

Salad, Lard, and Everything Between

Food and Freedom in the Anthroposophical Movement

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ABSTRACT: Foodways are an excellent site for tracking the interaction between Anthroposophy, the spiritual science founded by Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), and other emerging spiritual traditions. Participants in practical initiatives inspired by Anthroposophy—including Waldorf schools, biodynamic farms, and Camphill intentional communities—follow various eating practices. Some choose vegetarian diets featuring whole grains and abundant vegetables, like their counterparts in the Gaian wing of the New Age movement. Others prefer the “Nourishing Traditions” approach of Sally Fallon, which rejects processed foods and celebrates traditional cuisines that use large amounts of animal fat. This diversity of foodways, paradoxically, confirms Wouter Hanegraaff’s characterization of Anthroposophy as too “clearly demarcated” to be considered a full part of the New Age movement. What demarcates the Anthroposophical approach to food is not any specific dietary choice but the persistent reminder that individual freedom is the most important requirement in a spiritual approach to food.

KEYWORDS: Anthroposophy, biodynamics, foodways, nutrition, Steiner, Rudolf, vegetarianism

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“Who’d like some melted pork fat on their salad?” called out our host as I and a dozen others sat down for our noon meal. “Well, when you put it that way . . .” responded one vegetarian, to general laughter. About half of the diners accepted the offer with enthusiasm, while the other half of us stuck with our accustomed vegetable oil dressings. It was a lighthearted moment, typical of the way in which today’s Anthroposophical movement accommodates its diverse food cultures and honors its founder’s repeated dictum that nutritional choices must ultimately “depend on the personal circumstances of the individual.”¹

I experienced this meal at Heartbeat Lifesharing, an intentional community in rural Vermont where persons with and without intellectual disabilities share life and work on one hundred fifty acres of farmland nestled between two mountain ridges. Heartbeat is part of the international Camphill movement, which includes one hundred similar communities. These communities in turn are among thousands of practical “initiatives” inspired by the Anthroposophical spirituality taught by Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Other initiatives include Waldorf schools, Anthroposophical banks (many of which provide financing for farms and green businesses), Anthroposophical medicine and architecture, scientific centers that use the qualitative research methods of the German poet Goethe, and “biodynamic” farms and gardens. Biodynamics, the first internationally organized movement for organic agriculture, grew out of a course of lectures that Steiner gave for farmers, and it reflects Steiner’s concern for nutrition. When a student asked why his spiritual movement had not been more fruitful, Steiner told him that “nutrition as it is today does not supply the strength necessary for manifesting the spirit in physical life.”²

Steiner’s nutritional teaching never gave rise to a coherent submovement comparable to biodynamics or Waldorf education. Students of Steiner have produced a few nutritional guidebooks and many cookbooks, but there is no organization responsible for developing this aspect of his teaching, and it has not been the topic of research by non-Anthroposophical scholars.³ The underdeveloped character of Anthroposophical nutrition reflects the flexibility of Steiner’s teaching. His teachings about eating food were never as prescriptive as his guidelines about how to foster plant growth or organize a curriculum. Yet Anthroposophical nutrition provides a window into a central theme in Steiner’s teaching, that of spiritual freedom. Whenever he spoke on nutrition, Steiner reminded his hearers that a spiritual teacher must never trespass on the individual freedom of his students. “The spiritual scientist,” he taught, “is obliged to state the truth of things . . . and he must be confident that when a person has perceived the truth of what he says he will then proceed to do the right thing.”⁴ This principle stands behind and unites the contrasting food practices that I saw at Heartbeat.

Steiner's insistence on nutritional freedom helps clarify the puzzling relationship between Anthroposophy and other spiritual traditions, including the loose amalgam of late twentieth-century spiritual practices known as the New Age. In his magisterial study of New Age traditions, Wouter Hanegraaff insists that Anthroposophy should not be included because it is a "clearly demarcated organisation" whose adherents mostly disavow the New Age label. Yet, he adds intriguingly, outsiders are not wrong to associate Anthroposophy with the New Age because they have definite "affinities."⁵ These are evident in the Anthroposophical approach to food. Many Anthroposophists, like many New Agers, choose a vegetarian diet that is rich in fresh green vegetables and whole grains. This choice reflects their common roots in Theosophy, some of whose early leaders were also passionate advocates of vegetarianism. Moreover, the fact that Anthroposophical vegetarianism coexists with a seemingly opposite food choice, emphasizing meat and especially animal fat, echoes the eclecticism and combinativeness (to use Catherine Albanese's term) of the New Age.⁶ Drawing on Colin Campbell's notion of a "cultic milieu" of seekers who extend a "marked tolerance and receptivity toward each others' beliefs," Hanegraaff claims that "the New Age is synonymous with the cultic milieu having become conscious of itself." He goes on to distinguish a "New Age *sensu stricto*" (in the strict sense)—articulated mostly by British authors, such as David Spangler and George Trevelyan, who had been influenced by Theosophy and Anthroposophy—from the more geographically and ideologically diverse "New Age *sensu lato*" (in a broad sense).⁷

Anthroposophical foodways confirm Hanegraaff's characterization in a paradoxical way: the Anthroposophical approach is "demarcated" precisely by its insistence on diversity and individual choice. Though many students of Rudolf Steiner follow their teacher's practice of eating a dairy-heavy vegetarian diet, others choose a vegan menu similar to that found at Findhorn, the New Age ecovillage that today promotes a "Gaian" spirituality of reverence for all creatures. Still others opt for the "Nourishing Traditions" approach promulgated by Sally Fallon and the Weston A. Price Foundation.⁸ This is the tradition that inspired some Camphillers to pour lard on their salads: it rejects processed and convenience foods, but celebrates high-fat traditional cuisines. Compared with vegetarianism, it is a relative newcomer in Anthroposophical circles, but in some ways a better fit with biodynamic agriculture, which holds that a farm cannot be healthy without livestock. Taken together, these foodways are as diverse as those found in New Age settings, but the effect of this diversity is not to weaken the sense of "demarcated" specificity that Hanegraaff ascribes to Anthroposophy. On the contrary, dietary diversity is justified by reference both to Steiner's specific teaching on nutrition and his emphasis on forming a personal relationship to spiritual teaching. Because Anthroposophical practice in other spheres,

including agriculture and education, is not so diverse, foodways play an important regulatory function within the movement. They remind practitioners that Steiner taught that individual freedom was of more value than strict adherence to his own guidelines.

The theme of dietary freedom extends through the history of the Anthroposophical movement, from Steiner's earliest lectures to the many cookbooks written by participants in Anthroposophical initiatives or published by Anthroposophical presses. It can be experienced at a daily meal in a Camphill community and in a banquet at a large biodynamic conference. In each of these contexts, it is easy to identify points of overlap between Anthroposophical foodways and those of Theosophy, the New Age, and other spiritual traditions—such as western Buddhism—that are “demarcated” but also sources of inspiration for the “New Age *sensu lato*.” At the same time, participants in most Anthroposophical initiatives understand their diverse and combinative dietary choices as expressions of fidelity to Steiner's teaching on spiritual freedom.

RUDOLF STEINER'S NUTRITIONAL TEACHINGS

Rudolf Steiner began his career as a spiritual teacher in 1900, when he offered a lecture at the Theosophical Library in Berlin. Despite his reservations about the Eastern religious orientation of the Theosophical Society, he was chosen in 1902 as chairman of the Berlin Lodge and soon thereafter as general secretary of the German Section of the Theosophical Society.⁹ That society had experienced a schism in 1895 in the wake of the death of cofounder Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891); Steiner was aligned with the parent Theosophical Society whose headquarters was located in Adyar, Madras (Chennai), India. After ten years, Steiner broke with the Theosophical Society and subsequently insisted that he taught nothing he had not confirmed through his own spiritual research. He also emphasized the “scientific” character of his research, arguing that it is possible to study the inner, spiritual world with the same rigor that natural scientists apply to external nature. Nevertheless, many of Steiner's claims about human nature, cosmology, and the relationship between spirit and matter have antecedents in the writings of Theosophists.¹⁰

The Anthroposophical movement also inherited Theosophical foodways, just as Theosophy had absorbed nutritional ideas and practices from the Spiritualist movement that preceded it, and from the still earlier work of Sylvester Graham (1794–1851), the American Presbyterian minister and dietary reformer. Like Graham, many Spiritualists and Theosophists saw whole grains and vegetables as spiritually helpful, and criticized alcohol, caffeine, and meat as excessively stimulating.¹¹ As

a German speaker, Steiner also had access to the holistic, vegetarian ethos of the nineteenth-century German *Lebensreform* movement. This movement, which ran parallel to Grahamism, Spiritualism, and utopian socialism in the nineteenth-century United States, promoted back-to-nature lifestyles as a healthier alternative to industrial society. Adherents embraced water cure, naturopathic medicine, abstinence from alcohol and stimulants, nudism or the wearing of loose-fitting clothing, and outdoor recreation, as well as vegetarian, raw food, and whole grain diets. (Müsli is perhaps the best-known dietary innovation generated by *Lebensreform*, just as cornflakes and Graham crackers trace their roots to Sylvester Graham.)¹²

Steiner addressed the topic of nutrition intermittently throughout his career, both in passing and in entire lectures. He never gave a formal “course” of lectures for nutritionists, though he discussed nutrition extensively in the courses he offered for farmers and for doctors. He spoke of nutrition as early as 1906 and was still doing so in some of his final lectures in 1924. Two key themes recurred throughout this period.

First, Steiner articulated an evolutionary individualism that denied the possibility of dietary guidelines that are valid for all times or all persons. Every person has a unique constellation of nutritional needs, he said, and those needs are likely to change—both for the individual over the course of a lifetime and for humanity over the course of our evolution as a species. This theme shaped all of Steiner’s teachings, but he articulated it with particular insistence when talking about nutrition. “What I have to say,” he explained in 1909, “does not recommend one course as opposed to another, and he who assumes that it does will misunderstand it completely.”¹³ He reiterated the point in 1923, with reference to the consumption of both alcohol and meat. “I simply describe how it works, then the person may decide to drink [or eat meat] or not as he pleases. . . . Science must have respect for human freedom.”¹⁴ Similarly, Steiner rejected all attempts to derive nutritional rules from the current constitution of the human body, such as the argument that humans are naturally omnivorous because our teeth and digestive organs occupy a middle position between those of the ruminants and those of the carnivores. “The key thing,” he said, “is not how people look today but how they can change.”¹⁵ He refused to demonize specific foods, pointing out that there is no universal definition of poison. Water is poisonous in enormous quantities, he observed, while “arsenic is a very good thing if it is used in certain compounds.”¹⁶ Steiner often articulated this evolutionary individualism in ways that implicitly rejected the more prescriptive guidance of Theosophical and *Lebensreform* writers. At the same time, the individualist approach effectively authorized Steiner’s students to freely choose specific practices promoted by those writers.

Steiner's second theme is an expanded vitalism according to which living bodies are built up not from the substances they consume but from subtle spiritual forces. This does not mean that the substances are irrelevant; on the contrary, it is important to consume just the right substances so as to catalyze the right forces. "Spirit exists," stressed Steiner, "but spirit must work in matter if it is to be effective on earth."¹⁷ Our task in digestion is to transform all the substances and forces that enter our body. Diseases like diabetes arise when "the human being does not find the connection with the spiritual of the cosmos for the substances present within him," and thus leaves those substances untransformed.¹⁸

Here Steiner drew on a deep and complex tradition. Vitalism refers to the view that living beings are governed by a set of laws that are distinct from the physical and chemical laws governing inorganic matter. Vitalism was the dominant approach to biology for much of the nineteenth century and a foundational assumption for both Sylvester Graham and the nutritional reformers who were part of the *Lebensreform* movement.¹⁹ When Graham warned of the dangers associated with the excessive stimulation of "animal spirits," he was referring to spiritual forces that are present in animals but not in vegetables or minerals.²⁰ During Steiner's lifetime, vitalism was seriously challenged by advances in agricultural chemistry, most notably the development of chemical processes for synthesizing ammonia and nitrogen-based fertilizers. Steiner's insistence on the organic approach in agriculture was thus a vitalist rebuttal to the emerging consensus of mainstream scientists that there was no essential difference between substances produced by chemical means and those produced biologically.

I refer to Steiner's vitalism as "expanded" because he posited four distinct types of forces operative in the natural world today, with the possibility of even more emerging in subsequent epochs. These four forces correspond to the mineral, plant, animal, and human "kingdoms" of nature. Using vocabulary borrowed from the Theosophical movement, Steiner usually referred to these as *physical* forces (operative in bodies of all sorts, including minerals), *etheric* forces (those that give life to all organisms), *astral* forces (operative only in animals and humans, and responsible for these organisms' relative freedom), and *ego* forces (unique to humans). As the highest form of nature (thus far), humans possess four bodies corresponding to the mineral, plant, animal, and human kingdoms; these correspond to other patterns of four in the natural and spiritual worlds, such as the elements of carbon, oxygen, nitrogen, and hydrogen. Steiner described the relationship among those elements in a manner parallel to that of Blavatsky, and both he and Blavatsky acknowledged the influence of the alchemists on this point.²¹

Steiner further taught that when the ego works on the other bodies, it generates three additional bodies: the spirit self, the life spirit, and the

spirit body. Blavatsky taught a similar sevenfold view of the human being, which she traced to Vedic, Persian, Egyptian, Neoplatonic, Kabbalistic, and other ancient sources. Steiner alluded to Blavatsky's Sanskrit terminology (*manas* for spirit self, *buddhi* for life spirit, *atma* for spirit body) even when he preferred Western alternatives—some of which could themselves be found in the Theosophical literature.²² Steiner departed most significantly from his Theosophical antecedents in the degree of emphasis he placed on connecting spiritual teaching to the practical problems of distinct professions, and since his death, members of the Anthroposophical Society have worked independently of Theosophists in developing his teachings further. Moreover, Steiner's nutritional teachings typically utilized the fourfold rather than sevenfold framework. Here one of the most important correspondences linked protein to the physical body, fats to the etheric body, carbohydrates to the astral body, and salt to the ego.²³

Steiner's detailed teachings—always structured as “facts” about reality rather than prescriptions about correct behavior—often centered on the same list of substances that preoccupied earlier nutritional reformers: caffeine, nicotine, alcohol, and especially meat. Typically, he identified parallels between the effects of certain substances and the spiritual development of the person. Coffee, he claimed in 1906, has the effect of “promoting logical consistency.” But it did not follow that people who want to be logical should drink lots of coffee. The same effect could be achieved internally by means of “practical logical exercises.” For many people, this would be preferable, since “coffee only promotes logical thinking in a way which is involuntary.” Thus, “if a person wishes to think logically but remain unfree he should drink a lot of coffee. But if he wants to think independently he must free himself precisely from those things which act on the lower parts.”²⁴ Likewise, Steiner said, alcohol “calls forth forces that otherwise would be called forth by the ego's inner penetration.” Without the conscious direction of the ego, such forces could turn people into slaves.²⁵

Steiner made a similar argument about meat. Digesting protein, he said, is parallel to the process of generating ideas, and if one has too much protein to digest, “they will be overwhelmed by the ideas that arise in a way of which they should become independent.”²⁶ Elsewhere he explained that animals transform the plants they eat by infusing them with astral forces, and a human who in turn eats an animal will “let the animal do part of the work that he would have had to do if he had eaten the plant food”—a process Steiner compared to binding up one's left arm until it becomes paralyzed.²⁷

By contrast, those who eat low-fat, plant-based foods will have to “make an inner effort to bring about the production of fats.” Through this inner activity, the vegetarian “is made free and thus becomes lord over his body. Otherwise, as a spiritual being he remains a mere

spectator.”²⁸ His own experience, Steiner said, had taught him the benefit of learning to make one’s own fat. “I could not otherwise have endured the strenuous exertion of these last 24 years!” he said, referring to his prodigious output of books and lectures.²⁹ On another occasion, Steiner said that while “there is an element in our plants that can be found also on other planets in our solar system,” animal life “is radically different from any corresponding kingdom on other planets.” For this reason, eating meat “binds the human being directly to the earth” and deprives people “of the forces that could free them from the earth.”³⁰

One might conclude from such passages that Steiner lifted up an abstemious veganism as the nutritional ideal, even if it was not an ideal that everyone could attain. That was the approach taken by many Theosophists during the same period, but Steiner’s position was different. While consuming meat or stimulants created one kind of bondage, he said, abstaining from them generated spiritual forces that would be dangerous if they were not used in a disciplined way. “Hence a vegetarian must also begin to lead a spiritual life, otherwise he would do better to remain a meat-eater.”³¹ Steiner taught that those who are developing inner powers must “become correspondingly active in the external world,” and that this activity sometimes required qualities of “stamina, courage and even aggressiveness” that were best fostered through the consumption of animal products. Finding an individual nutritional path thus required a healthy appreciation of paradox: humans “are to become progressively freer,” but sometimes need “the help of impulses spread out in the animal kingdom.” Spiritual freedom is a worthy goal but not an exclusive one, since humans “are placed within the whole of life.” For this reason, Steiner identified milk as “one of the most perfect foods,” because it provided access to animal forces “in the weakest possible form.” But he still took care to suggest that it was not the right nutritional choice for everyone.³²

ANTHROPOSOPHICAL NUTRITION AND BIODYNAMIC AGRICULTURE

Steiner’s specifically nutritional teachings dovetailed with the agricultural system, later known as biodynamics, that he presented in a 1924 course of lectures for farmers. Steiner had no formal training in agriculture, but it was his longstanding practice to offer lecture courses to specific professional groups (including teachers, doctors, and ministers) that applied the fruits of his clairvoyant spiritual research to their distinctive tasks. Biodynamics was the first international movement that rejected chemical fertilizers and pesticides on principle. It anticipated the rise of an “organic agriculture” movement in the late 1930s, and pioneered such foundational practices as organic certification and

(decades later) the system of community-supported agriculture (CSA) in which customers purchase shares of a farm's produce at the beginning of each growing season. In the Agriculture Course, Steiner was more willing to insist on specific agricultural practices than on nutritional ones, though he also urged the farmers to test his guidelines through their own on-farm experiences. In addition to asking them to refrain from chemical inputs, he urged them to treat each farm as a self-enclosed "organism," with few or no organic inputs from beyond the farm itself. Especially significantly in the present context, he insisted that no farm could be truly healthy without the presence of animals—a direct rebuke to such German contemporaries as Ewald Könemann (1899–1976), who in 1925 announced that his composting system would enable "farming without animals." Indeed, Steiner's opposition to chemical fertilizers put him in opposition to some *Lebensreform* leaders who supported such fertilizers because they would make animal-free agriculture possible.³³

Biodynamics, like Steiner's nutritional teaching, emphasized physical, etheric, astral, and ego forces more than the specific substances, notably nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium, emphasized by mainstream agronomists. Steiner rejected chemically synthesized fertilizers because they could not, by definition, be carriers of etheric or astral forces. Throughout the Agriculture Course, he repeatedly criticized the "coarse idea" that "foodstuffs are received from the outside and then deposited in the organism."³⁴ After all, he pointed out, most of the substances we take into our bodies are subsequently excreted out. Clearly, something subtler was the key to healthy growth and development. To ensure that farms would have the right balance of etheric and astral forces, Steiner gave astonishingly detailed instructions for the creation of homeopathic "preparations" that would vitalize the soil and the compost used to treat it. The first of these preparations is made by putting manure in a cow horn, burying it over the winter, diluting it, stirring it using a special technique intended to transfer forces from the manure to the water, and then spraying it over a field. Many of the other preparations are even more complex and, from the perspective of materialist science, befuddling. Steiner also explained that because different sorts of spiritual forces stream from the inner planets (Mercury, Venus, and the Moon) and the outer planets (Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn), a farmer must take the cycles of both the moon and the planets into account when deciding which plants to plant when. And he stressed that in order to keep all the forces in balance, a farm must be home to many kinds of plants and to both wild and domestic animals.³⁵

Steiner's insistence on the need for animals on any healthy farm has been significant for Anthroposophical foodways, since it ensures that virtually all biodynamic farmers produce animal as well as vegetable products. (A small number of farms achieve the needed balance of

animal and plant life by using draft animals instead of motorized machinery.) This insistence flows, first of all, from Steiner's belief that each kingdom of nature has a unique constellation of spiritual forces. The complexity of their interaction is why the farm must be treated as a living organism. The farm, Steiner explained in one passage, "evolves its astrality" through the presence of "fruit tree and forest," and animals "develop the real Ego-forces" when they eat the fruit. "These they give off in the dung, and the same Ego-forces will cause the plant in its turn to grow forth from the root in the direction of the force of gravity." Steiner suggested that the choreography of forces was unique to each locality, and for this reason he counseled against importing manures from other farms. "If in any farm you have the right amount of horses, cows and other animals, these animals taken together will give you just the amount of manure" that the farm needs to channel cosmic forces and thus turn chaos into new life.³⁶

Though Steiner's agricultural teaching rested on the same fourfold scheme of forces as his nutritional teaching, it had a more prescriptive tone. Repeatedly in the Agriculture Course, he provided his students with exact instructions to do things that they might not understand. It is no accident that biodynamic farmers pioneered organic certification, because Steiner's rules lent themselves to systematization. Yet the theme of individual freedom, so prominent in the lectures on nutrition, was not absent from the Agriculture Course. Because Steiner believed that each farm was home to a unique constellation of forces, he urged each farmer to develop a "personal relationship" to their farm and "above all—though it may be a hard saying—a personal relationship to the manure."³⁷

THE CONTEXT FOR ANTHROPOSOPHICAL NUTRITION

Steiner's nutritional teachings were in dialogue with two sets of interlocutors, and in both cases much of the point of the dialogue was Steiner's affirmation of spiritual freedom. On one hand were spiritual teachers, including leading Theosophists, who promoted vegetarian or raw food diets. Historically, the Theosophical Society had refrained from imposing any dietary rules on its members, on the grounds that it was a nondogmatic organization that honored individual freedom. Yet Helena P. Blavatsky affirmed categorically that "when the flesh of animals is assimilated by man as food, it imparts to him, physiologically, some of the characteristics of the animal it came from," with a resulting "coarsening" effect. She also claimed that "much disease . . . is very largely due to the eating of meat."³⁸ In 1913, just after Steiner's break with the parent Theosophical Society with international headquarters in Adyar, Madras (Chennai), India, that society published pro-vegetarian pamphlets by its two most important leaders of that era, Annie Besant

(1847–1933) and Charles W. Leadbeater (1854–1934). Both claimed that vegetarian diets were more nutritious than meat-based diets, but put their primary emphasis on an esoteric version of an animal rights argument. The suffering of animals being slaughtered and the degradation of the people slaughtering them, Besant and Leadbeater claimed, create “terrible vibrations” in the astral sphere that can be recognized by those with esoteric training. Besant herself experienced an intense “sense of oppression” when she rode a train into Chicago, which was then the world’s meatpacking capital. Leadbeater couched the message in extremely strong terms, describing the “pollution of flesh food” as “an awful crime” and an “abomination.”³⁹ Steiner was discomfited by similar attitudes among his students, even though his personal practice conformed to Besant and Leadbeater’s suggestions. Often, he introduced the topic of vegetarianism with a reminder that “it is no use being fanatical about these things.”⁴⁰

Steiner’s other interlocutors were mainstream scientists and nutritionists. He poked particular fun at the changing guidelines about protein consumption. German scientists and life reformers had been debating how much protein humans need to thrive since the 1840s, and a particularly intense debate raged following Carl Voit’s 1875 recommendation that every German worker eat at least 118 grams of protein per day. Other researchers soon discovered that German vegetarians, and Japanese people generally, managed with far less. The debate’s geopolitical dimension was placed in stark relief during World War I, when Germany experienced food shortages. Advocates on both sides insisted that their preferred diet was more conducive to military prowess, and vegetarians noted that Germany could more easily attain agricultural self-sufficiency if it eschewed the inefficient production of meat.⁴¹ Steiner’s response was characteristically individualist: he rejected the very notion of a universally applicable standard. Citing the case of a friend who brought scales to every meal in order to follow the experts’ ever-changing advice, Steiner insisted that individual instincts and tastes are more reliable than a “crude” science that relies on measurements and “everything that is carried on in the laboratories.”⁴²

THE ANTHROPOSOPHICAL MIDDLE PATH

Many Anthroposophists honor Steiner’s emphasis on individual freedom by choosing a middle path between a spiritually inflected veganism and the meat-heavy Western mainstream. This may be a vegetarianism that is heavy on dairy and eggs or an omnivorous diet that is light on meat, especially red meat. At the Anthroposophical Society’s international headquarters in Dornach, Switzerland, only vegetarian meals are served, but one can easily enjoy a rich quiche. I recently dined at the

Naturata restaurant in Germany's Rengoldshausen Cultural Area, an important center of Anthroposophical activity since the 1920s. My entrée was a sweet potato gratin that was packed with vegetables and drenched in butter; my eating companion enjoyed a huge plate of asparagus with a crepe and creamy sauce. The adjoining grocery store had a wide variety of fresh greens and whole grains, and at its center was a large cooler that was filled three quarters full with luxury cheeses from nearby dairies, leaving only one quarter of its space for the store's selection of biodynamic meats. Back home in Somerville, Massachusetts, the biodynamic products I can most consistently find in my local cooperative (which has no affiliation with Anthroposophy) tend to be yogurts, both those from the Seven Stars Dairy in Pennsylvania and from New York's Hawthorne Valley Association. The best known brand of organic yogurt in the United States, Stonyfield Farm, also traces its origins to Anthroposophy, though its commitment to biodynamics was abandoned long before it was bought out by Dannon.⁴³

The distinctive flavor of Anthroposophical food can be tasted by those who follow recipes from the many cookbooks that are explicitly Anthroposophical in orientation. Many Anthroposophical initiatives have inspired cookbooks, and the approach of these cookbooks is exemplified by the works of Wendy Cook, author of both a comprehensive guide to nutrition (*Foodwise*, published in 2003) and *The Biodynamic Food & Cookbook* (2006). Cook, like many others, came to Anthroposophy via the New Age movement, and her work offers a window on the interplay between New Age and Anthroposophical dietary practices. She was a popular London hostess during her marriage to satirist Peter Cook in the 1960s and 1970s. She became interested in holistic nutrition at the instigation of her asthmatic daughter Daisy, and this led the family to Findhorn in Scotland because they had heard that "vegetarianism was the underpinning for their spiritual and physical life together." At Findhorn, Cook met environmentalist Paul Hawken, who told her that he had used macrobiotics to cure his asthma. She then spent four years studying macrobiotics with Aveline Kushi, a United States-based teacher of macrobiotics and founder of natural food grocery stores.⁴⁴

Also at Findhorn, Cook met a family with six children who impressed her so much that she decided to enroll her own two children in the school they attended. This was Michael Hall, a Waldorf school located in Forest Row, England. Forest Row is also home to Emerson College, a school that functions as the major center of Anthroposophical activity in the United Kingdom. Cook pursued training in nutrition there, studying with Gerhard Schmidt, an Anthroposophical doctor who began synthesizing Steiner's scattered nutritional teachings in the 1970s.⁴⁵ Simultaneously, Cook introduced the Anthroposophical chefs to popular macrobiotic ingredients such as tamari, miso, and seaweed.⁴⁶ Around this time she had an experience that highlighted the distinction between

Anthroposophy and macrobiotics, at least from her perspective. She attended a wedding between a leader in the macrobiotics movement and a French woman. In honor of their two communities, the banquet featured both macrobiotic and French cuisine. But given a choice between tofu cheesecakes and “tempting lemon cream mousses, . . . the vast majority of the macrobiotic guests descended on the French food.” Cook recalled, “This taught me a lesson about fanaticism, which I must say I encountered in the movement and even in myself.”⁴⁷

For Cook, the primary value of Steiner’s nutritional approach is that it provides an antidote to what she sees as the “fanatical” tendency to see one’s own dietary path as right for everyone. She sums up Steiner’s nutritional “bottom line” as: “If you don’t enjoy your food it will not do you a tremendous amount of good.”⁴⁸ In the introduction to *Foodwise* she offers more questions than rules: “How come there is so much malnutrition in the world when there are grain and butter mountains, wine lakes, vegetables ploughed back into the soil, and where food policies are creating a new kind of slavery?” “If everybody became vegetarian what would the fate of the domestic animals be?” She even turns some of Steiner’s claims into questions: “How could it be that vegetarian nutrition could support spiritual work better than a meat-eating diet, but that not everybody actually could manage to be a vegetarian even if they wanted to?”⁴⁹

Cook expands the last question into an entire chapter called, appropriately, “The Question of Vegetarianism.” She stresses that “compassion for animals, spiritual discipline, environmental considerations, health and financial reasons” are all at stake in this momentous choice. Yet she insists that “I am not trying to convert the reader to vegetarianism (personally I favour the ‘middle way’). The intention is to air different perspectives, including those arising from Steiner’s work.” Accordingly, she recites the common argument that human digestive organs are designed for omnivorous diets, adds Steiner’s qualification that “this ‘did not provide proof against the possibility of transformation,’” and then qualifies the qualification by noting that “this could take many generations.” She highlights the Ayurvedic distinction between sattvic (mostly alkaline), rajasic (balanced), and tamasic (acidic) diets, but then notes that a wise person might choose a sattvic diet in order to support a spiritual life or a rajasic diet “if we wish to be in the competitive thrust of the business world, or do heavy physical work.” On the other hand, she has little sympathy for the tamasic flavors of highly processed foods. The fact that so many people choose these is, for her, simply a reason to ask “where do these addictions stem from?”⁵⁰

Though *Foodwise* has an implicitly vegetarian structure, with chapters devoted to every food group except meat, the recipes in her cookbook are far from exclusively vegetarian. She presents them in chapters devoted to each of the four seasons. Each chapter opens with a poem,

followed by descriptions of Christian, Pagan, and Jewish festivals. Then come soups, meat and fish entrees, vegetarian entrees, and desserts. Of sixteen meat entrees, none include beef or pork. Instead, eight feature fish or seafood, three lamb, two chicken, and one each use pigeon, pheasant, and rabbit. In the vegetarian sections, I could find only one truly vegan recipe (Coca Mallorquina, a cheeseless pizza that Cook discovered in Mallorca), though seven more contained no eggs or dairy other than butter. Fourteen recipes combine abundant vegetables with equally abundant eggs and dairy. Among them are watercress, goat's cheese and asparagus roulade in spring; stuffed courgettes in summer; piroshky stuffed with wild mushrooms and walnuts in autumn; and souffléed polenta pie in winter.⁵¹

Ultimately, Cook presents choice as both a nutritional and a spiritual value in its own right. She concludes *Foodwise* by asserting, in line with Steiner's teaching, that "our higher ego is being formed by the way we make choices in life and by the motives behind them." Then she draws the corollary: "When we are fortunate enough to have choices (and there are many who do not), can we make them from the perspective of 'What is ultimately good for me is also good for the rest of the world,' so that out of egotism we can rise to a new kind of egohood that is self-governing and aligned to the good of the whole? . . . The purpose of the world is Love."⁵²

THE VEGAN WING: ALAN CHADWICK

Cook's cookbook reveals the center of Anthroposophical food culture. But that culture also has two strong wings, one inclined toward veganism and the other emphatically pro-meat. In the United States, these wings can be traced to two individuals, Alan Chadwick (1909–1980) and Sally Fallon (b.1948), who are the remote sources of the contrasting sensibilities I witnessed at the table in Vermont. Neither Chadwick nor Fallon identified publicly as a member of the Anthroposophical Society, and both are selective in their use of and adherence to Steiner's teachings. When committed students of Steiner embrace their nutritional philosophies, they often do so as an expression of their own spiritual freedom to make individual dietary choices.

As the founding gardener of the organic campus garden at the University of California, Santa Cruz, Alan Chadwick made biodynamics an integral part of the "California cuisine" that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet he was far from a card-carrying Anthroposophist. Chadwick described himself as a "child" rather than a student of Steiner. He emphasized some aspects of biodynamics (such as the value of planting by lunar and planetary cycles) while ignoring others (such as the homeopathic preparations). He also ignored Steiner's insistence that a healthy farm include domesticated animals. He greatly

preferred animals of the wild variety; when asked for advice on controlling garden pests, he insisted, “We want more insects, more butterflies. They’ve been eradicated. We want them back by the millions.”⁵³ Still, Chadwick’s influence was enormous, both within and beyond the biodynamic movement. Among his garden interns were Sherry Wildfeuer, who now edits the *Stella Natura* biodynamic planting calendar, and Stephen Decater, who founded the first community-supported farm west of the Mississippi.⁵⁴

Chadwick’s influence on cuisine flowed primarily through his Buddhist connections, though he would eventually make his way to the Paul Solomon Center in West Virginia, which had been founded by a trance teacher inspired by Edgar Cayce. While at Santa Cruz, Chadwick befriended the Zen monks of Tassajara Zen Mountain Center (a monastery affiliated with the San Francisco Zen Center) and encouraged them to supplement their discipline of bread baking with a monastic garden. After his explosive temper led the university to fire him from his staff position, he designed an extensive garden for a new lay monastery, Green Gulch Farm Zen Center, also affiliated with the San Francisco Zen Center and much closer to the city than Tassajara. This allowed the San Francisco Zen Center, along with chef Deborah Madison, to create the Greens Restaurant in San Francisco in 1979. Madison’s mentor, Alice Waters also began sourcing produce for her restaurant, Chez Panisse, at Green Gulch. Since Waters, Madison, and the Tassajara monks all published multiple cookbooks, their garden-centered cuisine spread far beyond their restaurants. Another influential cookbook of the 1970s, *Laurel’s Kitchen*, emanated from a nearby Gandhian ashram whose garden was modeled on the one at Santa Cruz.⁵⁵ None of these books are vegan, but most place green vegetables, freshly picked from the garden, at the center of their culinary vision.

The tendencies found in Madison’s cookbooks stretch even further in several recent texts published by Lantern Books, a press that often features books that reflect Anthroposophical values without being directly rooted in Anthroposophy. (Lantern’s cofounder and president, Gene Gollogly, is also president of Steiner Books.) Among Lantern’s recent publications is a new edition of Mark Mathew Braunstein’s *Radical Vegetarianism*, a vegan manifesto first published in 1981. Braunstein’s spiritual argument for veganism nods to Steiner by citing his question “What must we eat so that we are not merely the product of what we eat?” and by renouncing any dietary prohibitions that do not “come from within.” “One should no more compel another to eat one’s food than to be oneself,” Braunstein writes, “because one’s food becomes oneself. Not everyone is intended to be a vegetarian.” Yet Braunstein’s goal is to enhance human beings’ sentimental awareness of the other life forms, and thus turn us into “a better sort of carnivore” through the voluntary renunciation of animal foods.⁵⁶ Other Lantern

publications include Brian McCarthy's *The Vegan Family Cookbook* (2006) and a collection of essays called *Sistah Vegan: Black Female Vegans Speak on Food, Identity, Health, and Society* (2010). Edited by A. Breeze Harper, this text is richly spiritual in its sources, with contributors drawing on Yoruba teachings, African diasporic traditions, the writings of Dick Gregory and Audre Lorde, and ideas emanating from Eastern and New Age spiritual centers such as the Omega Institute, the Kripalu Center, and the International Biogenic Society.⁵⁷ Lantern has thus built a bridge between Anthroposophical and other spiritual approaches to nutrition, including approaches that might be classified as both "New Age *sensu stricto*" and "New Age *sensu lato*."

THE ANIMAL FAT WING: SALLY FALLON

Thus far, Lantern has not published anything by Sally Fallon, whose level of connection to Anthroposophy is similar to that of Braunstein. Fallon is the most prominent contemporary proponent of the work of Weston Price, a dentist who was one of many food reformers who searched the world in the early twentieth century for unusually healthy communities. Several founding figures in the organics movement zeroed in on communities who ate lots of vegetables, fruits, and whole grains.⁵⁸ Price shared those reformers' antipathy to refined grains and modern conveniences, but he added a twist. Even groups that consumed large quantities of saturated fat, he claimed, maintained excellent health so long as they retained their traditional diets. By contrast, members of the same ethnic groups who ate "refined grains, canned foods, pasteurized milk and sugar" had a host of degenerative diseases, as well as crooked teeth and narrow faces. His conclusion was that most traditional diets reflected the wisdom of long experience, while most modern innovations were suspect.⁵⁹

The subtitle of Sally Fallon's *Nourishing Traditions* (first published in 1995) provides a clue about both the book's content and its relation to Steiner's principle of dietary freedom. Fallon presents her work as *The Cookbook that Challenges Politically Correct Nutrition and the Diet Dictocrats*. One might expect a somewhat edgier variation on Steiner's insistence that no single diet be "dictated" to all eaters. She makes much of the fact that some people are lactose intolerant and others have trouble digesting grains. Like Steiner, she indulges in occasional anti-modernist rhetoric, but ultimately strikes a balanced position, calling for technology (which she genders as masculine) to work together with "his motherly, feminine partner—the traditions of our ancestors."⁶⁰ Both she and Steiner are hostile to refined grains and pasteurization, though she is significantly more hostile to sugar; both she and Steiner believe that both grazing livestock and wild animals are essential to the health of ecosystems.

Likewise, Fallon insists that biology should not be dietary destiny because humans are continually evolving. We should not eat exactly the same way as our most primitive ancestors because “we are not fundamentally cave men but beings with a divine component.” Thus, she suggests, vegetarianism might be the right choice for “those of a spiritual nature” who long to “return to a former, more purified state of consciousness.” She even cites the mystic Therese Neumann’s (1898–1962) practice of living only on the communion host as a valid example—for some. But, like Steiner, she adds a caution: meat-eaters can also be spiritual beings who accept, “reverently and humbly, the requirements of the earthly body temple.” Vegetarians, moreover, are sometimes guilty of “a kind of spiritual pride that seeks to ‘take heaven by force.’”⁶¹

Ultimately, Fallon offers some dictates of her own, and they diverge significantly from Steiner’s dairy-friendly middle path. She warns against exclusive reliance on plant protein, and writes categorically that “strict vegetarianism is particularly dangerous for growing children and for women—and men—during their child-producing years.” Though she seems to presuppose the value of fresh vegetables, she barely discusses them, and she treats fat—especially saturated fat—as the most important food group. Her recipes—in sharp contrast to every other cookbook discussed in this essay—give fatty meats central place. She offers a whole chapter of raw meat appetizers, salads containing anchovies, and a tofu soup that also contains beef stock. She devotes more than one hundred pages to “The Main Course,” subdivided by types of meat. In addition to beef, pork, chicken, and fish, “organ meats” merit eighteen pages, and “game” another twelve. A shorter chapter on vegetables reminds readers that they should not “hesitate to put butter on your steamed vegetables.” Yet her “guide to food selection” also recommends whole grains and seeds while repudiating “newfangled foods” such as processed meat, bleached flour, margarine, and MSG—advice that resonates with many of the previously discussed cookbooks.⁶²

The most important bridge between Fallon’s work and Anthroposophy is Thomas Cowan, an Anthroposophical doctor who discovered both Rudolf Steiner and Weston Price while serving as a Peace Corps volunteer in Swaziland. Like other Anthroposophical doctors, he pursued a conventional medical school education alongside his training in Anthroposophy. In the late 1980s he established a clinic in Peterborough, New Hampshire, near many prominent Anthroposophical initiatives.⁶³ Cowan’s practice provided him with an ideal base for spreading Price’s ideas among Anthroposophists. He also got to know Jaimen McMillan, a movement teacher and therapist who introduced a system known as Spacial (spelled with a “c”) Dynamics around the same time Cowan arrived in New Hampshire. Spacial Dynamics builds on the work of Fritz von Bothmer (1883–1941), who

created a system of gymnastic exercises at the request of Rudolf Steiner in 1921.⁶⁴ McMillan blended Bothmer's work with his own training in fencing, karate, Aikido, and Tai Chi. Above all, he devoted himself to the idea that "space is not a void—space is alive," and that healthy movement requires a conscious relationship with the space that surrounds us.⁶⁵

In 2004 Thomas Cowan invited Sally Fallon and Jaimen McMillan to join him in writing *The Fourfold Path to Healing*, a comprehensive manual of holistic health built around Steiner's fourfold view of humanity. Cowan identified the four bodies as physical, life-force, emotional, and mental, using terms that do not sound esoteric but can in fact be found in Theosophical rather than Anthroposophical literature. He linked these bodies to distinct modalities of healing: the physical body to nutrition, the life-force body to "therapeutics" (i.e., medicine in the usual sense), the emotional body to movement, and the mental body to meditation. Cowan invited Fallon to write the nutrition chapter and McMillan to write the movement chapter. He wrote the other two himself.⁶⁶

The overall approach of *The Fourfold Path to Healing* is notably combinative. The chapter on therapeutics draws on the "threefold" model of organ systems that Steiner learned from Paracelsus, but it also builds on Edgar Cayce's psychic "readings" of the people who came to him with medical complaints. Fallon's chapter on nutrition opens with one of Weston Price's core principles: holistic nutrition is not about "fixing what's broke" but about emulating those cultures that "have been healthy for many generations." She moves quickly to the crucial and controversial claim that "the absolute fundamental requirement of healthy diets [can be found] only in certain types of animal fats." She even introduces a "Fat Pyramid," modeled on the USDA Food Pyramid, that places saturated fats at the wide base, mono-unsaturated fats in the middle, and poly-unsaturated fats at the narrow top. Fallon invokes Rudolf Steiner primarily to support her claim that healthy food should be easy to digest. Part of Steiner's nutritional philosophy was that the entire physical substance of food must be transformed by our digestive system, or else it will lead to imbalance and disease. On this basis, Fallon recommends plenty of salt (which activates digestive enzymes in saliva), sprouting of grains and legumes, lacto-fermented foods, and enzyme-rich raw food. Much of this advice coincides with that of Anthroposophical nutritionists, yet Fallon misses a crucial dimension of Steiner's point about the need to transform our food. Though he thought it was important to transform all our food, he did *not* recommend that we choose the easiest path for doing so, but rather the path that is appropriate to our individual level of spiritual development. Fallon is more faithful to Steiner when she invokes him in support of balance. "Rudolf Steiner warned," she writes, "against any dietary formulations . . . that separated individuals from their fellow

men during meal times. . . . The provision of food for the physical body . . . requires a healthy balance between two extremes—one that pays no attention to food at all and one that makes a fetish out of eating.”⁶⁷ Clearly, she recognized that Steiner’s principle of freedom provided the needed link between his dietary philosophy and her own.

UNITING THE WINGS

Despite the obvious differences between Sally Fallon’s nutritional vision and that of Alan Chadwick, their foodways often appear in close proximity. This is especially so on biodynamic farms and in Anthroposophical initiatives that include biodynamics. As a rapidly expanding movement of farmers eager to sell their products as widely as possible, biodynamics cannot restrict itself to the food preferences of card-carrying Anthroposophists. To some extent, it must go where the markets are. The most rapidly growing segment of biodynamics is currently wine production, in part because the biodynamic ethos of the self-enclosed farm organism has great potential to create *terroir*, or a distinctive local flavor in wine. On a tour of biodynamic farms in southern Germany, I visited one that specializes in hops. Such endeavors run counter to Steiner’s warnings about the spiritual effects of alcohol, yet they have been enthusiastically embraced by the movement. The magazine of the Biodynamic Association in the United States even devoted a recent issue to cannabis production.⁶⁸

Likewise, both agricultural and economic factors push biodynamic farmers to cater to diverse diets. The Anthroposophical taste for cheese generates an enormous amount of whey, a byproduct of cheese production. Pigs like to eat whey, so cheesemakers often produce pork even where there is no market for biodynamically (or even organically) certified pork. Biodynamic organizations, in turn, actively strive to create such a market. Other biodynamic farmers, keenly aware that prairie ecosystems require large grazing animals in order to be healthy, specialize in grassfed beef or even buffalo.

One of the biodynamic movement’s contributions to the contemporary food movement is the idea of “community supported agriculture,” in which a farm provides a standard weekly share to its customers. This impulse grew out of the desire of farmers in the 1980s to incorporate Steiner’s ideas about economic cooperation into their practice, and has since spread rapidly to nonbiodynamic (but still mostly organic) farms.⁶⁹ The typical CSA share consists mostly or entirely of produce, ideal for consumers in the tradition of Alan Chadwick. Yet biodynamic CSAs are more likely than their nonbiodynamic counterparts to offer meat, dairy, and egg shares as well. At my local farmer’s market in Somerville, Massachusetts, the single

biodynamic vendor is also the one that offers the widest selection of meat and cheese. Biodynamic producers are also clustered at the very top of the Cornucopia Institute's rankings of dairy producers for their commitment to animal welfare.⁷⁰

When biodynamic farmers gather on a national or international basis, the menu is remarkably diverse. In 2016 I attended the Biodynamic Association's biannual conference, held in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Acolytes of both Alan Chadwick and Sally Fallon found plenty to enjoy. For the vegetarians there was Mexican-style bean and vegetable soup, vegetarian baked beans, vegetable Napoleon, quinoa cake with Romanesco sauce, and Southwestern Caesar salad with crispy garbanzo beans, jicama, carrots, and seasoned pumpkin seeds. Most meals had large salad bars with plenty of vegetable protein as well as tomatoes, cucumbers, carrots, black olives, beets, broccoli, cauliflower—not to mention eggs, cheddar cheese, cottage cheese, and croutons. The meat-eaters could enjoy a different flavor with each meal: pork enchiladas, achiote-seasoned pork chop, pan-seared Atlantic salmon, blue corn meal-crusting fresh trout with cilantro rice, roasted turkey breast, and a “healthy BBQ” with pulled pork, chicken, and beef as well as tofu. Those whose instincts led them to sweeter flavors also enjoyed pear and fig sweet empanadas, a pinenut and red chile chocolate mousse tower with raspberry coulis, and spiced bourbon bread pudding with pumpkin sauce. The conference also included a public celebration at the local Farmers' Market. That menu included beef meatballs from Meadowlark Farm, pork and jalapeno tips from Lyver's Farm, three cheese selections from Lifeline Farm, lettuce wraps from White Duck Farm, and biodynamic wines from three different vineyards. Amid such variety, few could avoid honoring Steiner's principle that food choices “depend on the personal circumstances of the individual.”

CONCLUSION

The lavish banquet in Santa Fe was an expanded version of the co-existing foodways I experienced at Heartbeet. When students of Rudolf Steiner make divergent food choices, they honor their teacher's emphasis on spiritual individuality. When biodynamic farmers produce an ever-wider range of products for consumers within and beyond the Anthroposophical movement, they honor the same vision—and provide an important counterbalance to the more rigid principles underlying biodynamic certification. And when Anthroposophists and biodynamic farmers observe Steiner's principle of spiritual freedom, they invariably find themselves in relation with practitioners of other spiritual groups: the New Agers of Findhorn, the Buddhists of Tassajara, adherents of macrobiotics and Tai Chi and Yoruba spirituality, and many more

traditions. One hundred years after its founding, the Anthroposophical movement thus remains a vital contributor to larger patterns of spiritual ferment, as well as to diverse and tasty meals.

ENDNOTES

¹ Rudolf Steiner, “Nutrition from a Cosmic Perspective” [GA 145], trans. Jann Gates, in Steiner, *Nutrition: Food, Health and Spiritual Development*, compiled and edited by Christian von Arnim (Forest Row, England: Rudolf Steiner Press, 2008), 43. Because many of Steiner’s lectures have appeared in multiple translations, I will provide the number assigned to each text in the German edition of Steiner’s collected works (the *Rudolf Steiner Gesamtausgabe*, or GA).

² Ehrenfried Pfeiffer, “Preface,” in Rudolf Steiner, *The Agriculture Course* [GA 327], trans. George Adams (London: Bio-dynamic Agricultural Association, 1958), 7. This text, like most English translations of Steiner’s work, is freely available online through the Rudolf Steiner Archive, www.rsarchive.org.

³ Gerhard Schmidt, *The Dynamics of Nutrition: The Impulse of Rudolf Steiner’s Spiritual Science for a New Nutritional Hygiene*, trans. Gerald F. Karnow (Wyoming, RI: Bio-Dynamic Agriculture, 1980); Wendy Cook, *Foodwise: Understanding What We Eat and How It Affects Us: The Story of Human Nutrition* (Forest Row, England: Clairview Books, 2003). My own book, *Eco-Alchemy*, examines biodynamics primarily in relation to environmentalism rather than nutrition. See Dan McKanan, *Eco-Alchemy: Anthroposophy and the History and Future of Environmentalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018).

⁴ Steiner, “Nutrition in the Light of Spiritual Science” [GA 68], trans. Marie St. Goar, *Nutrition*, 6.

⁵ Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 9–10.

⁶ Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 496–516.

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⁸ Sally Fallon, *Nourishing Traditions: The Cookbook that Challenges Politically Correct Nutrition and the Diet Dictocrats*, with Mary G. Enig, rev. 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: New Trends Publishing, 2001); Weston A. Price, *Nutrition and Physical Degeneration: A Comparison of Primitive and Modern Diets and Their Effects* (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1939).

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- ¹¹ Stephen Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980).
- ¹² Corinna Treitel, *Eating Nature in Modern Germany: Food, Agriculture, and Environment, c. 1870 to 2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Florentine Fritzen, “Changing the World with Müsli,” *German Research* 3 (2009): 11–14.
- ¹³ Steiner, “Nutrition in the Light of Spiritual Science,” 6.
- ¹⁴ Steiner, “The Effects of Alcohol” [GA 348], trans. Matthew Barton, *Nutrition*, 162.
- ¹⁵ Steiner, “Nutrition and Health” [GA 96], trans. Christian von Arnim, *Nutrition*, 176–77.
- ¹⁶ Steiner, “Nutrition and Health,” 172.
- ¹⁷ Steiner, “The Effects of Protein, Fats, Carbohydrates and Salts” [GA 350], trans. Christian von Arnim, *Nutrition*, 133.
- ¹⁸ Steiner, “The Penetration of Substance with Spirit” [GA 230], trans. Matthew Barton, *Nutrition*, 26.
- ¹⁹ Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet, and Debility*.
- ²⁰ Sylvester Graham, *A Lecture to Young Men on Chastity: Intended Also for the Serious Consideration of Parents and Guardians*, 4th ed. (Boston: George W. Light, 1838), 55.
- ²¹ Steiner, *Agriculture Course*, 42–56; H. P. Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine* (London: Theosophical Publishing Company, 1888), 2:592–93.
- ²² Steiner, *Outline of Esoteric Science* [GA 13], trans. Catherine E. Creeger (Hudson, NY: Anthroposophic Press, 1997), 30–58; H. P. Blavatsky, *The Key to Theosophy* (London: Theosophical Publishing Company, 1889), 90–108; Blavatsky, *Secret Doctrine*, 2: 590–641.
- ²³ Steiner, “The Effects of Protein, Fats, Carbohydrates and Salts,” 138.
- ²⁴ Steiner, “Nutrition and Health,” 175.
- ²⁵ Steiner, “Nutrition in the Light of Spiritual Science,” 19.
- ²⁶ Steiner, “Nutrition and Health,” 178.
- ²⁷ Steiner, “The Effect of Occult Development Upon the Self and the Sheaths of Man” [GA 145], available online at <https://www.rsarchive.org/GA/index.php?ga=GA0145>, accessed 23 May 2018.
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- ³⁰ Steiner, “Nutrition from a Cosmic Perspective,” 41–42.
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- ³² Steiner, “Nutrition in the Light of Spiritual Science,” 15–20.
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- ³⁶ Steiner, *Agriculture Course*, 140–41, 39–40.
- ³⁷ Steiner, *Agriculture Course*, 69.
- ³⁸ Blavatsky, *Key to Theosophy*, 260.
- ³⁹ Annie Besant, *Vegetarianism in the Light of Theosophy*, Adyar Pamphlet No. 27 (Adyar, India: Theosophical Publishing House, 1913), 13–15, available online at https://www.anandgholap.net/AB_Vegetarianism_In_Light_Of_Theosophy.htm, accessed 23 May 2018; C. W. Leadbeater, *Vegetarianism and Occultism*, Adyar Pamphlet No. 33 (Adyar, India: Theosophical Publishing House, 1913), available online at https://www.anandgholap.net/Vegetarianism_And_Occultism-CWL.htm, accessed 23 May 2018.
- ⁴⁰ Steiner, “Effects of Plant, Raw Food, Vegetarian and Meat Diets,” 115.
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- ⁴² Steiner, “Healthy Nutrition and the Quality of Food” [GA 354], trans. Matthew Barton, *Nutrition*, 77–80.
- ⁴³ McKanan, *Eco-Alchemy*, 151–52.
- ⁴⁴ Cook, *Foodwise*, 9–10.
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- ⁴⁷ Wendy E. Cook, *The Biodynamic Food & Cookbook: Real Nutrition that Doesn't Cost the Earth* (Forest Row, England: Clairview Books, 2006), 15.
- ⁴⁸ Cook, *Biodynamic*, 16.
- ⁴⁹ Cook, *Foodwise*, 12–13.
- ⁵⁰ Cook, *Foodwise*, 134–35.
- ⁵¹ Cook, *Biodynamic*.
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- ⁵³ Alan Chadwick, “The Vision of Biodynamics,” video lecture at the Urban Garden Symposium, 13 Nov. 1974, <http://www.alan-chadwick.org/html%20pages/lectures/urban-gardening-symposium/urban-garden-symposium-1974-part2.html>.
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- ⁵⁵ Edward Espé Brown, *The Tassajara Bread Book* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1970); Deborah Madison, *The Greens Cookbook: Extraordinary Vegetarian Cuisine from the Celebrated Restaurant*, with Edward Espé Brown (New York: Bantam, 1987); Laurel Robertson, Carol Flinders, and Bronwen Godfrey,

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⁵⁸ Robert McCarrison, *Studies in Deficiency Disease* (London: H. Frowde and Hodder & Stoughton, 1921); Guy Theodore Wrench, *The Wheel of Health* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1938).

⁵⁹ Fallon, *Nourishing Traditions*, xi-xii.

⁶⁰ Fallon, *Nourishing Traditions*, 3, 31, xii.

⁶¹ Fallon, *Nourishing Traditions*, 31.

⁶² Fallon, *Nourishing Traditions*, 29, 367, 64–65.

⁶³ “About Us: Board of Directors,” The Weston A. Price Foundation, <https://www.westonaprice.org/about-us/board-of-directors/>, accessed 10 May 2018.

⁶⁴ Bothmer gymnastics are the lesser known of two movement traditions inspired directly by Steiner. The other is eurythmy, which was developed by Marie Steiner-von Sivers (1867–1948) and is more akin to dance than to gymnastics.

⁶⁵ “Jaimen McMillan,” Spacial Dynamics Institute, <https://www.spacialdynamics.com/jaimen-mcmillan/>, accessed 10 May 2018.

⁶⁶ Thomas S. Cowan, *The Fourfold Path to Healing*, with Sally Fallon and Jaimen McMillan (Washington, DC: New Trends, 2004).

⁶⁷ Cowan, *Fourfold*, 11–24.

⁶⁸ “Biodynamic Cannabis: What Does It Mean for Agriculture and for the World?” *Biodynamics* 288 (spring/summer 2017).

⁶⁹ McKanan, *Eco-Alchemy*, 141–52.

⁷⁰ “Organic Dairy Report,” Cornucopia Institute, <https://www.cornucopia.org/dairysurvey/>, accessed 29 May 2018.