CHAPTER 1

Wholeness and Exuberance

In May 1978, the Berlin-based *BUG Info* (*Berliner Undogmatischer Gruppen*), the city's most widely read alternative magazine, invited its readers to travel to Monte Verità at Lago Maggiore in Switzerland. 'We will gather celebrating, dancing, thanking and commemorating', the invitation pronounced. A number of anniversaries were to be celebrated, most notably the 77th anniversary of the foundation of the rural commune (*Landkommune*) at Monte Verità in 1900, but also, as the invitation explained, the 100th birthdays of its founder, Gusto Arthur Gräser (who was, in fact, only one of several founders); 'its poet', Hermann Hesse; 'its psychologist', Otto Gross; 'its revolutionary', Erich Mühsam; and the 'pioneer of female emancipation', Franziska von Reventlow; as well as the 'dancer and fighter pioneer of female emancipation', Isadora Duncan.

> Come to the ball of dreams in Baladrume, on the traces of Hermann Hesse and Gusto Gräser, through the valley of peace to the heathen's cave to the rock of the holy ape … [Come to] the dance of green power, to the mountain and valley, to the folk and joy festival [*Volks- und Freudenfest*] of alternative dreamers … [Come to] market and fair, dance and theatre, music and magic, saying and singing, hiking and going, gaming and fighting, to desire, love and exuberance, to the great going-with-one-another [*Miteinandergang*], to the holy wrapping-each-other [*Ineinanderschlag*] … come to Monte Verità, come to Ascona, come![1]

The organizers promised nothing, but hoped that, if enough people would show up, numerous 'working groups [*Arbeitsgruppen*]' would be formed on various themes of concern for the alternative movement, such as ecology, the Third World, soft (*sanfte*) technologies, but also 'women and mothers', 'dance, music, theatre', 'self presentation, self experience', 'psychotherapies', or 'religion today: east and west'.

[1] Anon., 'Fiesta, Ascona, Monte Verità', in *BUG Info* 1021, 22 May 1978, 3. The magazine was slightly renamed to *BUG Info* after internal conflicts at *Info BUG* in December 1977.

The festival took place again in the following years. But not everything went well, as Margret from Munich explained in the aftermath of the August 1980 festival in the local *Blatt*.[2] On the positive side, people engaged in a variety of interesting activities. For many, music, 'a medium independent of language', played a major role. Others did 'something like gymnastics, mixed with breathing exercises, Tai Chi, Eurhythmia'. However, problems emerged soon enough. A local farmer, while allegedly an anarchist himself, complained that he did not want to see women walking around with bare breasts, and that attendees had contaminated his font by brushing their teeth in it. The increasingly dire food situation at the festival gave reason for conflict amongst the attendees. The festival ended prematurely after only two days.

The festival provides an interesting glimpse into the complexity of the alternative left and the themes activists were interested in, ranging from the liberation struggles in the Third World, to overcoming the limitations of (rational) language by playing music. At least some activists saw themselves and their 'desire, love, and exuberance' as part of a longer tradition, though by no means always uncritically. The organizers of the festival, a group from the Swabian village of Schelklingen, considered the aforementioned left-wing life reformers (*Lebensreformer*), whether they were dancers, psychologists, or founders of the Monte Verità community, an inspiration for the present. Others, however, pointed out that the community at Monte Verità had turned into a profit-oriented business rather quickly, and worried that the same might happen to the alternative left.[3] Critics saw a dangerous parallel between desires to return to nature that were popular in the early twentieth century, and a contemporary fascination with oriental mysticism. This step, they argued, was not a mingling of leftist politics and mysticism, but a replacement of the former by the latter. Even Erich Mühsam, celebrated by the group from Schelklingen, had in fact written a highly critical and sarcastic account the community at Ascona.[4]

The festival at Ascona points us, critical voices aside, to the traditions alternative leftists could and did build upon for developing their critique of an inauthentic world that lacked spaces for feelings and desires. Taking a look at an imaginary leftist bookshelf as its starting point, this chapter

[2] Margret, 'Monte Verità, eine Reise zum Berg der Reformen, oder: zum Bermudadreieck des Geistes', in *Das Blatt* 178, 15–28 August 1980, 18–20.
[3] For a critique, see Anon., 'Monte Verità: Wohl eher beängstigende Gedanken zu einer Ausstellung', in *Traumstadt* 5, n.d., probably spring 1979, 20–22.
[4] Erich Mühsam, *Ascona: Eine Broschüre* (Locarno: Carlson, 1905 [reprint, Berlin: Verlag Klaus Guhl, 1982]).

explores some of these traditions. Coming mostly from educated middle-class backgrounds, leftists were often eager readers. On their bookshelves, we might find the heavy blue volumes of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* next to Michael Ende's *Momo*, a children's book,[5] and the writings of Carlos Castaneda about his encounters with Mexican Native American shamanism in northern Mexico. For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on those texts that allow us to reconstruct the intellectual traditions on which alternative leftists built.[6] These included, not surprisingly, thinkers such as Wilhelm Reich and Herbert Marcuse, who combined Marxism with Freud, but also less widely known leftist Freudians like Otto Gross and Siegfried Bernfeld, who were rediscovered in the 1970s. Turning from theory to fiction, we might find the works by American Beat Poets like Allan Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac who formulated an artistic critique of the lack of authenticity in modern American society. Perhaps less often read, but nevertheless influential for the formation of alternative politics was the Situationist International who had criticized modern everyday life for its deadly boredom.

Most surprisingly, however, we might find books associated with German life reform movement that had emerged around 1900. Indeed, books like Hans Paasche's *Die Forschungsreise des Afrikaners Lukanga Mukara ins innerste Deutschlands*, originally published in 1921, or Erich Scheurmann's *Der Papalagi: Die Reden des Südsee-Häuptlings Tuiavii aus Tiavea*, originally published in 1920, had politicized more people in the alternative scene than Marx and Engels, activist Klaus-Bernd Vollmar argued in *Ulcus Molle*. Using fictional 'savages' from Africa and the South Sea, both authors provided a critique of contemporary German society describing it as deeply unhappy due to Germans' alienation from nature. While Germans were engaged in purposeless businesses, they lost the connection to their own bodies, the authors suggested. Lungs and air were filled with smoke, bodies were covered with tight clothes, and people lived in stone cages. Europeans did not use money to purchase things that might make them happy, the authors charged, but bought useless things. Constantly under the pressure to work, they had no time to actually enjoy

[5] See my discussion in Joachim C. Häberlen, 'Ingrid's Boredom', in *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970*, ed. Ute Frevert et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[6] On left-wing book publishers in the 1970s, see Uwe Sonnenberg, *Von Marx zum Maulwurf: Linker Buchhandel in Westdeutschland in den 1970er Jahren* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016). A good source to get a sense of what leftists were reading is the magazine *Ulcus Molle*, an 'information service' for the alternative scene that discussed relevant (old and new) publications.

life. And instead of simply regarding everyone as a human being, people had to be categorized according to their profession, which made them single-minded, both fictional characters criticized.[7]

While the influence of writers like Herbert Marcuse and Situationist Guy Debord on the New Left is widely recognized, the life reform movement of the early twentieth century is rarely considered in histories of the post-1968 left. Only Christoph Conti, an author with clear sympathies for the alternative left, argued in 1984 that the life reform movement, the youth movement that emerged slightly later, and the alternative movement of the 1970s, were all 'alternative movements' who said 'farewell to the bourgeoisie'.[8] This chapter thus presents a prehistory of the alternative left that differs from most accounts of New Left in West Germany. While scholars have frequently turned to subcultures like the *Halbstarke* and *Gammler*, student protests in the early 1960s, and the of role foreign students for mobilizing West German students, the chapter suggests considering the alternative left of the 1970s as part of a longer tradition that reaches back to the alternative life reform movement at the turn of the century.[9]

Discussing life reformers and the youth movement, Freudian Marxists, Beat Poets, and the Situationist International, the chapter inquires why alternative leftists in the 1970s found such movements inspiring for their own political project. The chapter thus works on two consciously dissonant temporal registers. It is at one and the same time historical as it is giving a historical narrative that leads to the alternative left of the 1970s, and genealogical as it is looking back from the 1970s to trace where elements of alternative politics and subjectivities come from.[10] In different ways, all the groups and movements under discussion here developed

[7] KBV (=Klaus Bernd Vollmar), 'Politische Überlegungen zur Alternativliteratur', in *Ulcus Molle* Sonderinfo 3, December 1976, 10–16. He was referring to Hans Paasche, *Die Forschungsreise des Afrikaners Lukanga Mukara ins innerste Deutschlands* (Hamburg: Verlag Junge Menschen, 1921); Erich Scheurmann, *Der Papalagi: Die Reden des Südsee-Häuptlings Tuiavii aus Tiavea* (Buchenbach: Felsen-Verlag, 1920). Both books were republished in the 1970s.

[8] Christoph Conti, *Abschied vom Bürgertum: Alternative Bewegungen in Deutschland von 1890 bis heute* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1984). See also briefly Sven Reichardt, *Authentizität und Gemeinschaft: Linksalternatives Leben in den siebziger und frühen achtziger Jahren* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014), 58.

[9] For conventional views, see Timothy S. Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Antiauthoritarian Revolt, 1962–1978* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

[10] See Maren Möhring's suggestive comment that a history of the present has to start at the turn of the century: Maren Möhring, 'Ethnic Food, Fast Food, Health Food: Veränderungen der Ernährung und Esskultur im letzten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts', in *Vorgeschichte der Gegenwart: Dimensionen*

critiques of (capitalist) modernity that evolved around the notion that the conditions of modern society inhibited an 'authentic' life, that is, a life 'according to (human) nature'. These authors and activists criticized what they perceived as the domination of abstract rationality, exemplified by urban living conditions that damaged and deformed individual subjects, their bodies, and their feelings. This was not, as traditional Marxism would have it, a critique of class society and exploitation, but a critique of the social conditions that shape human subjectivity. For alternative leftists more concerned with their 'living practices [*Lebenspraxis*]' than with big theories, as Vollmar had noted, such critiques were highly appealing.[11] And these movements offered more than just critiques on which leftists in the 1970s could build; they also offered models for living a more authentic life, for example by openly showing feelings or searching for permanent transgressions. All this made those movements deeply fascinating for alternative leftists longing for a life that would break with what they perceived as the domination of abstract rationality.

Placing the alternative left in these traditions, however, does not mean that leftists in the 1970s simply reproduced what others had done before them. Both the critiques of the inauthentic world and what people did in order to live an authentic life changed dramatically. Life reformers, for example, sought to create healthy and wholesome bodies, whereas the Beat Poets celebrated fragmentation and ecstasy. Investigating a variety of precursors of the alternative left thus also highlights how leftists in the 1970s were innovative and produced something genuinely new. Above all, alternative leftists of the 1970s conceived of their search for an authentic life as something deeply political and anti-capitalist. Life reformers and Beat Poets had, by contrast, rarely regarded their critiques of the inauthentic world or their efforts to live a more authentic life as political. Freudian Marxists like Reich and Marcuse and the Situationist International, however, began to formulate a different understanding of the political for which questions of subjectivity became central; working on the self thus came to be regarded as an inherently political act. Analysing these issues, the chapter contributes to an understanding of how the 'personal' *became* political, an understanding of the political that not only implied that 'changing the self' would be necessary for 'changing the world', but also that regimes of subjectivity could and should become the object of political

des Strukturbruchs nach dem Boom, ed. Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, Lutz Raphael, and Thomas Schlemmer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprech, 2016), 331.

[11] Vollmar, 'Politische Überlegungen'.

critique. The chapter, in other words, also provides an outline of a genealogy of a peculiar understanding of the political and the politics of subjectivity.[12]

While the first three sections of the chapter discuss these more distant and literary influences – the life reform and youth movements; Freudian-Marxist thinkers; and Beat Poets and the Situationist International – the final section turns to teenage subcultures in West Germany that more immediately preceded the revolts of 1968 and the subsequent emergence of the alternative left: the *Halbstarke* and *Gammler*. These subcultures did not leave traces on leftist bookshelves, but the counterhegemonic practices of subjectivity developed in these groups informed the later alternative left. They are thus part of the genealogy this chapter outlines.

'A Rediscovery of the Body': Life Reformers and the Youth Movement

In 1900, a small group of men and women decided to turn their backs on bourgeois life. Hoping to escape from 'the old social order, or rather disorder, with the goal of a more personal life and a more personal way of living' and pursuing a 'desire for freedom', as Ida Hofmann-Oedenkoven wrote, they searched for a place to build a rural commune.[13] They finally found it at Lago Maggiore in Switzerland, where they found the commune of Monte Verità that the leftists from Schelklingen celebrated some eight decades later. To fulfil their 'desire for freedom', the members of the commune abolished private property, ploughed the land together, and followed a vegetarian diet. Working half or completely naked, they hoped to experience freedom from restrictive clothing in a bodily sense. Soon enough, the commune became famous and attracted numerous visitors, among them literary authors like Hermann Hesse – who later wrote about his experiences at Ascona in *Demian* – and Gerhard Hauptmann, dancers like Rudolf von Laban and Isadora Duncan, and Max Weber.[14]

[12] See also the contributions in Uffa Jensen and Maik Tändler, eds., *Das Selbst zwischen Anpassung und Befreiung: Psychowissen und Politik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012)

[13] Ida Hofmann-Oedenkoven, *Monte Verità: Wahrheit ohne Dichtung* (Lorsch: Karl Röhm, 1906), 7. Quoted in Ulrike Voswinckel, *Freie Liebe und Anarchie: Schwabing – Monte Verità. Entwürfe gegen das etablierte Leben* (Munich: Allitera-Verlag, 2009), 13.

[14] On Monte Verità, see Yme Kuiper, 'On Monte Verità: Myth and Modernity in the Lebensreform Movement', in *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer*, ed. Jitse Dijkstra, Justin Kroesen, and Yme Kuiper (Leiden, ND: Brill, 2010); Voswinckel, *Freie Liebe*; Harald Szeemann, ed., *Monte Verità: Lokale Anthropologie als Beiträge*

The commune at Monte Verità was part of a broader life reform movement, in the context of which also Paasche and Scheurmann had published their books. The life reform movement was a complex and diverse phenomenon. It included a variety of associations and leagues (*Bünde*) that all promoted reforming individual life in one way or another to make it more 'healthy', ranging from a vegetarian diet to natural healing, (nude) swimming, and sun bathing.[15] In the absence of any central organization, it is impossible to provide accurate numbers of how many people joined these various associations and leagues. All in all, the mostly middle-class membership of these organizations reached several hundred thousands, though it is unclear how active individual members were.[16] Mostly, these associations promoted a way of living that would be 'according to nature [*naturgemäß*]' by organizing lectures or by providing members with an opportunity to engage in their preferred activities, be it vegetarian cooking or naked sunbathing. Around the same time, the youth movement, most famously the *Wandervogel* emerged, first in Berlin, then in other German cities.[17] Even though the youth movement frequently distanced itself from the life reformers, it shared similar ideals of a life 'according to nature' in modern society. Mostly, those teenagers – initially mostly boys, though later girls joined – wanted to escape from parental and school authorities.[18] To this

zur Wiederentdeckung einer neuzeitlichen sakralen Topographie (Milan: Electa Editrice, 1979); Gernot Böhme, 'Monte Verità', in *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, ed. Kai Buchholz et al. (Darmstadt: haeusser-media, 2001).

[15] About the life reform movement and its attempts to create healthy bodies, see in general Wolfgang R. Krabbe, *Gesellschaftsveränderung durch Lebensreform: Strukturmerkmale einer sozialreformersichen Bewegung im Deutschland der Industrialisierungsperiode* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974); Diethart Kerbs and Jürgen Reulecke, eds., *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen, 1880–1933* (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1998); Kai Buchholz et al., eds., *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt: haeusser-media, 2001); Eva Barlösius, *Naturgemäße Lebensführung: Zur Geschichte der Lebensreform um die Jahrhundertwende* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus Verlag, 1997); Marc Cluet and Catherine Repussard, eds., *'Lebensreform': Die soziale Dynamik der politischen Ohnmacht* (Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 2013); Avi Sharma, *We Lived for the Body: Natural Medicine and Public Health in Imperial Germany* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014).

[16] On organizational matters and the social profile of the life reform movement, see Krabbe, *Gesellschaftsveränderung*, 131–166; Barlösius, *Lebensführung*; Matthew Jefferies, 'Lebensreform: A Middle-Class Antidote to Wilhelminism?', in *Wilhelminism and Its Legacies: German Modernities, Imperialism, and the Meanings of Reform, 1890–1930*, ed. Geoff Eley and James Retallack (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003).

[17] On the youth movements, see most recently Rüdiger Ahrens, *Bündische Jugend: Eine neue Geschichte, 1918–1933* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015). See also Thomas Rohkrämer, *Eine andere Moderne? Zivilisationskritik, Natur und Technik in Deutschland, 1880–1933* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999), 141–156; Peter Stachura, *The German Youth Movement: An Interpretative and Documentary History* (London: Macmillan, 1981).

[18] Rohkrämer, *Andere Moderne?*, 143–145. See in general also Marion E. P. de Ras, *Körper, Eros und weibliche Kultur: Mädchen im Wandervogel und in der Bündischen Jugend* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus,

end, they hiked through Germany, 'rediscovering' both nature and rural life, and, even more importantly, their own bodies.[19]

A lithography published by Eduard Bilz, a renowned naturopath, in his 1905 book *Der Zukunftsstaat* (translated as *The State of the Future*), neatly illustrates the social critique of the life reform movement, and the future society life reformers envisioned that would ensure 'everybody's happiness and carefree living', as the subtitle of Bilz's book stated.[20] The left side of the picture depicts 'today's society': a chained young girl; workers in a factory labouring for ten hours a day, as the inscription says; a bedroom with closed windows, sickness, smokers, and the family of an alcoholic; overcrowded mental institutions and prisons; and violence. The right half, by contrast, depicts the 'people in the state of the future'. It shows a young girl with a torch, men celebrating 'liberty, equality, fraternity', women in wide and shoulder-free dresses performing a round dance in open nature, bare-breasted men working for three hours in a garden, and a 'happy family'. At the centre of the illustration stand lightly dressed men and women and naked children enjoying nature – picking fruits, praising the sun, swimming in the river and dancing together.

The lithography captures a social critique common amongst life reformers. At the core of this critique was the notion that urban, industrial society, but also more fundamentally the domination of rationality and 'bloodless science' prohibited people from living according to their nature.[21] In the modern world, 'words, concepts, and abstraction' ruled, but not senses and aesthetics, Robert Breuer, a left leaning life reformer,

1988). For an interesting source, see Leopold Fulda, *Im Lichtkleid! Stimmen für und gegen das gemeinsame Nacktbaden von Jungend und Mädchen im Familien- und Freundeskreise* (Rudolstadt: Verlag Gesundes Leben, 1924).

[19] On hiking on the life refom movement, see Judith Baumgartner, 'Licht, Luft, Sonne, Bergwelt, Wandern und Baden als Sehnsuchtsziele der Lebensreformbewegung', in *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, ed. Kai Buchholz et al. (Darmstadt: haeusser-media, 2001).

[20] F. Eduard Bilz, *Der Zukunftsstaat: Staatseinrichtung im Jahre 2000. Neue Weltanschauung. Jedermann wird ein glückliches und sorgenfreies Dasein gesichert* (Leipzig: F. E. Bilz Verlag, 1904). The image is reproduced and discussed in Klaus Wolbert, 'Die Lebensreform – Anträge zur Debatte', in *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, ed. Kai Buchholz et al. (Darmstadt: haeusser-media, 2001); Diethart Kerbs, 'Die Welt im Jahre 2000: Der Prophet von Oberlößnitz und die Gesellschafts-Utopien der Lebensreform', in *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, ed. Kai Buchholz et al. (Darmstadt: haeusser-media, 2001).

[21] Quote from Charly Strässer, quoted without reference in Michael Andritzky, 'Einleitung', in *'Wir sind nackt und nennen uns Du'. Von Lichtfreunden und Sonnenkämpfern. Eine Geschichte der Freikörperkultur*, ed. Michael Andritzky and Thomas Rautenberg (Giessen: Anabas, 1989), 5.

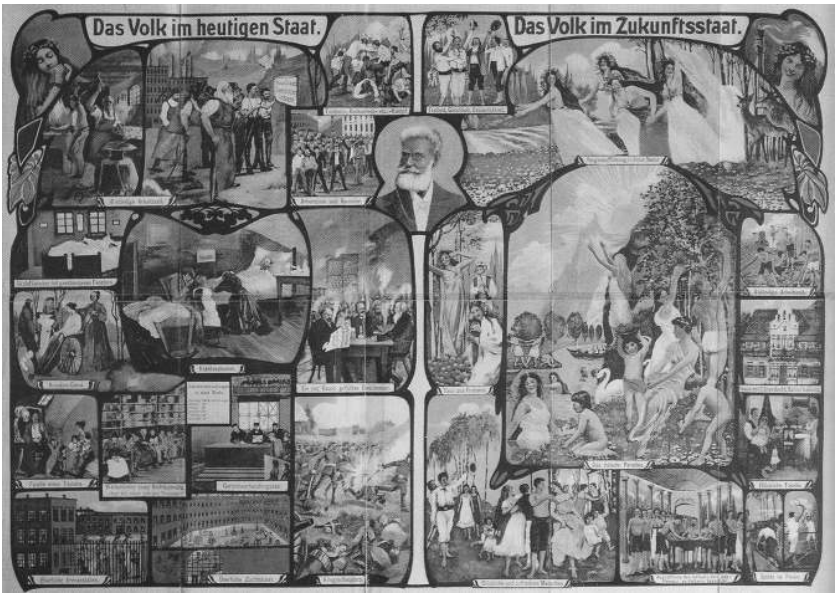

Figure 2 'The people in the state of the future'.
(Friedrich Eduard Bilz, *Der Zukunftsstaat*.)

wrote in an essay called 'Beauty as *Weltanschauung*'.[22] The ideals depicted in the lithography would have resonated with alternative leftists in the 1970s. Unlike them, however, life reformers argued that modern, rational life was unnatural. Bilz for example claimed that men were guided 'by their modern reason, which is however an artificial product that originates from specific social relations that are not in accordance with nature [*den jeweiligen naturwidrigen Verhältnissen entspringt*]'. Animals, by contrast, would live according to their instincts, which, Bilz claimed, never erred.[23] Along similar lines, reform pedagogue Gustav Wyneken praised the youth movement that would break with the 'autarchy [*Alleinherrschaft*] of reason' by promoting the acting out of a 'passionate affirmation of drives [*leidenschaftlicher Triebbejahung*]'. Disregarding cultural conventions, the

[22] Robert Breuer, 'Schönheit als Weltanschauung', *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 23 (1908/09): 154. Quoted in Kai Buchholz, 'Lebensreform und Lebensgestaltung: Die Revision der Alltagspraxis', in *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, ed. Kai Buchholz et al. (Darmstadt: haeusser-media, 2001), 363.
[23] Bilz, *Zukunftsstaat*, 361.

youth movement called for the 'emancipation of life', Wyneken rejoiced.[24] The rationalization of the world, these authors implied, and following them a number of modern scholars studying those movements, had left no space for instincts and emotionality – an argument many leftists would have subscribed to.[25] Living a life according to nature was thus rendered impossible, unless people made conscious efforts to reform their lives. Yet the celebration of a natural life did not imply a general rejection of modernity and a desire to recreate to premodern living conditions.[26] Rather, both life reformers and the youth movement wanted to create conditions for such a life *within* modern society. Tellingly, they frequently relied on scientific arguments when proposing more healthy life styles.

Most importantly, life reformers were concerned about the natural health of the human body that was, in their understanding, damaged in modern society. Reforming life would thus require working on the body.[27] One way to achieve this was to change dietary habits.[28] In particular, life reformers called for stopping eating meat. For example, in the foreword of a vegetarian cookbook, Joseph Springer argued that apes, evolutionarily closest to humans, lived by a diet consisting mostly of fruits. Eating meat was therefore, he argued, not part of human nature, as the fact that 'exotic' peoples in Australia or Africa had not eaten meat until Europeans had arrived would prove.[29] For Springer and other life reformers, eating meat poisoned the body, especially kidneys and liver, and caused illnesses such as gout and rheumatism.[30] Meat consumption also influenced people's mood. Killing animals, Springer argued, resulted in a 'dulling of empathy

[24] Gustav Wyneken, 'Der weltgeschichtliche Sinn der Jugendbewegung', in *Der Kampf für die Jugend*, ed. Gustav Wyneken (Jena: Diederichs, 1919). Quoted in Rohkrämer, *Andere Moderne?*, 155.

[25] See for example Rohkrämer, *Andere Moderne?*; Michael Andritzky and Thomas Rautenberg, eds., *'Wir sind nackt und nennen uns Du': Von Lichtfreunden und Sonnenkämpfern. Eine Geschichte der Freikörperkultur* (Giessen: Anabas, 1989).

[26] Rohkrämer, *Andere Moderne?*, 151–152.

[27] See above all the pioneering study by Maren Möhring, *Marmorleiber: Körperbildung in der deutschen Nacktkultur (1890–1930)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). See also Ulrich Linse, 'Das "natürliche" Leben: Die Lebensreform', in *Erfindung des Menschen: Schöpfungsträume und Körperbilder, 1500–2000*, ed. Richard van Dülmen (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998); Sharma, *We Lived for the Body*.

[28] See for example Sabine Merta, *Schlank! Ein Körperkult der Moderne* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008), 50–54; Karl E. Rothschuh, *Naturheilbewegung, Reformbewegung, Alternativbewegung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983), 109–117; Krabbe, *Gesellschaftsveränderung*, 50–77; Judith Baumgartner, 'Ernährungsreform', in *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen, 1880–1933*, ed. Diethart Kerbs and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1998); Judith Baumgartner, both 'Vegetarismus' and 'Antialkoholbewegung', in *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen, 1880–1933*, ed. Diethart Kerbs and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1998).

[29] Anna Springer, *Vegetarisches Kochebuch. Mit einer Einleitung: 'Wie sollen wir leben?' von Joseph Springer* (Berlin: Verlag Lebensreform, 1907), II.

[30] Ibid., VI–VIII, XI.