

HEATHEN IMPERIALISM

Julius Evola

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JULIUS EVOLA'S DISCUSSION OF *IMPERIALISMO PAGANO*

“Fascism took shape in the turmoil of the immediate post-war years. There was the March on Rome and Mussolini came to power. Obviously, I could not but sympathise with all those who fought leftwing forces and the democratic regime. It was however necessary to discover the real purpose for which this struggle had been undertaken. When I spoke of my early youth, I mentioned how nationalist infatuation put me off. Also, the so-called ‘military nobility’ – the artillery and the cavalry – had formed certain impressions during the war regarding the assault platoons, often made of rather dubious elements, which reappeared in the ‘black shirts’. In my opinion the really necessary revolution would have been a ‘revolution from above’, led by the Sovereign, who should have not allowed Mussolini to present himself to him as the representative of the ‘Italy of Vittorio Veneto’ⁱ, but should have claimed this dignity for himself, and accordingly acted resolutely to restore the state, and to put down the subversion which was sweeping through it.

Leaving aside the socialist and proletarian origin of Mussolini, the republican and ‘laicist’ (i.e., secularist) tendencies of Fascism before the March are well-known. Its fusion with nationalism rectified these tendencies, but, at the same time, it reduced the revolutionary *vis* of Fascism by strikingly embourgeoisifying it, as Italian nationalism was really no more than an expression of the middleclass and of its dull, catholicising, conformist traditionalism. A strong Right, on an aristocratic, monarchical, and military basis, such as the one which had asserted itself in central Europe, was nonexistent in Italy. However, Mussolini had avoided any worse outcome than this, and, when, later, he strove to assert the ideal of the Roman state, when he thought he could

oppose the forces which had come to prevail in Europe as a result of the upheaval of the war, and give shape to a new, disciplined, virile, combative type of Italian, it seemed that the critical point was overcome.

Imperialismo pagano originated in my relationship with Giuseppe Bottai. He and I were of the same age, he had been an artillery officer in my regiment, and he had taken part in the Futurist movement, which, as is well-known, proclaimed its allegiance to Fascism in the immediate post-war years. He was eager to be one of the 'intellectuals' of the movement, and edited the review *Critica Fascista*, which allowed him to demonstrate considerable freedom of opinion. My conversations with Bottai led me to propose 'stirring up the waters' by launching a revolutionary program which would express the Fascist vision of life so uncompromisingly that it would be able to tackle the problem of the compatibility between Fascism and Christianity. Bottai found this idea exciting, so I wrote articles along those lines for his review. But, as soon as the ultimate objective of the manoeuvre became apparent, and the idea was expressed that a 'heathen imperialism' was the only orientation conceivable for a consistent and courageous Fascism, a scandal broke out. Owing to the unofficial character of Bottai's review, the organ of the Vatican, the *Osservatore Romano*, bluntly demanded explanations concerning the extent to which such ideas were to be tolerated in Fascism. A true avalanche of attacks from the entire chain of newspapers served by the relevant agency followed, and the scandal was even echoed from abroad. There was a reason for these disproportionate reactions: the Concordat had not been signed yet, and it was feared that someone behind the scenes wanted to spoil the game. After matters took this turn, Bottai showed me the same fidelity which later, when Fascism was in crisis, he showed Mussolini: he let me down; he did not even give me the opportunity to reply to the most absurd accusations of the

Guelf press, but washed his hands of the whole matter, by stating that these articles, “while reflecting Fascist suffering” (?), were the sole responsibility of their author.

I pursued the subject under my own steam. In a book – specifically, *Imperialismo pagano*, published in 1928 – I reasserted and developed the theses of these articles, while replying to my adversaries. The book, now unavailable, was subtitled *Il fascismo dinanzi al pericolo eurocristiano – con una appendice polemica sulle reazioni di parte guelfa*ⁱⁱ. Its introduction mentioned ‘anti-Europa’ⁱⁱⁱ, and formed a rough prelude to what I was to call later the “revolt against the modern world”. It began as follows:

“Western civilisation needs a complete overhaul or it will fall apart one day or another. It has realised the most complete perversion of any rational order of things. Reign of matter, of gold, of machine, of number, it no longer possesses breath, or liberty, or light. The West has lost the sense of command and obedience. It has lost the sense of Action and of Contemplation. It has lost the sense of hierarchy, of spiritual power, of man-gods. It no longer knows nature ... Nature has decayed to an opaque and fatal exteriority, the mystery of which profane sciences seek to ignore by means of their little laws and their little hypotheses. The West no longer knows Wisdom ... the superb reality of those in whom the idea has become blood, life and power ... The West no longer knows the state: the state-value, the Imperium, as synthesis of spirituality and royalty...

What war is, pursued as a value in its own right...as that sacred path to spiritual fulfilment ... that is what these formidable European ‘activists’ no longer know, who no longer know warriors but only soldiers ... Europe has lost its simplicity, has lost its centrality, has lost its life. The democratic evil corrodes it

throughout, from its roots to its flowers such as law, sciences, and speculative thought. Leaders – beings who distinguish themselves, not by violence, by their gold, the ability of exploiters of slaves, but, on the contrary, by their irreducible qualities of life, there are none. Europe is a big insignificant body ... a great body tossing and turning, driven by obscure and unpredictable forces, which crush implacably anyone who tries to oppose it or merely avoid its shackles. All this Western ‘civilisation’ has been able to do. This is the vaunted result of the superstition of ‘Progress’ – beyond Roman imperiality, beyond bright Hellas^{iv}, beyond the ancient East, beyond the great Ocean. And the noose tightens everyday around those who are still capable of the great loathing and the great rebellion.”

After discussing other considerations, I asked: “Can Fascism be the principle of an anti-European restoration? Is Europe capable today of the level of awareness necessary for such a task?” I acknowledged that “Fascism arose from below, from confused demands and from raw forces unleashed by the European war”, and that it “has fed on compromises, has fed on petty ambitions and on petty people. The state organism which it has built is often uncertain, clumsy, violent, not free, not devoid of misunderstandings” (Let us note that, in the supposedly loathsome atmosphere of Fascist dictatorial ‘oppression’, such things could be said and published). But I also stated that, looking around, I could see nothing to act “as basis and as hope”. Could Fascism assume this task?

In the book that followed, I must acknowledge the impulse of radical thought, making use of a violent style, combined with a youthful lack of moderation and political sense, and with a utopian unawareness of the real situation. In the various chapters, however, I described the conditions which would be required in order for Fascism to be a true and necessary revolution, not

merely in the socio-political field, but, first and foremost, in the field of the general vision of life, of the world and of the divine itself. Thus, I not only attacked democracy and egalitarianism – though other tendencies within Fascism which I saw as negative, such as mere nationalism, Mazzinianism, and neo-Hegelianism, were not spared – but also I mentioned the values to be opposed to economism, scientism, modern technicism, and Faustian activism. Castes were spoken of, and reference – rather inopportune and counterproductive reference, given the cultural horizons of the circles I intended to address – was even made to sapiential or Eastern ideas.

The most scathing aspect of the book was its attack on the religious problem, and the obviously convincing character of my thesis elicited many alarmed reactions. I asked to what extent the essential values of Fascist ‘ethics’ were compatible with Christian ones, and whether it was not mere stale rhetoric to recall Rome and its symbols without reviving also its inseparable counterpart, the spirituality of heathenism, irreducible to Christianity. I rejected in the clearest manner the identification dear to the Guelfs between the Roman tradition and the Catholic one, and denounced it, as, in this respect, a usurpation (Catholic ‘Romanity’). And I returned to the theses of my scandalous articles of *Critica Fascista*: “The premise is that, in its purest form, Fascism identifies itself with the will to empire; that its recalling of the Eagle and of the Fasces must be more than mere rhetoric; that this is the condition for it to represent something new: not a pretend revolution, but an heroic resurrection.” Once these premises were indicated, I stated: “If Fascism is the will to empire, then it is only by returning to the heathen tradition that it will really be true to itself and will be able to provide the fire in the soul which is lacking right now, and that no Christian belief will be able to give it.”

In the face of the ultimate dilemma, I championed ‘Ghibellinism’: “Fascism is faced with this dilemma: either to stop at the empire as a mere material organisation – and then it can leave room for the Church, it can tolerate it, confirming its prerogative over those things of spirit which remain extraneous to this empire, which, in this respect, will thus remain subordinate to it. Alternatively, in order to realise the true idea of the empire, which, *in primis et ante omnia*, is an immanent spiritual reality, the Church must be removed from power and subordinated to the state, within the limits of the broad toleration which a state can concede conditionally to international associations, such as the Church is.” This was the political aspect. The other aspect was the intrinsic and ineradicable antithesis with respect to values and visions of the world. Obviously, the centre of my concern, though passing through the stage of Ghibellinism and Romanity, was already shifting towards what I was to call later and generally the ‘Traditional’ state, combining at its apex both political power (the imperium) and actual spiritual authority.

Its lack of these larger points of reference, and its stress on anti-Christian controversy, represent essential limitations to that pugnacious book of mine: limitations already apparent in its title, since, in reality, there was no reason to speak of ‘imperialism’ – this modern term, designating a negative tendency, being almost always connected with exaggerated nationalism – and since ‘pagan’ is a rather derogatory word, used specifically by Christians to designate something to be excluded and opposed. Instead, I should have introduced, via historical references, the idea of ‘Roman traditionality’. Just as ambiguous was the reference to a poorly defined ‘Mediterranean tradition’ – an idea which, in fact, I abandoned, or rectified, quite quickly thereafter.

The practical and political challenge represented by *Imperialismo pagano* was as ignored as if it had not been published at all.

Certainly, Mussolini did not read the book: someone must have given him a short and tendentious idea of it. The Fascist leadership preferred to pass it over in silence, and thus, in a regime with a controlled press, the few reviews or reactions appeared only in second-rate papers and periodicals. Since the book sold, more or less, the immediate adherence of certain independent Fascist circles could however have been expected: but this was the case only to a rather small extent. Reghini himself remained very reserved, and viewed with disfavour my resumption and development of some of his ideas, even though, tacitly, we actually agreed on these matters.

However, abroad, especially in Germany, reactions were different. German readers assumed that the book was the product, not of some sort of captain without troops, but rather of an important current of Fascism, of which I was the leader, a current similar to some of those which, in Germany, increasingly tended to put the 'struggle over worldview' at the centre of the political fight, and which found there a more favourable soil than in Italy. Thus, I soon came to have the reputation of being a representative of 'Ghibelline Fascism'. This reputation was consolidated when, in 1933, *Imperialismo pagano* was published in German translation (by Armanen Verlag of Leipzig), but with a notably expanded, revised and even modified text, in which many fundamental ideas were rephrased in such a way that they also applied to Germany (the translator stated that "it brought to light theses of general value, which, therefore, can act as creative forces even within German culture"): Ghibellinism was emphasised, coupled with a more concrete reference to Swabian tradition, and the problem of the relationship between the two civilisations, Roman and Germanic was tackled. (Ghibellinism, the true Nietzsche, and the hierarchical idea were the three main points mentioned by the publisher of the German book as providing the best starting-points for constructive discussion).

The symbolic meaning of the phrase, ‘anti-European revolt’ was broadened: I proposed as the basic myth for restoration, that of the ‘Two Eagles’, the Nordic and the Roman, and, more concretely, I proposed a return to what had already been expressed by the Triple Alliance. This could seem to foreshadow the idea of the Axis. But even leaving aside the fact that the German translation of my book was published before National-Socialism and Hitler came to power, to imagine that I really led or represented a ‘current’ would be simplistic and inaccurate, given the great diversity of planes. (...) There is no reason to discuss in detail the parts of *Imperialismo pagano* which were added or modified in the German edition, since, in many respects, these are foreshadowings and variant expressions of the ideas of one of my main works, which I started to write only in 1930, and which was published only in 1934, that is, *Revolt against the Modern World*. (...)” (*Il cammino del cinabro*, Vanni Scheiwiller, Milan, 1972, p.76-82).

ⁱ Vittorio Veneto is the small Italian town in which the Italians won a decisive battle against the Austrians on the 28th of October, 1918, thus putting an end to the first world war on the Italo-Austrian front.

ⁱⁱ ‘Fascism faced with the Euro-Christian peril – with a controversial appendix on the Guelf reactions’.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Antieuropa* was a paper published by Asvero Gravelli, who was a Fascist of ‘the first hour’ and, later, one of the most significant figures of the second Fascist wave, as a member of the national department of the PNF (Fascist National Party) and the Grand Council: during the 1930’s, he embodied the ideal of Fascist internationalism, and of a dynamic, permanent revolution against the ‘old’ democratic Europe, which would define the outlines of a

new, Fascist Europe. *Antieuropa* was the main forum for advocates of Fascist internationalism, and the title of this paper became the name of their movement. Gravelli claimed, in the manifesto of *Antieuropa* (1929, vol. 1, pp.113) that “Fascism was the sole unifying and saving idea for Europe”, and “mentioned Italy as the only possible leader-nation of a possible process of unification as heir to the Roman imperial tradition” (S. Soave, *Idea d’Europa*, in *Dizionario del fascismo*, Einaud, Turin, 2002 vol. I, p. 495). He explained the paradoxical title in a later statement (1930, no. 5): “Fascism is anti-European, because the present Europe, in the throes of a spiritual and material crisis, is still at least partially under the influence of the ‘immortal principles’ (of the French Revolution – ed.), while vast sections of society look to Moscow. Given this Europe, Fascism is anti-Europe. The anti-Europeanism of Fascism is not an end in itself, but a provisional historical position, which will last until Fascism has enabled Europe to regain its ideal and spiritual equilibrium, the starting point of a new European role in the world. (...) Fascism transcends democracy and liberalism; its regenerative action is based on the granite foundations of the following ideas: hierarchy; the participation of the whole population in the life of the state; social justice in the equitable distribution of rights and duties; the infusion of public life with moral principles; the affirmation of religious values; the prestige of the family; and the ethical interpretation of the ideas of order, authority and liberty. In the light of these transcendent principles, Europe will be able to enter a new phase of History.” It may be interesting to note that the October 1933-March 1934 issue of *Antieuropa* was entirely devoted to articles intended to undermine the principles of National-Socialist anti-Semitism. In *Il cammino del cinabro* (p. 101), Evola called A. Gravelli a “true blackmailer”: “The attack we launched against [him and other squadrists] was specifically the result of certain distortions of our ideas, for which they were

responsible, with the aggravating circumstance of the Fascist approbation irresponsibly accorded to them.”

^{iv} “beyond bright Hellas” is actually not part of this list, in *Imperialismo pagano*, where Evola says: “beyond Roman imperality, beyond the ancient East, beyond the great Ocean”.

PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

There are so many additions and changes in *Heidnischer Imperialismus* that it cannot actually be regarded as a mere revised and updated edition of *Imperialismo pagano*. The first four chapters have the same title in the Italian edition and in the German edition, but their content is noticeably different; *Imperialismo pagano* and *Heidnischer Imperialismus* are really two different books. To publish a critical edition of *Heathen Imperialism* – that is, a translation of *Imperialismo pagano*, footnoted with the variants contained in *Heidnischer Imperialismus* – was unthinkable, due to the layout issues and the related reading inconvenience this venture would cause. For the reasons put forward in *Il cammino del cinabro*, even though it appears that the criticism launched by J. Evola against the content of *Imperialismo pagano* must be qualified by the remarks made by G. Di Turrís in the foreword to its latest Italian edition, we have chosen without hesitation to make *Heidnischer Imperialismus*, which, as far as its form is concerned, is far more accomplished, our third publication by Evola in English translation.

Three notes were written by Julius Evola, and are inserted into the body of the text. Further notes, written by us, refer to themes and motifs which are found only in embryo in *Heidnischer Imperialismus*, but are taken up again, developed, or discussed in greater depth in his later works, from *Revolt against the Modern World* to *Ride the Tiger* or explain references to political and historical events, Italian and foreign cultural personalities, or to various organisations, which have been admittedly completely forgotten eighty years after the publication of the book. So as not to distract readers from a text whose density requires at each instant their full attention, these notes can be found at the end of the book.

PREFACE OF THE GERMAN PUBLISHER (1933). *HEATHEN IMPERIALISM IN GERMANY?*

The affirmation of National-Socialism has not completed the struggle for a new vision of history, it has exacerbated it further. In particular, a task of our times will be to create a philosophy of history in which the question of race will be regarded as of significant importance. In relation to this task, this book possesses particular value, since, here, a recognised leader of Fascist Italy takes a stand on the question of race, on cultural politics and on the philosophy of history, and, for the first time, a heathen, Roman, spirit, appears in our times offering at least an attempt at historico-philosophical interpretation. It must be emphasised that, in this work, the problems which concern our own people and state life are looked at from the Roman point of view. It is therefore quite possible, and even inevitable, that the German reader, given his Nordic-völkisch tendencies, will reach in some respects different conclusions on questions of historico-cultural and spiritual facts from those of the author. This applies particularly to his views of Protestantism. Three concepts of this book are addressed specifically to the German reader, and may prompt him to take issue with the speculative structure of Evola. These are: Ghibelline thought, the philosophy of Nietzsche, and the hierarchical conception.

The concept of Ghibellinism as a political movement guides our historians in their representation of the mediaeval Swabian dynasty. Nietzsche's figure throws its shadow in the most intense manner on the philosophy of contemporary culture. The word 'hierarchy' has reappeared lately many times in the speeches of such guides to mankind as the Führer himself, Adolf Hitler, in the form of the demand for a new hierarchy of leaders. These terms

appear here, in the context of a philosophically and culturally militant work, and, therefore, of a representation aimed at providing a convincing account of the political and politico-cultural configuration for the future, for the new European order, and for the German-Austrian-Italian problem. One cannot avoid wondering whether such an ideal construction as that proposed in this book can ever acquire existence in reality. Its value lies however in its emphasising directives, in its offering, with the concept of 'heathen imperialism', a philosophy, not only of being, but also of the must-be.

Many will be scandalised by the concept of heathenism. However, some time ago, a well-known evangelical theologian argued that, precisely in our times, a heathenism in the true sense of the word, a positive heathenism, would reappear, and that we would have to take it seriously. This book by Evola proves that there is such a heathenism, and that it does not feed only on the negation of all values, as is often thoughtlessly said. Because of this fact, the book will be able to contribute to the clarification of various aspects of our own debates, and it will, in any case, make people more fully aware of the scale of the spiritual conflict in which Germany is now engaged, whether they then arrive at views favourable, or unfavourable, to the position presented here.

I. WE, ANTI-EUROPEANS

European Decadence

Western civilisation¹ needs a complete overhaul or it will fall apart one day or another.

It has realised the most complete perversion of any rational order of things.

Reign of matter, of gold, of machine, of number, it no longer possesses breath, or liberty, or light.

The West has lost the sense of command and obedience.

It has lost the sense of Action and of Contemplation.

It has lost the sense of hierarchy, of spiritual power, of man-gods.

It no longer knows nature. It is no longer, for Western man, a living body made of symbols, of gods and ritual gestures – a splendid cosmos, in which man moves freely, like a microcosm within the macrocosm: it has on the contrary decayed to an opaque and fatal exteriority, the mystery of which profane sciences seek to ignore by means of their little laws and their little hypotheses.

The West no longer knows Wisdom: it no longer knows the majestic silence of those who have mastered themselves, the bright calm of the seers, the superb solar reality of those in whom the idea has become blood, life and power. Wisdom has been supplanted by the rhetoric of ‘philosophy’ and ‘culture’, the reign of teachers, of journalists, of sportsmen; of plans, of programs and of proclamations. It has succumbed to sentimental, religious, humanitarian contamination, and the race of men of fine words

who run around madly exalting ‘Becoming’ and ‘experience’, because silence and contemplation frighten them.

The West no longer knows the state: the state-value, the *Imperium*, as synthesis of spirituality and royalty, as a way to the ‘supraworld’, as known by the great ancient civilisations from China to Egypt, from Persia to Rome and to the Germanic Holy Roman Empire, has been overwhelmed by the bourgeois misery of a trust of slaves and traffickers.

What war is, pursued as a value in its own right, irrespective of its outcome in victory or defeat, as that sacred path to spiritual fulfilment – hence the celestial sojourn of Odin, the Valhalla, is the privilege of the heroes fallen on the battlefield; in Islam, ‘sacred war’, *jihad*, is synonymous with ‘divine way’; in Aryan India, the warrior is side by side with ascetics and, in the classic antiquity, *mors triumphalis* is conceived of as victory over death – what such a war is, that is what these formidable European ‘activists’ no longer know, who no longer know warriors but only soldiers, and whom a squabble was enough to terrorise and force back to the rhetoric of humanism, of pacifism and sentimentalism.

Europe has lost its simplicity, has lost its centrality, has lost its life. The democratic evil and the Semitic poison corrode it throughout, from its roots to its flowers such as law, sciences, and speculative thought. Leaders – beings who distinguish themselves, not by violence, by the thirst for lucre, the ability of exploiters of slaves, but, on the contrary, by unwavering and transcendent qualities of life, there are none. Europe is a big insignificant body, possessed and shattered by an anxiety which no one dares to express, whose blood is gold, whose flesh is machines, factories and arms, whose brain is a newspaper page – a shapeless body which tosses restlessly, driven by obscure and

unpredictable forces, which crushes implacably anyone who tries to oppose it or merely to avoid its shackles.

All this the praised Western ‘civilisation’ has been able to do. This is the vaunted result of the superstition of ‘Progress’ – beyond Roman imperialism, the Dorian Hellas and all the other exemplary forms of the great Aryan primordial civilisations.

And the noose tightens everyday around those who are still capable of the great loathing and the great rebellion.

The New Symbol

Are liberation and renewal still possible in this crepuscular world?

Is Europe capable today of the level of awareness necessary for such a task?

Let us not be mistaken: it is only after having understood the magnitude of the task that we will be able to act. The threatening reality of a destructive spiritual process, whose roots originate almost in the ground of prehistory, whose culminating phases coincide with those which contemporary men exalt as their essential civilisational values, and whose influences now manifest themselves in all fields of thought and action, must be acknowledged.

This is not a matter of compromises or adaptations. The power of a new Middle Ages is needed – a revolt, interior as well as exterior, of a barbaric purity. Philosophy, ‘culture’, everyday politics: nothing of all this. It is not a matter of turning on the other side of this bed of agony. It is a matter of finally waking up, and getting up.

There are still, here and there, men in whom live memories of an ancient nobility, who as individuals are ill-at-ease and feel the need to react, sometimes in this cultural domain, sometimes in that. Before it is too late, what must be recalled to the consciousness of these scattered men is the heights, beyond all the limits and private interests which currently exhaust their strength. Implacable action must ensure that their purest strength emerges, indomitable, ready to shatter the filthy encrustation of rhetoric, sentimentalism, moralism, and hypocritical religiosity with which the West has covered and humanised everything.

The one who enters the temple, however much of a barbarian he may be, has the unquestionable duty to drive out as corrupters all those who in ‘civilised’ Europe have succeeded in monopolising ‘Spirit’, Good and Evil, Science, and the Divine, and have exploited their monopoly by declaring themselves to be their propagators, while, in truth, they only know matter and what words, fear, and superstition have layered over matter.

To all this must be said: “Enough!”, so that some men at least can recover the long roads, the long danger, the long gaze, and the long silence; so that the wind of the open sea can blow again – the wind of the Nordic primordial tradition – to reawaken the sleepers of the West.

Anti-philosophy, anti-humanitarianism, anti-literature, anti-‘religion’, this is the premise. Enough! That is what must be said to aestheticisms and idealisms; enough! To the thirst of the soul which creates for itself a Semitic God to be adored and implored; enough of the need which binds beggarly men in mutual dependence in the name of the consistency which each of them lacks.

We must pass beyond and above all this, with pure forces, which, then, will have to meet a task which transcends ‘politics’, which

transcends the social prejudice, and which must ignore the clamorous gesture and the superficial resonancy, the materialistic force which vibrates on things and people and no longer serves a goal.

In silence, through a hard discipline, a self-possession and a self-overcoming, we must create with a tenacious and eager effort of individuals an élite, in which the 'solar' Wisdom lives again: this *virtus* which is inexpressible, which rises from the depths of the senses and of the soul and which does not express itself by arguments and books but by creative acts.

We must reawaken to a renewed, spiritualised and austere sensation of the world, not as a philosophic concept, but as something which vibrates in our blood itself: to the sensation of the world as power, to the sensation of the world as rhythm, to the sensation of the world as a sacrificial act. This sensation will create strong, hard, active, solar, beings, beings made up of force and force alone, open to this sense of freedom and greatness, to this cosmic breathing of which the 'dead' have stammered much but perceived little.

Against profane, democratic and material science, always relative and conditioned, slave to incomprehensible phenomena and laws, deaf to the most profound reality of man, we must reawaken – in this élite – the sacred, inner, secret and creative science, the science of self-fulfilment and 'self-dignification', the science which leads to the occult forces which govern our organism and joins together with the invisible roots of race and things themselves, and which creates domination over these forces; so that, not as a myth, but as the most positive of realities, men are born again, as beings who no longer belong to 'life', but, now, to the 'more-than-life', and are capable of transcendent actions.

Then there will be leaders, a race of leaders. Invisible leaders who do not speak and do not show themselves, but whose action does not experience resistance and who can do everything. Then, a centre will exist in the West – in the West without centre. It is a total mistake to think that we can achieve renewal if a hierarchy is not re-established, that is to say, if we do not place a higher law, a superior order, which can find confirmation only in the living reality of the leaders, above inferior forms, linked to earth and matter, to man and human.

It is also an absolute mistake to believe that the state can be anything other than a *civitas diaboli* if it does not resurrect itself as *Imperium*, and it is also a mistake to want to build the *Imperium* on the basis of economic, military, industrial or even ‘intellectual’ or nationalist factors. The *Imperium*, according to the primordial conception rooted in Tradition, is something transcendent, and it can only be attained by those who have the power to transcend the lives of petty men and their appetites, their sentimentalisms, their national prides, their ‘values’, their ‘non-values’, and their Gods.

This the ancients understood, when, at the peak of their hierarchy, they venerated beings in whom the royal nature combined with the sacral, in whom temporal power was permeated with the spiritual authority of natures ‘no longer human’, bearers of a secret and invincible force of ‘victory’ and of ‘fortune’; when a sort of ‘sacred war’ lived in any war, something universal, something overwhelming, which addressed and organised everything with the purity and inevitability of the great forces of nature.

Will those who still can or still want to put up a resistance understand this? Will they understand that there is no other alternative? That there is no other spirit which, be it in other

forms and in other figures, must be reawakened? That this is the only condition through which their ‘revolution’ can be anything more than a trivial contingent event in a single nation, can become a universal concept, a first ray of light in the thick fog of the ‘dark age’ – of the Western *kali-yuga*, and the principle of the true restoration, of the only possible recovery?

The Primordial Nordic-Solar Tradition

We have indicated a primordial Nordic tradition. It is not a myth, it is our truth. Already in the most remote pre-history, there where positivist superstition told us until yesterday of ape-like cave-dwellers, a primordial, unitary, and strong civilisation existed, of which an echo still resounds in all the great and eternal symbols that the past has to offer to us.

The Iranians speak of *Airyanem-Vaêjô*, located in the most extreme North, and see in it the first creation of the ‘god of the light’, the origin of their stock and also the seat of ‘brightness’ – *hvarenô* – that mystical force peculiar to the Aryan race, and above all to their divine kings; they see in it – symbolically – the ‘place’ where the warlike religion of Zarathustra was revealed for the first time.

Similarly, the tradition of the Indo-Aryans knows the *Shveta-dvîpa*, the ‘Island of Brightness’, located also in the far North, where Narâyâna, the one who ‘is the light’ and ‘who is above the waters’, that is to say above the fortuitous play of events, has his seat. It speaks also of the *Uttarakura*, a Nordic primordial race; by Nordic, what is meant is, of the solar path of the gods – *deva-yâna*.

The concept of all that is sublime, high and superior reappears in the term *uttara* – the concept of what, in the metaphorical sense, can be called *ârya*, Aryan – according to the Nordic conception.

Again, the Achean-Dorian stocks are heirs of the legendary Nordic Hyperboreans: it is from here that the most characteristic god and hero of this race, the solar Apollo, the annihilator of the serpent Python, comes; from here that Hercules – the ally of the Olympic gods against the giants, the annihilator of the Amazons and of the elementary beings, the ‘fine winner’, of whom later many Greek and Roman kings considered themselves, so to speak, as the *avatâra* – carried the olive tree with whose branches, according to Pindar, the victors were crowned.

In Hellas, this Nordic theme combines also with that of Thule, the mysterious Nordic land, which sometimes becomes the ‘Island of the Heroes’ and the ‘Country of the Immortals’, where the blond Radamante reigns, the ‘Island of the Sun’ – *Thule ultima a sole nomens habens* – whose memory remained so alive that, convinced he had recognised it in Brittany, Constantius Chlorus marched there with his legions, not so much for military glory as to reach that “which is the nearest to the sky and more sacred than every other region”, with the hope of anticipating in this way his apotheosis as Caesar.

Often, in the Nordic-Germanic traditions, Asgard, the seat of the Asen and of the transformed heroes, is regarded as another divine residence of the same kind; and the Nordic kings, who were considered as semi-gods and Asen – *semideos id est ansis* – and brought their peoples victory with their mystical power of ‘fortune’, transferred to that ‘divine’ land the origin of their dynasty.

According to the Gaelic traditions, Avalon, from which originated the pure divine race of the *Tuatha dé Danann*, the heroic

conquerors of prehistoric Ireland, among whom the hero Ogma corresponds precisely to the Dorian Hercules, is Nordic or Nordic-Western – Avalon, which, on the other hand, merges into *Tir na mBeo*, the ‘Land of the Living’, the kingdom of Boadag, the ‘Victorious’.

The Aztecs too have their land of origin in the North – in Aztlan, which is indeed called ‘White Land’ or ‘Land of the Light’, which they left under the leadership of a god-warrior, Huitzilopochtli: indeed, even the Toltecs claim, as seat of origin, Tlalocan, Tollan or Tula, which, as the Greek Thule, is again the ‘Land of the Sun’ and melts into the ‘paradise’ of the kings and the heroes fallen on the battlefield.

These are only some of the unanimous references which can be found in the most varied traditions as memories of a Nordic primordial civilisation and fatherland in which, in the most intimate manner, a transcendent extra-human spirituality unites with the heroic, royal and triumphal element, reaching towards form victorious over chaos, towards super-humanity victorious over all which is human and telluric, towards ‘solarity’ as principal symbol of a transcendent virility, as ideal of a dignity which, in the order of spiritual forces, corresponds to the sovereign, the hero, the ruler, on the material plane.

And, while the tradition can be traced back along a road from the North to the South, from the West to the East, which the races which preserve this spirit have travelled, the larger formations of Aryan peoples, in more recent times, testify, by the purer nature of their values and cults, their most characteristic deities and institutions, to precisely this force and this civilisation, as well as to the struggle against inferior southern races, which are bound to the land and to the spirits of the land, to the ‘demonic’ and

irrational part of their being, to the promiscuous, the collective, the totemic, the chaotic, or the 'titanic'.

These references show, in addition, how what was history became super-history: while the 'Land of the Living', the 'Fortress of the Heroes', the 'Island of the Sun', contained on one hand the secret of the origin, they revealed on the other the secret of the road towards rebirth, towards immortality, and towards superhuman power: the road which leads eminently to traditional royal dignity.

The historical factors thus became spiritual factors, the real tradition became Tradition in the transcendent sense, and therefore something which stands above time yet is constantly present. Symbols, signs and sagas refer us in subterranean ways to a unique Tradition, showing us a single 'orthodoxy' whose corresponding peaks were always reached, whose 'solar' spirituality always towered over the inferior forces².

Thus, in later times already bound to the destiny of the darkening of the 'divine' – *ragnarok* – the racial potential exhausted both in its populace and in its leaders, the 'Nordic' element, detaching itself from the 'spiritual' realm to which it originally belonged, became a category, a general type of civilisation and of behaviour toward the super-human, which can be found even where no memory exists of an ethnic correlation in the strict sense; a general type which can become a focus for new civilisations when these respond to its spiritual formative force, in the same manner as, within that primordial tradition, it influenced the lower elements and the multiplicity of matter.

This is why heathen Romanity must be considered as the last great creative expression of the Nordic spirit, the last universal attempt, to a considerable extent successful over the entire present cycle, to resurrect once more the forces of the world in the forms of a heroic, solar and manly civilisation: a civilisation which was

immune to the urges of mystical escapism; which was true to the aristocratic-Aryan type of the *patres*, the masters of spear and sacrifice; which was mysteriously confirmed by the Nordic marks of the Wolf, of the Eagle and of the Axe; which was alive above all in the Olympian-warlike cult of Zeus and of Hercules, of Apollo and of Mars, in the feeling of owing to the divine its greatness and its *aeternitas*, in action-as-rite and rite-as-action, in the crystal-clear and yet strong experience of the supra-natural, which was acknowledged in the Empire itself and culminated in the symbol of Caesar as *numen*.

With heathen Rome fell the greatest traditional and solar bastion, and it is not difficult to recognise in the forces which mainly contributed to this fall, the same forces which paved the way for all the subsequent deviations and successive degenerations which have led to the current state of Europe.

In its frenetic crushing of every hierarchy, its exaltation of the weak, of the underprivileged, of those without birth and without tradition, its resentment against all strength, sufficiency, wisdom and aristocracy, and its intransigent and proselytising fanaticism, the Semitic wave, dark and barbaric, enemy of itself and of the world, was indeed a venom for the greatness of Rome, a galvanising substance for all the other Asiatic-southern factors of decadence which then penetrated into the structures of Rome, and the greatest cause of the decline of the West.

In the semiticisation of the Graeco-Roman and then the Nordic world, to be attributed to a large extent to Christianity, we have in fact the revolt of the lower layers of these races, by dominating which the Nordic-Aryans had attained their splendid civilisations. The spirit of Israel, which had already created the collective sense of 'sin' and 'expiation', and which emerged most clearly in the so-called 'prophets' after the defeat and enslavement of the

‘chosen people’, burying the residues of the aristocratic spirit of the Pharisees, re-evoked the lower forces of Aegaeo-Pelasgian tellurism which the Achaean stocks had subdued. These can be equated to the castes of the shudras, the so-called ‘dark’ caste (*krshñā*) and the demonic caste (*asurya*), above which the hierarchies of the three higher castes of the reborn (*dvīja*) culminating in the types of the *brāhmana* and of the king, understood as ‘a great deity under human form’ had stood in India, like form triumphing over chaos. They can be equated also to the forces which myth represents to us in the forms of the Nordic *Rinthursi* and the bands of Gog and Magog, to which Alexander had blocked the way with a symbolic wall of iron.

These forces worked spiritually, through primitive Christianity, to destroy the European spirit. At first, they concealed themselves within the lunar spirituality which took shape in the Catholic church, that is to say, a spirituality whose type is no longer the sacred king, the solar initiate, or the ‘hero’, but the saint or the priest who bows before God, whose ideal is no longer the warlike-sacral hierarchy and ‘glory’ but fraternal community and *caritas*. Later, in the Reformation and in humanism, there reappears the original, anti-traditional, primitive, anarchist, dissolutive nature of these forces. Then, by means of political revolutions, liberalism, and the emergence of collectivism, one cause produces another, and one fall follows another. In all the forms of modern society – and also in science, in law, in the illusory power of technology and the machine – the same spirit, paradoxical as it may seem, appears; the same levelling will, the will of the greatest number, the hatred for hierarchy, quality, and difference, goes from victory to victory; the collective and impersonal bondage born of mutual insufficiency, peculiar to the organisation of a race of slaves in revolt, becomes stronger and stronger.

There is more. Semitic-Christian mysticism combined Orphic-Dionysian pathos (which, already for Dorian-Nordic Greece, constituted a deformation of the ancient Olympian cult) with the popular mysticism of Isis, born out of the decline of the solar Egyptian tradition. In the same way, the identical element of 'passion' and excitement produced, by means of messianism and millennialism, the promiscuity of the imperial plebs – as against the calm superiority of the Caesars, the simple greatness of the Homeric heroes, the purified spirituality and the autarchic ideal of the heathen 'philosophers' and Initiates. Here is also the root of every modern deviation, in the romantic, irrational, sense which craves a bad infinitude. After its secularisation, this mysticism leads us to the myths of 'activism', the 'Faustian spirit', the contemporary superstition of progress, the Semitic mysticism of the instincts and of the *élan vital*, the exaltation of the 'event' and of 'life', and, in short, to the divinisation of the wild, sub-personal, collective element of man, which today seems less restrained than ever before – so as to push individuals and peoples in a direction which is far from that which they themselves wish.

Before the fall, against the Judeo-Christian tide, the other force rose once more, almost presenting a decisive alternative for the further course of the Western history of the spirit. It took the form given by the tradition of the Aryans of Iran, and appeared in the shape of the warlike cult of Mithra, the *avatâra* of the ancient Aryan god of the bright sky, the 'Ruler of the Sun', the 'Killer of the Bull', the hero with the Torch and the Axe, the symbol of the one reborn 'through power', which a syncretic myth, no less significant for that, assimilates to the Hyperborean god of the golden age. But stronger forces hindered this 'solar' possibility.

Then came the last great reaction: the Germanic Holy Roman Empire. The so-called 'barbarians' were in reality races which were closely related to the Acheans, paleo-Iranians, paleo-