Vater einer neuen Aesthetik, p. 41, cited by Ringbom, ibid., p. 391.

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[9] Ibid., p. 322.

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The Building of the First Goetheanum

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[2] Rudolf Steiner, Ways to a New Style in Architecture, authorized translation ed. by H. Collison (Anthroposophical Publishing Co., London, and Anthroposophic Press, New York, 1922), p. 24.

[3] Pehnt, Expressionist Architecture, p. 140.

[4] Ibid.

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[11] Steiner, quoted by Hagen Biesanz and Arne Klingborg in The Goetheanum: Rudolf Steiner's Architectural Impulse (London: Rudolf Steiner Press, 1979), p. 18.

[12] Molly T. Smith, interview, Michigan State University, February, 1983.

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Wachmsuth, p. 226.

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[15] Steiner, Ways to a New Style, p. 24.

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Conclusion

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