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# The Ancient Processional Street of Babylon at the Pergamonmuseum Berlin: Walter Andrae's Reconstruction and Its Anthroposophical Background

**Abstract:** Walter Andrae (1875–1956) was one of the most renowned German Near Eastern archaeologists in the period preceding the First World War. In the mid-1920s he managed to secure the transfer of the Ashur and Babylon finds to Berlin. With the arrival of these finds, the planning and refurbishing of the exhibition rooms and halls of the Museum of Ancient Near East in the Pergamon-Museum entered its next phase. The core exhibit of the museum, inaugurated in 1930, was the Ishtar Gate, the Throne Room Façade, and the Processional Street from Babylon. These findings became one of the masterpieces of the Berliner *Museumsinsel* – today considered to be part of the world's cultural heritage. However, Andrae's arrangement of these elements was not only directed by academic conceptions of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Rather, the arrangement represents Andrae's very own concept of a museum, influenced by the teachings of Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), founder of the anthroposophical movement, to whose ideas Andrae had been exposed since joining the anthroposophical church *Die Christengemeinschaft* (The Christian Community). This context has been overlooked by generations of specialists in the field. By drawing attention to the anthroposophical context, we can read the arrangement of the Ishtar Gate, the Throne Room Façade, and the Processional Street as Andrae's re-staging of a Babylonian path of initiation with evident allusions to the ritual practice of modern anthroposophy.

## 1 Introduction

Museum exhibitions tell us as much about those who created them as they do about the historical periods and facts that they try to exhibit and explain. The exhibition on the Ancient Near East, conceived by the architectural historian and excavator Walter Andrae, which opened in the *Pergamonmuseum* Berlin in 1930, is no exception to this rule. The so-called Processional Street and the Ishtar Gate hall ensemble from Babylon, with adjacent rooms displaying different epochs of Ancient Near Eastern history, seem on first sight to have been

created merely to display enormous architectural structures and unique artefacts. However, there is compelling evidence that Andrae created the exhibition in a manner that gave form to his personal, tightly woven version of the story of the Ancient Near East, developed in accordance with anthroposophical thinking on the history of humankind.<sup>1</sup>

## 2 Walter Andrae (1875–1956): Excavator, Architect, Curator

For Walter Andrae, the year 1928 was a turning point in his career. After the death of Otto Weber, he was appointed director of the *Vorderasiatische Abteilung* (Department of Ancient Near East) of the future *Pergamonmuseum* Berlin. In 1899, as a young architect, Andrae had joined the German excavations in the ruins of Babylon on the Euphrates, then falling within the Arabic parts of the Ottoman Empire but today in Iraq. At first – according to Robert Koldewey,<sup>2</sup> head of the excavating mission and Andrae's year-long mentor – the young man had hardly anything to recommend him apart from his exceptional drawing skills. However, by 1903 Andrae's newly honed capabilities had already led to him being entrusted with an excavation site of his own at Ashur, on the banks of the Tigris in northern Mesopotamia.<sup>3</sup>

The modern scientific approaches implemented by the Germans working on these projects were soon admired worldwide. Meanwhile, the main objective

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1 I would like to thank Dr. Nadja Cholidis and Dr. Lutz Martin for their constant support of my research on Walter Andrae.

2 Robert Koldewey (1855–1925) excavated in Babylon from 1899 until 1917.

3 Walter Andrae was born on February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1875 in Anger near Leipzig into a Protestant family. His family was not – as he himself points out in his memoirs – very religious. Walter Andrae, *Lebenserinnerungen eines Ausgräbers* (Stuttgart: Verlag Freies Geistesleben, 1988), 18. Andrae's grandfather and father had worked as railway engineers in Saxony, and his father was known in Leipzig as a gifted musician and lay theatre actor. Andrae, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 25–26. Andrae received his secondary education at the prestigious Grimma Boarding School and later studied in Dresden, where he took a degree in architecture. Andrae, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 9–10, 299. In 1914, he married a considerably younger cousin from the paternal side of his family: Emma Andrae (1892–1974). After returning from the Western front in 1915, Andrae was transferred to the Turko-German expedition corps in Ottoman Mesopotamia and Palestine. Andrae, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 223, 226–227. Walter Andrae held the post of Director of the Vorderasiatische Museum from 1928 until 1951. Beate Salje, "Ein Museum hält Rückschau und blickt in die Zukunft: 100 Jahre Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin," *Antike Welt* 30, no. 3 (1999): 285–291. He died on July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1956 in Berlin.

of the financiers and supporters of these excavations was to obtain exotic finds for a new building (der *Neubau*, now the *Pergamonmuseum*) on Berlin's Museum Island, a public demonstration of the achievements of *Deutsche Wissenschaft*.<sup>4</sup> All of this came to a halt during the course of the First World War.

After his return from the war, Andrae began to publish the results of the excavations, relying as he did so on the well-founded modern-style documentation of the excavators. However, for the time being he was forced to continue his work without direct access to the original finds. The majority of these had stayed behind in the excavation house at Babylon while others had been confiscated by the Portuguese government during an attempt to move them to Berlin by ship after the outbreak of war.<sup>5</sup>

In 1922, Andrae and his family moved from Hemmenhofen/Bodensee to the German capital of Berlin, where he took up a post as a curator at the *Staatliche Museen Berlin* in the Department of Ancient Near East. The exhibition space that would be devoted to finds from the Ancient Near East was still in its planning stages at this point. After receiving his *Habilitation* from the Technical University Charlottenburg, Andrae began to lecture on architectural history. In 1927, after long negotiations, he finally managed to secure the transfer to Berlin of the finds that had been discovered at Babylon and Ashur. When the post of director of his department became vacant, Andrae was the obvious choice to fill the position.

Andrae created an indisputable cultural highlight when he reassembled the impressive Ishtar Gate, the Processional Street, and the Palace Throne Room Façade, constructed of glazed bricks, in the so-called Ishtar Gate hall, one of the first three rooms opened in 1930 as the Department of Ancient Near East. The public, as well as the national and international press, responded overwhelmingly and guided tours by the director of the department were much in demand. Additional impressively furnished rooms on both sides of the Processional Street axis leading to the Ishtar Gate opened in 1934. By 1936, Andrae had finished all the halls and rooms of the Department of Ancient Near East in the *Pergamonmuseum*.

Impressive as this record is, there is more to Andrae's personality than his public work immediately reveals. In his autobiography, *Lebenserinnerungen*

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4 Sabine Böhme, "Die Goldene Leibniz-Medaille, eine Grußblatt-Sammlung, eine „Festschrift“ sowie ein Exlibris und die „deutsche Wissenschaftstradition“: Späte Ehrungen für Bruno Güterbocks (1858–1940) „unendliche Arbeit“ als Schriftführer der DOG im Jahr 1928," *maru* 6 (2018): 311–329.

5 Nadja Cholidis, "'Abgegeben an Portugal für Assur-Funde': Ein Kapitel deutsch-portugiesischer Museumsgeschichte (1914–1927)," in *Zum Kriegsdienst einberufen: Die Königlichen Museen zu Berlin und der Erste Weltkrieg*, ed. Petra Winter and Jörn Grabowski (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 133–160.

*eines Ausgräbers* (Memoirs of an Excavator),<sup>6</sup> Andrae describes how, as a soldier in 1917, he stayed several days on the shores of the Sea of Galilee during the retreat of the Turko-German units through Palestine. Later in his life, he seems to have connected this stay with a spiritual experience that provoked a fundamental change in his worldview and attitude to life.<sup>7</sup> During the 1920s, Andrae became involved in anthroposophical<sup>8</sup> circles in Berlin and in the *Christengemeinschaft* founded under the influence of Rudolf Steiner.<sup>9</sup> His and his family's commitment to anthroposophical ideas did not cease during their lifetime.

### 3 The Riddle of Andrae's Exhibition Concept

From the time of Andrae's appointment as director of the museum, it is possible to observe a paradox concerning the way in which his contributions were perceived by colleagues and the scientific community. Attentive and careful reading

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<sup>6</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Terms in italics are often used in anthroposophical contexts.

<sup>7</sup> See Mario Zadow, "Andrae, Walter Ernst," *Forschungsstelle Kulturimpuls – Biographien Dokumentation*, accessed June 16, 2018, <https://biographien.kulturimpuls.org/detail.php?id=22>. Most likely, Andrae's conversion to Anthroposophy goes back to those days by the Sea of Galilee. This is corroborated by his son Ernst Walter, who states that his father's adherence to anthroposophy was a fruit of the second half of his life. Walter Andrae, "Das Kleinod von Babylon," *Erziehungskunst. Monatsschrift zur Pädagogik Rudolf Steiners* 5 (Mai 1988): 322, accessed June 16, 2018, <https://www.erziehungskunst.de/archiv/jahrgang-1980-1989/jahrgang-1988/mai-1988/>. The year 1917 is close to the half-way point in Walter Andrae's life (1875–1956).

<sup>8</sup> Anthroposophy is known today to many due to its influence on the ideas of integral medicine, biodynamic agriculture, and Waldorf pedagogy. Anthroposophy is intrinsically related to the person and the teachings of its founder Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925). Born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Steiner received a degree in philosophy from Rostock University in 1891. After contributing to an edition of Goethe, studying German idealism, and writing on Nietzsche's philosophy, he established contact with the Theosophical movement in 1900. However, the Anthroposophical movement, with Steiner as its undisputed leader, separated from the Theosophical movement in 1912. See Helmut Zander, *Rudolf Steiner: Die Biografie* (München: Piper Verlag GmbH, 2011), and Heiner Ullrich, *Rudolf Steiner: Leben und Lehre* (München: C.H. Beck, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> The Christian Community. See section 6: The Cultic Function of the 'Trilogy' or the 'Gem of Babylon' (*Das Kleinod von Babylon*) in the Museum of Ancient Near East Orient according to Walter Andrae.

of his vast publications would have displayed obvious traces of anthroposophical thoughts to anyone who cared to look. However, apart from casual remarks reflecting on Andrae's esoteric interests, there was never an open discussion in the public sphere or in learned circles about his spiritual leanings. This may have been due to the fact that his position had quickly become unassailable. He was renowned not only for his work in the museum but as one of the model excavators of Imperial Germany and the gifted negotiator who had managed to extract – with the support of the remarkable Gertrude Bell – the Ishtar Gate bricks from British Mandate Iraq.

Andrae was pensioned off in 1951.<sup>10</sup> As before, he resided in West Berlin, while the museum belonged to the Eastern part of the city. During the subsequent decades, the Cold War and the deepening partition of Berlin would help to keep a lid on many questions concerning the museum. Successive generations of Near Eastern archaeologists were somehow convinced that Andrae's approach in his presentation of Ancient Near Eastern architecture followed along much the same lines as Theodor Wiegand's approach for the classical halls and rooms in the *Pergamonmuseum*.<sup>11</sup>

Generally, it should be noted that all the departments (Classical, Ancient Near East, and Islamic Art) of the pre-Second-World-War *Pergamonmuseum* (originally a department of medieval German art was also to be incorporated) displayed examples of the antique architecture of their respective periods – very often in the form of large, reconstructed architectural parts or façades.<sup>12</sup> In a recent discussion about the *Pergamonmuseum*, Nikolaus Bernau<sup>13</sup> stresses

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<sup>10</sup> Salje, “Ein Museum hält Rückschau,” 287.

<sup>11</sup> Nikolaus Bernau, “Das Pergamonmuseum und seine vier Museen als Lehrinstrumente einer anderen Moderne,” in *Pergamon: Panorama der antiken Metropole*, ed. Ralf Grüßinger et al. (Berlin: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 389–391. Hans W. Witschurke describes the Department of Ancient Near East and the entire *Pergamonmuseum* as museums of architecture and early civilisations. See Hans W. Witschurke, “Das Pergamonmuseum – Das Museum für Architektur und den Ursprung der Zivilisation,” in *Museum der Museen: Die Berliner Museumsinsel als Entwicklungsgeschichte des deutschen Kunstmuseums*, ed. Hans W. Witschurke (Aachen: Geymüller, 2015), 177–208.

<sup>12</sup> “Das Pergamonmuseum wendet sich bis heute mit seiner anschaulichen Sammlung rekonstruierter Architekturfragmente an alle Schichten der Gesellschaft: Es war das erste populäre Museum auf der Spreeinsel” (“The *Pergamonmuseum*, with its vivid collections of reconstructed elements of architectural fragments, continues to address all stratas of society up to the present day. It was the first popular museum on the Spree island”). Witschurke, “Das Pergamonmuseum,” 190.

<sup>13</sup> Bernau, “Das Pergamonmuseum und seine vier Museen,” 389–390.

that the common trait of all the departments was the “staging of period architecture” by means of “spolia, partial reconstructions and castings”. According to Bernau, the exhibits of the classical department were intended to serve as style examples for students of architecture. By contrast, the department with the Ancient Orient collections “celebrated colour as an essential part of architecture, reflecting on Goethe’s research on colours”.<sup>14</sup>

It seems that it was overlooked, or consciously ignored, by many that Andrae had considerably enlarged the scope of archaeological research into ancient architecture by adding, from the start, a dimension of transcendental meaning to the conceptual arrangements of the exhibition halls.<sup>15</sup> A number of questions that might have been raised concerning Andrae’s approach were not asked. For example, why did he place a pair of Hittite sphinxes from Hattusha /Boğazköy (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> mill. BC) in Anatolia with different dating and origin at the entrance of the Neo-Babylonian Processional Street of Babylon (6<sup>th</sup> century BC)?<sup>16</sup>

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**14** This is a topic that deserves closer analysis. In fact, it seems that all its halls and rooms were painted in colours that had been carefully selected by Walter Andrae. It is extremely likely that this colour scheme was inspired by Andrae’s spiritual views, which would have followed Rudolf Steiner’s reception of Goethe’s theory of colours. Bernau, who does not give a reference here but probably draws on Andrae’s *Lebenserinnerungen* (Andrae, 279–280), is one of several researchers who seem to have come close to grasping Andrae’s anthroposophical master plan but stopped short of explaining it.

**15** In Walter Andrae, *Die Ionische Säule: Bauform oder Symbol?* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1933), 2, one can find this enlarged concept of an archaeological analysis of architecture. “Archaeological research finds itself . . . confronted to a greater or lesser extent with clearly defined groups of forms and shapes which it classifies, thereafter verifying this classification by reference to their historical context and the laws regarding their historical context and classifies into regional groups. However, if the research is concerned with the genesis and development of these forms, it also arrives at the transcendental, that is the field which determines the spiritual content of all monuments of a higher kind . . . We are indeed concerned with the reality of the symbols and the influential powers behind them.” (“Die archäologische Forschung . . . sieht sich mehr oder minder deutlich umgrenzten Formengruppen und Gestaltungen gegenüber, die sie ordnet, auf ihre zeitgesetzlichen Zusammenhänge prüft und nach Erdregionen scheidet. Forscht sie aber nach Entstehung und Entwicklung jener Formen, so kommt sie gleichfalls ins Transzendente, also in das Gebiet, das den geistigen Inhalt aller höher gearteten Denkmäler bestimmt . . . es geht uns durchaus um die Wirklichkeit dieser Symbole und der hinter ihnen wirkenden Kräfte”).

**16** Bernau, “Das Pergamonmuseum und seine vier Museen,” 389, is again the most recent commentator. He assumes that the sphinxes from Hattusha have only a restricted role as architectural elements that mark the entrance of the Processional Street.

#### 4 From *Das Gotteshaus und die Urform des Bauens im Alten Orient* via *Die Ionische Säule: Bauform oder Symbol* to *Alte Feststraßen im Nahen Osten*: Andrae's Core Publications during the 1930s and Early 1940s and Their Anthroposophical Context

From 1928 to 1941, Andrae worked out his own set of ideas regarding the architecture and culture of the Ancient Near East. Ever since his participation in the famous excavations prior to the First World War, he had defined himself not as an archaeologist per se, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century understanding of the term, but as an architectural researcher.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, much of the task of these first German excavators had been the analysis of the remnants of huge building structures of mud brick architecture.<sup>18</sup>

When Andrae published *Das Gotteshaus und die Urform des Bauens im Alten Orient* (The House of God and the Primordial Form of Constructing in the Ancient Near East) in 1930, the work seemed, on first sight, to be a projection of this experience. However, he did not limit himself throughout its many pages to explaining the development of religious and non-religious buildings in the Ancient Near East, for example by analysing the types of the Babylonian and Assyrian temples in the first millennium BC, and from there reaching back to their common *Urformen* (primordial forms) in prehistorical times. On the contrary, he also tried to explain the *sense* of these developments, not as a technical contribution or as the work of an art historian but, rather, as someone who searches *Urformen* and their powerful inherent growing force “ . . . as an

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<sup>17</sup> Walter Andrae, “Die Technik des Ausgrabens,” *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 79, no. 5 (1927): 116–122; Walter Andrae, “Altorientalische Ausgrabungen,” *Berliner Museen* 49, no. 2 (1928): 26–29; Margarete van Ess, “Koldewey – Pionier systematischer Ausgrabungen im Orient,” in *Auf dem Weg nach Babylon*, ed. Ralf-B. Wartke (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), 90–107; Dittmar Machule, “Robert Koldewey und die Bauforschung,” in *Auf dem Weg nach Babylon*, ed. Ralf-B. Wartke (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), 108–123.

<sup>18</sup> In 1926, Andrae and several other architectural researchers founded the *Koldewey-Gesellschaft. Vereinigung für baugeschichtliche Forschung e.V.* (Association for Architectural Research). It is still active today.

attempt to come closer to the growing forces and to the sense underlying the development”.<sup>19</sup>

Shortly after the *Gotteshaus*, he published in 1933 *Die Ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol?* (The Ionian Column: Structural Form or Symbol?). The title already suggested that Andrae was now even more focused on the spiritual meanings of architectural forms. This interest was summarised in an article of the same year, *Symbol in der Baukunst* (Symbol in the Art of Construction), in which he wrote: “We have to become aware of how something which has been formed out of earthly matter is infused with supernatural spiritual meaning and, as a consequence, appears before us as an image of a transcendental truth. We experience this in, for example, the sign of the Cross.”<sup>20</sup> Already in 1927/28, Andrae had taught at the Technical University Charlottenburg that, “form theory is not only the recognition and study of all forms that have ever been invented but also, and to a much greater extent, involves empathy with the essence of the forms, their spiritual content, and the sensing of a deep religious meaning in the best among them.”<sup>21</sup>

In his *Alte Feststraßen im Nahen Osten* (Old Processional Streets in the Near East), published in 1941, Andrae set out to reconstruct four processional streets from four different ancient cities – Hattusha/Boğazköy, Ashur, Babylon, and Uruk –, each featuring various images of the gods and supernatural winged creatures. He explained that images of gods act as images of what he terms essentialities: “If images of such spiritual beings are erected to the right and the left of these processional streets in order to visualise for the physical eye of the humans passing between them and next to them what can only be perceived by

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19 “(Als) ein Versuch der treibenden Kraft und damit dem Sinn der Entwicklung nahezukommen.” Walter Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im Alten Orient* (Berlin: Hans Schoetz & Co. Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930), 89.

20 “Es muß uns bewußt werden, wie ein aus irdischem Stoff Geformtes mit überirdisch-geistigem Sinn erfüllt wird und nun als Bild einer transzendenten Wahrheit vor uns steht. Wir erleben es beispielsweise am Zeichen des Kreuzes” Walter Andrae, “Symbol in der Baukunst,” *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 9, September 10 (1933): 373–374.

21 “Formenlehre ist für uns nicht bloß das Erkennen und Erlernen aller je erfundenen Formen, sondern auch, und noch viel mehr das Einfühlen in das Wesen der Formen, in ihren geistigen Inhalt und das Ahnen einer tiefen religiösen Bedeutung der besten von ihnen” Unpublished lecture manuscript: “Bauformen der Antike u. der Renaissance”. “Architectural forms in Antiquity and Renaissance” by Walter Andrae from February 5, 1927–1928 (Technical University of Charlottenburg). Source: Estate Walter Andrae, Staatsbibliothek Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz 103.



the spiritual eye . . . , [then] even those who are not yet highly imbued, will be elevated to higher levels of knowledge.”<sup>22</sup>

## 5 The Inherent Context of the Processional Street and the Ishtar Gate Hall Ensemble of Babylon: An Example for Andrae’s Museal Concept

Much work remains to be done if we are to trace and clearly identify Andrae’s anthroposophical thought in his work and publishing over the period of some 30 years from the early 1920s until the mid-1950s. Andrae is most explicit in those writings published after the Second World War, in which open references to Rudolf Steiner abound. Meanwhile, his curatorial interpretation of the Processional Street and the Ishtar Gate hall ensemble has barely been altered in the years since he laid it out and can still be studied in today’s *Vorderasiatische Museum* (Museum of Ancient Near East).

In 1945 Andrae had to endure the *Entnahmeaktion* (removal operation) undertaken by the *Trophäenkommission* (trophy commission) of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD). Numerous objects from the Berlin museums, among them many exhibits of the Department of Ancient Near East, were transferred to the Soviet Union – for good, it seemed at the time. Andrae did not live to see their return in 1958. Against this backdrop, he felt the urge to draw up a synopsis of his work as curator. The result was a volume of 387 typed pages.<sup>23</sup> In this testimony, entitled *Wesen und Wert eines Museums* (Essence and Value of a Museum), Andrae dwells extensively on anthroposophical conceptions of man, the successive stages of culture, and the different forms of human aesthetic perception through history as laid down by Rudolf Steiner from 1900 onwards. These concepts provide not only the epistemological key to Andrae’s analyses of Ancient Near Eastern civilisations but also the key to an understanding of the exhibition in the museum halls.

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<sup>22</sup> “Wenn an Feststraßen rechts und links Bilder solcher Geisteswesenheiten aufgerichtet wurden und den leiblichen Augen der zwischen ihnen oder neben ihnen vorbeiziehenden Menschen sichtbar machen, was nur vom geistigen Auge erschaut werden kann . . . , so werden auch die noch nicht Hochbegnadeten hinaufgehoben zu den höheren Stufen der Erkenntnisse.” Walter Andrae, *Alte Feststraßen im Nahen Osten: Hattusa, Assur, Babylon, Uruk*, 2nd. ed. (Stuttgart: Verlag Freies Geistesleben, 1964), 14.

<sup>23</sup> Estate Walter Andrae (1875–1956) 78,1 (typoscript), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Andrae intended to publish this testimony. However, the renowned Gebrüder Mann publishing house declined the manuscript on the grounds that the content would not meet the requirements and standards of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Foundation).<sup>24</sup> Despite this refusal of publishing support, Andrae did not set aside his project. Instead, he compiled a markedly shorter, summarised version of his interpretation of the Processional Street, the Ishtar Gate, and the Throne Room Façade. This ‘Trilogy’, as he usually called it, evidently formed the museum’s backbone, dating to the Neo-Babylonian period, or more precisely to the reign of Nebukadnezar II (604–562 BC). In this unpublished summary, he introduces another term for the ensemble: *Das Kleinod von Babylon*.<sup>25</sup>

It was not until 1988, long after Andrae’s death, that an excerpt of these later writings found its way into the public realm. On the occasion of the launching of the second edition of Andrae’s memoirs in the same year,<sup>26</sup> the West German Anthroposophical magazine *Erziehungskunst – Monatsschrift zur Pädagogik Rudolf Steiners* published a shorter version of *Das Kleinod von Babylon* in cooperation with Andrae’s eldest son Ernst.<sup>27</sup> Here, the focus is on the overall meaning of the *Kleinod*, as revealed in its animal reliefs and the symbolism of the plants depicted on the three intensely colourful and glazed brick façades.

Ernst Andrae contributed a short introduction to this article which provides some useful hints. For example, he notes that his father had drawn inspiration for his work by meeting the two *Erzoberlenker*<sup>28</sup> of the *Christengemeinschaft*, Dr. Friedrich Rittelmeyer and Emil Bock,<sup>29</sup> as well as from the study of the work of Rudolf Steiner. With regard to the *Kleinod*, it was especially Steiner’s lecture on

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<sup>24</sup> Andrae’s handwritten version of his museum testament is documented in nine folders (Estate Walter Andrae 76). The title is *Entstehen und Leben eines Museums. Die Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Staatl. Museen zu Berlin. The Emergence and Life of a Museum of the Near Eastern Department of the State Museums of Berlin*. The last folder dates to September 22, 1951 (Estate Walter Andrae 76). Attached to the folder is a letter by R. Hartmann of the publishing house Gebr. Mann Berlin dating to March 1, 1952.

<sup>25</sup> Estate Walter Andrae 87 (typoscript), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz: *Das Kleinod von Babylon*. (The Gem of Babylon) 1954.

<sup>26</sup> Andrae, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 1988.

<sup>27</sup> Andrae, “Das Kleinod von Babylon,” 321–335, accessed June 20, 2018, <https://www.erziehungskunst.de/archiv/jahrgang-1980-1989/jahrgang-1988/mai-1988/>.

<sup>28</sup> The term is usually not translated by the Christian Community. The *Erzoberlenker* holds the highest leading position in the Christian Community.

<sup>29</sup> Andrae, “Das Kleinod von Babylon,” 322. Friedrich Karl Rittelmeyer (1872–1938) and Emil Bock (1895–1959) were *Erzoberlenker* of the Christian Community in the 1920s and 1930s.

the gospel of Luke that piqued Andrae's interest.<sup>30</sup> In this lecture, Steiner had talked about Moses and a certain Zaratos or Nazarthos as the two incarnations during the so-called Egypto-Chaldean cultural epoch of the "individuality" of Zarathustra, who was himself the leading initiate of the preceding so-called proto-Persian cultural epoch.<sup>31</sup> In fact, Walter Andrae himself refers to the "great initiated" Zaratos or Nazarthos who would have stood behind the design of the 'Trilogy' as the teacher and inspirer of Nebukadnezar II.<sup>32</sup> One is hard pressed to find any Zaratos or Nazarthos in the historical sources. Nevertheless, for the internationally known excavator, curator, museum director, and lecturer in architecture, Steiner's vision of history had obviously become crucial already in the early stages of his work on the exhibition.

In a small museum guide to the then nearly completed exhibition, published in 1934, the director stresses the singularity of the 'Trilogy'. According to him, it was the only spot in ancient Babylon close to the *Königsburg* where the coloured façades could be discovered which show "the incomparably precious sparkle of the walls of enameled colours".<sup>33</sup> There is no doubt that this was, for Andrae, a result of its cultic character. Indeed, Andrae would later speak in the *Kleinod* of the great importance of the 'Trilogy' within the history of spirit ("geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung").<sup>34</sup>

In Babylon, in the time of Nebukadnezar II, the 'Trilogy' for Andrae had been the core of the New Year's processional street, starting from the New Year's festival house, the *Bit akitu* (Assyrian for festival house), outside the city walls, which took place in spring.<sup>35</sup> In the museum, Andrae showed a reconstruction of the

**30** Andrae, "Das Kleinod von Babylon," 323; Rudolf Steiner, *Das Lukas-Evangelium; ein Zyklus von 10 Vorträgen, gehalten in Basel vom 15.- 26. September 1909*, GA 114, 9th ed. (1909; Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 2001), 95–112, accessed June 20, 2018, <http://www.bdn-steiner.ru/cat/ga/114.pdf#view=Fit>.

**31** Steiner, "Das Lukas-Evangelium," 101–102.

**32** Andrae, "Das Kleinod von Babylon," 324, footnote 2. One would assume that Steiner follows Schuré in this respect. However, there is no mention in Schuré of Zarathos or Nazarthos. On the influence of Schuré on Rudolf Steiner, see Helmut Zander, *Anthroposophie in Deutschland: Theosophische Weltanschauung und gesellschaftliche Praxis 1894–1945*, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 555, 578, 602, 623, 693–694, 788–797, 855.

**33** "... den unerhört kostbaren Glanz der Schmelzfarbenziegelwände". Andrae, *Kurzer Führer durch die Räume der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen* (Berlin: Herausgegeben von der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1934), 6.

**34** Andrae, "Das Kleinod von Babylon," 323.

**35** "Über die Richtung, in der sich die Prozession auf dieser Straße bewegte, kann gar kein Zweifel sein: sie kam von Norden und schritt nach Süden, sie bewegte sich eben vom Festhaus im Norden nach dem Haupttempel Esangila im Süden" ("There can be no doubt regarding the direction in which the procession was moving on the street: it came from the north and

Processional Street and placed the Throne Room Façade in the Ishtar Gate hall in reduced size, divided in two parts on each side of the Ishtar Gate. As suggested by the excavator Robert Koldewey, the façade in its original setting would have stretched along one wall of the enormous throne room of the southern part of the king's palace, which was situated behind the Ishtar Gate and inside the city walls.

A particular role is attributed by Andrae to two sphinxes who – in his view – had welcomed those proceeding along the street before they reached the gate complex. He does not give their precise position in the *Kleinod*. However, in his detailed study of processional streets in the Ancient Near East published in 1941,<sup>36</sup> he had assumed that two metal sphinxes stood in front of the Ishtar Gate complex as guardian figures of the Processional Street. No traces of them had been found in the excavation but – according to Andrae – they should be added because they are mentioned in the sources.<sup>37</sup> In the *Kleinod*, Andrae advances an ideal-type reconstruction regarding what “Gestalt” the sphinxes in Babylon might have had. In his view, they must have been similar to sphinxes found in Hittite Hattusha in Anatolia.<sup>38</sup> We will return to this point later.

As a whole, all the discussions in the *Kleinod* only make sense if one accepts that Andrae saw the ‘Trilogy’ as having been masterminded by “the great initiated” Zaratos: his explanations of anthroposophical aesthetics, his conclusions concerning the inner experience of those proceeding along the path as they encountered the images of lions, bulls, and “mushchushshus” (snake-dragons) – or the experiences they were meant to have according to the intentions of Zaratos:

When the image of a lion (Fig. 9.1) entered the vision of a Babylonian of that time, an assimilation took place (of the latter's) notion of the power of a lion with the idea of the female-divine power of knowledge, as well as with the human power of emotions (such as courage, affection, ire, etc.) commanded by the goddess Ishtar. In the same way, an assimilation would happen of the notion of the power of the bull (Fig. 9.2.), the power of Adad, and the human willpower commanded by Adad; likewise the power of the griffon-dragon (Fig. 9.3.) with the human capability of thinking, the Marduk-Nabu powers.<sup>39</sup>

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proceeded towards the south, moving from the festival temple in the north towards the main temple Esangila in the south.”) Andrae, *Alte Feststraßen*, 35–36.

<sup>36</sup> Andrae, *Alte Feststraßen*, 35–36.

<sup>37</sup> Andrae, *Alte Feststraßen*, 37.

<sup>38</sup> For an easily accessible reproduction of the Hattusha sphinx, see: Andrae, “Das Kleinod von Babylon,” 329–330.

<sup>39</sup> “Erschien nun im Gesichtskreis des Babyloniers jener Zeit das Bild eines Löwen (Figure 9.1), so assimilierte sich der Gedanke Löwenkraft mit dem der weiblich-göttlichen Wissenskraft und den von der Ishtar gelenkten menschlichen Gefühlskräfte (wie Mut, Liebe, Zorn usw). Gleicherweise assimilierten sich die Gedanken Stierkraft (Figure 9.2.) – Adad-Kraft – von Adad gelenkte Willenskraft des Menschen, sowie Schlangengreif-Kraft mit Marduk-Nabu-Kräften



**Fig. 9.1:** One of several walking lions made of glazed tiles in relief originating from the Processional Street of Babylon, 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (VAB 01379–01409), as seen today as part of the installations in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Museum of Ancient Near East) of the Pergamonmuseum Berlin.  
© bpk/Vorderasiatisches Museum. SMB/ Olaf M. Teßmer



**Fig. 9.2:** Drawing by Walter Andrae from 1902 showing a relief of glazed tiles representing a bull figure on the Ishtar Gate from Babylon, 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. It was drawn by Andrae with a view to the future reconstruction of the gate in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Museum of Ancient Near East) (Vorderasiatisches Museum, SMB. VAK 7).  
© bpk/Vorderasiatisches Museum. SMB/ Andres Kilger.

And further: “This was indeed the intention of the great initiate: To internally correct all souls heading into the Holy City of Bab-ilu, even before they had completely passed the gate (i.e. the gate complex), meaning to purify them.”<sup>40</sup>

For Andrae, this act of purification is clearly connected to the perception of symbolic images that Babylonians in the age of the ‘Trilogy’ would have experienced. The ability to perceive these is described by Andrae as a time-specific *Bildbewußtsein* (awareness of the image) and *Bilddenken* (thinking through the images):<sup>41</sup> “Any contemplation of ancient Near Eastern images of human beings, animals, and plants does not, as its main purpose, serve as a reproduction of nature [in the mind of the thinker]; it is an expression of the essence, that is the portrayal of the natural form including the respective idea.”<sup>42</sup>

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göttergelenkter menschlicher Denkkraft (Figure 9.3.)”; Andrae, “Das Kleinod von Babylon,” 324.

**40** “Und das war die Absicht des großen Eingeweihten: Alle Seelen, die den Weg in die Heilige Stadt Bab-ilu nehmen wollten, noch vor dem vollkommenen Durchschreiten des Tores innerlich zurechtzurücken, das heißt zu reinigen”; Andrae, “Kleinod von Babylon”, 324.

**41** Walter Andrae, “Dargestelltes und Verschlüsseltes in der altorientalischen Kunst,” *Die Welt des Orients*, 2, no.3 (1956): 252.

**42** “Die Betrachtung der altorientalischen Menschen-, Tier-, und Pflanzenbilder hat als Hauptanliegen ihrer Darstellung nicht Nachahmung der Natur, sondern Wesensausdruck, also Darstellung der natürlichen Form mit Einschluss der Idee derselben zu sein.” Andrae, “Kleinod von Babylon,” 324.



**Fig. 9.3:** Drawing by Walter Andrae from 1902 of the walking mythical snake-dragon (mushchushshu) consisting of different glazed tiles in relief, originating from the Ishtar Gate of Babylon, 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (VAB 4431). As in Figure 9.2., the corresponding colourful relief is today a part of the Ishtar Gate reconstruction in the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin (Museum of Ancient Near East).

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## 6 The Sphinxes and the Throne Room Façade as Clue to the Cultic Meaning of the Processional Street and the Ishtar Gate Ensemble

It is possible to detect a gradual development over the years of the arguments in Andrae's writings concerning the meaning and functioning of the sphinxes and the Throne Room Façade. When he placed two sphinxes in front of the museum's Processional Street in 1934, one of these was the restored original of a sphinx found at Hattusha, Bogazköy, dating from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, an object notable for being from a completely different area and time period than the Processional Street, while the second was a replica.<sup>43</sup> Both were firmly anchored into the corresponding walls.<sup>44</sup> In the short version of the *Kleinod*, written some two decades later but not published until 1988, Andrae is seen still struggling to justify his choice of object. However, he is clearly convinced that a type of sphinx similar to those from Hattusha would have welcomed the processional participants to the 'Trilogy' complex in Babylon. He had indicated a reason for this already in an article in 1935. There he describes the Hattusha Sphinx as a complete image of the *Viergetiergedanken* (the idea of the four-tiered animal) that is as the symbol of the four essential powers active in the human essence, one of the basic anthroposophical concepts of human nature.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Walter Andrae, "Sphinx aus Hattuschasch VA 10980," *Berliner Museen*, 56, no. 2 (1935): 37–39.

<sup>44</sup> Günter Marks, "Macht in engen Grenzen," *Frankfurter Rundschau* 24.9.2011.

<sup>45</sup> Andrae, "Das Kleinod von Babylon," 324. The lion part of this composite sphinx symbolises human emotional powers; the bull parts symbolise the willpower of man; the snake-dragon

In his *Kleinod*, the analysis of the role in the ‘Trilogy’ of this type of sphinx serves as a clue to the intentions of the great initiated,<sup>46</sup> rooted as they were in the specific *Bilddenken* or *Bildbewußtsein* of the Ancient Near East. *Die pädagogische Tat des großen Eingeweihten* (the educational achievement of the great initiated) – to sum up Andrae’s line of thought – consisted in deconstructing the complex symbolic message of the *Viergetiergedanken* or the sphinx by confronting the entrants on their way into the city of Babylon with *einzelnen Wesenheiten* (single essentialities) determining their lives by using the symbols of lion, bull, and snake-dragon one after another. The fourth element of the *Viergetiergedanken*, that which represents the human ego, is not to be encountered on the Processional Street nor at the Ishtar Gate itself, but – according to Andrae – is met instead when a viewer looks at the glazed Throne Room Façade. In the *Kleinod*, the sight of the Throne Room Palace Façade of Nebukadnezar’s Babylon is described as having been restricted to *die Einzuweihenden* (those to be initiated).<sup>47</sup> This elite was to experience the presence of the king as *Repräsentant der Menschheit von Babylon* (representative of the humankind of Babylon).<sup>48</sup>

There were similar stages of development in Andrae’s reconstruction of this very Throne Room Façade, which assumes a position of great importance within the Ishtar Gate complex. A watercolour by Andrae, dated to 1927, shortly after he had succeeded in securing the arrival of the finds of Babylon in Berlin, shows his original ideas concerning the Ishtar Gate hall.<sup>49</sup> Here, Andrae is still following Koldewey’s reconstruction of the Throne Room Façade, with a simple, tall and slim colonnade (*Säulengang*) crowned by two rows of double-sided volutes atop the pillars. This reconstruction was implemented for the museum’s

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elements correspond with the thinking power, while the human face and the headgear represent the human ego. Walter Andrae, *Sphinx aus Hattuschasch*, 38–39.

46 Andrae, “Kleinod von Babylon,” 328.

47 “Wir können vermuten, dass (in den Thronsaal) nur die Einzuweihenden hineinziehen sollten, bevor sie den übrigen in die heilige Stadt hinab folgen konnten”. (We can assume that . . . only those to be initiated were meant to enter (the throne-room), before following the others down into the holy City.) Andrae, “Das Kleinod von Babylon,” 324.

48 “Er als der Repräsentant der Menschheit von Babylon trug in seiner Person das Ich des Volkes, das alles Denken, Fühlen und Wollen seines Volkes bestimmte” (He, as the representative of the humanity of Babylon, bore in his very person the ego of the people which commanded all thinking, feeling, and longing of his people.) Andrae, “Das Kleinod von Babylon,” 326.

49 A reproduction of this watercolour can be found on the front cover of the publication by Kohlmeier and Strommenger. Kay Kohlmeier and Eva Strommenger, *Wiedererstehendes Babylon: Eine antike Weltstadt im Blick der Forschung* (Berlin: Enka Druck, 1991) and in Sabine Böhme, “Ein Anthroposoph lässt in Berlin den Alten Orient wiedererstehen,” *Antike Welt* 48, no. 4 (2017): fig. 2.



opening of its first exhibition halls in 1930.<sup>50</sup> However, this is not what we see in the exhibition today (Fig. 9.4).



**Fig. 9.4:** Reconstructed Throne Room Palace Façade from Babylon, 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, in the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin (Museum of Ancient Near East). It is made of coloured glazed tiles showing floral elements and lions. This version of the façade in the museum's Ishtar Gate hall was put in place at the end of the 1930s and has remained there until today. The slim pillar stems show three constrictions. On top of the stem there are three rows of double-sided volutes and a crowning palmette.

Vorderasiatisches Museum, SMB. VAB 1457–1459 (lions), VAB 1460–1461 (ornaments)

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Andrae had already considered a different version of the volute design in 1933, adding an additional row on top of the two rows of double-sided volutes. He had become convinced that there had to be three rows of double-sided volutes with a crowning palmette. Koldewey's original reconstruction of a slim pillar was altered by Andrae to take the form of a stem with three constrictions. He advanced this suggestion for the first time in 1933, in his *Die Ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol?*<sup>51</sup> Four years later, in 1937, he re-established contact with the ceramic workshop<sup>52</sup> with whom he had worked between 1928–1930. It is not currently clear exactly when the two parts of the Throne Room Façade were altered, but 1937 marks a definite terminus post quem.<sup>53</sup> Andrae justifies his alteration in *Die Ionische Säule* as follows: The palm tree with three rows of double-sided volutes and a crowning palmette represents the midpoint of a development from the primordial form (*Urform*) of the bundle of plants (reeds, for example) to the classical form of the Ionic column.<sup>54</sup> According to Andrae, the

<sup>50</sup> Walter Andrae, "Das Vorderasiatische Museum," *Berliner Museen* 51, no. 5 (1930): 108–113; Walter Andrae, "Die Neuen Säle für Altorientalische Kunst im Vorderasiatischen Museum," *Berliner Museen* 55, no. 3 (1934): 47–56. The next two wings were opened to the public in 1934 and the museum's exhibit on the Ancient Near East was completed in 1936.

<sup>51</sup> Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, plate VII.

<sup>52</sup> SMB-ZA, I/VAM 262: Reproduktionsentwurf für die Thronsaalfassade aus Babylon 1937.

<sup>53</sup> The alterations most likely took place between 1938 and March 1940, as is suggested by orders from this period and by the termination of the respective contracts concluded by the *Generaldirektion* (personal communication of Dr. Lutz Martin, Museum of Ancient Near East Berlin).

<sup>54</sup> Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, 55–56.



architectural form acquired a growing number of symbolic meanings during this process of development, only to partly lose them again during its passage into the next cultural epoch (see below). Within the confines of the *Bilddenken* or *Bildbewußtsein* of the Egypto-Chaldean epoch, the palm tree with three double-sided volutes symbolises the three essentialities: the body, soul, and spirit of the human being.<sup>55</sup>

In *Die Ionische Säule*, Andrae also explains the changes of this architectural element from its primordial form during the passage into the Greco-Roman cultural epoch, when the Ionic column had only one double-sided volute and a crest of growing plants.

The Greek, so to say, renounces on [volute] 1 and 2, body and soul. He does this because he is experiencing both and can see them in the highest perfection of their essence while contemplating the body-figures of his ephebes and the representations of male and female beauty accomplished in the form of marble sculpture, on the one hand, and in the works of his poets and thinkers, on the other. However, the spirit and the human ego cannot be grasped by him either, they remain to him action caught in invisibility and pertaining to the world of spirits for whom, in order to render them conceivable he has to rely on symbols. He therefore keeps the third pair of volutes and the crowning crest.<sup>56</sup>

## 7 The Cultic Function of the ‘Trilogy’ or the Gem of Babylon (*Das Kleinod von Babylon*) in the Museum of Ancient Near East According to Walter Andrae

Andrae concludes that the purpose behind the master plan of the great initiate Zaratos was the creation of a site and pictorial program for the *Menschenweihe* (consecration of man), the key sacramental element in the rituals of the *Christengemeinschaft*, in a manner that was suitable to the time of Nebukadnezar

<sup>55</sup> See footnote 26. Andrae, “Das Kleinod von Babylon,” 328. For Andrae the human ego in the Throne Room Façade is symbolised by the half of a lotus flower crest with six leaves on top of the palm tree.

<sup>56</sup> “So verzichtet der Grieche gewissermaßen auf 1 und 2, Leib und Seele, denn er erlebt sie und sieht sie in höchster Wesensvollendung an den Leibern seiner Epheben und den marmornen Abbildungen männlicher und weiblicher Schönheit und Formvollendung einerseits und in den Werken seiner Dichter und Denker andererseits. Geist aber und Ich sind auch ihm unfassbar, sind unsichtbares Wirken und Geisteswelt, für das er Symbole braucht, sie wahrnehmbar zu machen. Das Volutenpaar 3 und die krönende Blüte behält er bei.” Andrae, *Ionische Säule*, 57.

II.<sup>57</sup> Andrae, who, since the early 1920s, had been an influential member of this community situated in the orbit of the anthroposophical movement, must have fully intended this analogy.<sup>58</sup>

For Andrae, the “functioning” of the ‘Trilogy’ as a historic site of the act of the consecration of man in Babylon relied on the *Bilddenken* (conception of the image) or *Bildbewusstsein* (awareness of the image) specific to the age<sup>59</sup> – the Egypto-Chaldean cultural epoch that stretched from 2907–747 BC, and that

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<sup>57</sup> Andrae, “Das Kleinod von Babylon,” 324.

<sup>58</sup> The “Act of the Consecration of man” within the Christian Community is considered the centrepiece of sacramental life. It is a renewal of the archetypal form of early Christian worship, the Mass. Website of the Christian Community in North America <https://www.thechristiancommunity.org/>, accessed on September 23, 2018. Like other rituals and sacraments of this community, it has its origins in “the essential source of Rudolf Steiner’s spiritual advice and inspiration” (ibid.). The Community’s foundation dates back to seminars held by Steiner in 1921/22 for interested groups consisting primarily of Protestant and Old-Catholic theologians. These meetings were held in a general mood of discontent at the intellectual bias of the official Protestant worship service and at the teachings of liberal Protestant theology. See Zander, *Anthroposophie in Deutschland*, vol. 2, 1614–1631.

For Friedrich Rittelmeyer (1872–1938), the *Erzoberlenker* (s. fn. 29) of the Christian Community from 1922 who had previously trained as a Protestant theologian, the new cult of the Consecration of Man as prescribed by Steiner was the pivotal reason for leaving the official Protestant church. See Helmut Zander, “Friedrich Rittelmeyer: Eine Konversion vom liberalen Protestantismus zur anthroposophischen Christengemeinschaft,” in *Der deutsche Protestantismus um 1900*, ed. Friederich W. Graf and Hans M. Müller (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser. Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996), 282–283; Helmut Obst, *Apostel und Propheten der Neuzeit: Gründer christlicher Religionsgemeinschaften des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 593–594. In 1926, Rittelmeyer likened the “Act of Consecration of Man” to the Catholic Mass, both of which “carry in themselves the age-old revelation of God, coming down to us from distant pre-Christian times”. Obst, *Apostel und Propheten*, 604.

<sup>59</sup> The concept of evolution is a feature of Steiner’s thinking in general and of his thinking on history in particular. It originates in his enthusiasm for, and analysis of, the ideas of the German Darwinist Ernst Haeckel. Zander, *Rudolf Steiner*, 92–96; Ullrich, *Rudolf Steiner*, 48–53. Essential parts of Steiner’s ideas on history are summed up in, for example, Rudolf Steiner, *Die Weltgeschichte in anthroposophischer Beleuchtung und als Grundlage der Erkenntnis des Menschengesistes*, GA 233, 5th ed. (1924; Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1991). His introductory passages here already betray his evolutionist thinking: “. . . es kann nicht geleugnet werden, daß das Gegenwärtige dadurch verständlich wird, daß man es in seinem Hervorgehen aus dem Vergangenen zu begreifen versucht” (it cannot be denied that the present can be understood by attempting to comprehend it as emerging from that which has passed) See Steiner, *Weltgeschichte*, 11. The first part of the *Weltgeschichte* contains a description of the different forms of soul-constitution specific to the respective periods of history: “. . . wie groß der Unterschied in der Seelenverfassung ist zwischen einem heutigen Menschen und einem Zeitgenossen des Mysteriums von Golgatha oder gar einem heutigen Menschen und einem Griechen” (how big the difference is in the soul-constitution between a contemporary human

was, according to Steiner, the “3<sup>rd</sup> post-Atlantis cultural epoch of human-kind”.<sup>60</sup> In this epoch, much of the “knowledge” was still restricted to initiates. The “unknown”, as Andrae explains, could only be communicated to “the people” by means of symbolic representations:

In Babylon, the knowledge about the powers of the soul, which the initiated already had at their disposal, was once more held before the eyes of the people ahead of the decline of the Old Oriental culture. In that more distant time, inner experience had to be conveyed to the individuals from outside by way of the senses through emotion. At the dawning Greco-Roman epoch, the wisdom of those who now would address comprehension and mind [Gemüt], the thinking and feeling of human beings. These now would take in new knowledge with the help of their internal capabilities. They learned to do this in the course of time without images from outside, by way of their very internal capabilities, the new insights; they are gradually able to get along without images from outside (of their minds).<sup>61</sup>

It is rather astonishing to see how these dominant conceptual elements, which linked Andrae’s outstanding work as a museum curator to anthroposophical thought, have been ignored over the decades, either consciously or unconsciously. As much as Andrae owed to his predecessors in the museum and his archaeological colleagues, it was his rigid anthroposophical attitude that dominated his reception of the cultures of the Ancient Near East. There can be little doubt that this world view had been completely formed during the second half of the 1920s, when he became more and more involved with the creation of the future exhibition.

As soon as the first halls had opened, Andrae guided a tour for a group of delegates from the Christian Community during a conference in the spring of 1931. One of the delegates wrote a report for the journal *Die Christengemeinschaft* about the tour, during the course of which the director had introduced his guests

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and a contemporary of the mystery of Golgatha, let alone between a human being of our times and a Greek). Steiner, *Weltgeschichte*, 12.

**60** Rudolf Steiner, *Der Orient im Lichte des Okzidents: Die Kinder des Luzifers und die Brüder Christi*, GA 113, 3rd ed. (1909; Dornach: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1990), 149–157, accessed June 20, 2018, <http://www.bdn-steiner.ru/cat/ga/113.pdf#view=Fit> Datum.

**61** “In Babylon wurde das Wissen um die Seelenkräfte, über welches die Eingeweihten längst verfügten, vor dem Niedergang der alten orientalischen Kultur dem Volke noch einmal recht eindringlich vor die Augen gehalten. In jener älteren Zeit musste Innerliches von außen her der Empfindung der Menschen durch die Sinne vermittelt werden, in der aufdämmernden griechisch-römischen Epoche wendete sich die Weisheit der Wissenden an Verstand und Gemüt, an Denken und Fühlen der Menschen, die nun mit ihren inneren Kräften selbst die neuen Erkenntnisse aufzunehmen hatten und nach und nach der Bilder von außen entraten lernten.” Andrae, “Dargestelltes und Verschlüsseltes,” 251.

to the peculiarities of the Egypto-Chaldean and the Greco-Roman epochs.<sup>62</sup> The tour covered the entire Museum Island, starting with the exhibits relating to the Egypto-Chaldean culture, including the artefacts from Greece, and finishing with the creations of the Middle Ages.<sup>63</sup> Andrae clearly talked during the tour about the developmental stages of humankind as a recurrent theme in history and about how, “(that) all culture of the past humanity is in its essence actually a constantly changing cultus filled with spirit”.<sup>64</sup>

The author of the report goes on to give a recapitulation of Andrae’s comments concerning the animal images and symbols encountered in the Processional Street and at the Ishtar-Gate Hall, by means of which “ . . . one can experience something of this vast cosmic worldview of the ancient Babylonians, of the essence of man, of the four-tiered animal, of the primordial form of the human soul”.<sup>65</sup> The delegates had the opportunity to experience, “ . . . the reverberations emanating from these ancient Babylonian sites of mysteries, something of the imposing grand effect of the ancient Babylonian culture”.<sup>66</sup>

The report suggests that Andrae also took great care during the tour to demonstrate to his audience the characteristic differences of the cultural epochs with the help of the example of the symbol of the palm volutes, apparently in much the same way as he would discuss it two years later in the *Ionische Säule*.

Having proceeded through the gate of Milet into the world of the Greeks, what a profoundly different world had welcomed us [. . .]. [T]he god, who was still placed in the Babylonian temple in front of the niche of prayer inside a firmly walled temple, and who was mostly represented by the Old Egyptians with an animal head, now appears in human shape in a Greek temple, which also opens to the above as the epitomisation of light-beaming beauty.<sup>67</sup>

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62 Hermann Schuh, “Vom Wandel künstlerischer Weltauffassung,” *Die Christengemeinschaft* 7, no. 12 (März 1931): 378–380.

63 Schuh, “Wandel künstlerischer Weltauffassung,” 378.

64 Dass “alle Kultur dieser vergangenen Menschheit eigentlich sich ständig wandelnder geisterfüllter Kultus ist, in den alles Leben bis in den Alltag hinein einbezogen ist”. Schuh, “Wandel künstlerischer Weltauffassung,” 378.

65 “ . . . man etwas erleben (kann) von jener gewaltigen kosmischen Auffassung der alten Babylonier vom Menschenwesen, vom Viergetier, vom Urbild der Menschenseele”. Schuh, “Wandel künstlerischer Weltauffassung,” 378.

66 “ . . . in einem Nachklang an jene alten babylonischen Mysterienstätten etwas von der ehrfurchterweckenden grandiosen Wirkung der alten babylonischen Kultur”. Schuh, “Wandel künstlerischer Weltauffassung,” 379.

67 “Trat man hinaus durch das herrliche Tor von Milet in die Welt der Griechen, welch eine ganz andere Welt empfing uns da [. . .] der Gott, der im babylonischen Tempel vor der Gebetsnische im festummauerten Tempel stand, bei den Ägyptern meist noch mit einem Tierhaupt abgebildet, er steht in Menschengestalt im Innern des auch noch nach oben offenen

Since its first opening in 1930, Walter Andrae's museum of the Ancient Near East on the Museum Island in Berlin has survived a number of major upheavals in recent German history. It has not only preserved many parts of his original exhibition unaltered but also provides a physical record of Andrae's knowledge of the Ancient Near East and of his very own spiritual and artistic journey.

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## Abbreviations

### Publications

*Antike Welt*: Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte. Darmstadt.  
*Berliner Museen*: Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen. Former: Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen Neue Folge.  
*Forschungen und Fortschritte*: Nachrichtenblatt der deutschen Wissenschaft und Technik/ Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin.  
*marru*: Studien zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie/ Studies in Near and Middle Eastern Archaeology. Münster.

### Archives

SMB-ZA = Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv.