

THE GRAIL
AS
NORDIC MYSTERY



JULIUS EVOLA

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NORDIC MYSTERY

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The Study Group of the German-Italian Society is organizing in June in the rooms of the German-Italian Society, Berlin W. 15, Uhlandstraße 171/172, (near Kurfürstendamm) a series of lectures by Baron E v o l a , Rome.

1. Lecture: Monday, June 15, 1938, 8.30 p.m.

"The Aryan Doctrine of Holy Struggle."

2. Lecture: Monday, June 20, 1938, 8.30 p.m.

"The Grail as Nordic Mystery."

3. Lecture: Monday, June 27, 1938, 8:30 p.m.

"The Weapons of the Secret War."

Action Note

In my opinion, Baron Evola's lecture on the Grail mystery and the idea of empire is a good work, which testifies to a rich knowledge of the subject. In essence, his Ghibelline conception of empire also probably coincides with the Aryan idea of empire that we represent. Evola seems to have mastered the literature on Grail and Parzival. Recently, numerous new publications have appeared about it, which, if a German castle really was the model for the Grail castle, point most clearly to the Wildenberg "Mont Sauvage" in the Odenwald.

By the way, Evola published an interesting essay "Die beiden Adler" ("The two eagles") in the Berliner Tageblatt of 13.2.38, in which he describes his view of the relationship of the Germanic and the Roman imperial eagle in a significant way.

From the political point of view, however, Evola's theory, as much as we can welcome it scientifically, raises some difficult questions. The medieval empire with the inclusion of Italy is, after all, extremely controversial in its evaluation today. Some circles (to which I do not necessarily belong) reject the medieval empire and the Italian policy completely, even in its Ghibelline form. The whole confusion of the situation is characterized by the fact that the papal-minded Guelphs are consistently contrasted with the antipapal Hohenstaufen as the allegedly better Teutons.

It is to be feared that a publication of this in itself excellent essay in "Germania" will cause some confusion among the readers. Very many of these are still under the idea of a fight against Rome at any price, where real expertise is usually not the strongest side. But one must deal with such things.

It will not be easy to explain the fundamental difference between papal and imperial Rome, especially the Ghibelline conception of

the empire. Of course, all these questions are only marginally raised by Evola's essay. However, his main idea is a spiritual undercutting of the so-called axis Berlin – Rome by the old idea of the unity of Germany and Italy. His idea of empire thus ultimately comes down to a supranational empire, albeit under the dominance of the Nordic elements, which I could only support with the greatest reservations. Basically, it seems to me questionable at all to put our journal somehow in the service of time-bound foreign policy constellations, as it has already happened once in the case of Japan.

Berlin on 22.2.38.

German-Italian Society

"Studienkreis"

Foreword

The purpose of the first lecture is to highlight those motifs of our ancient tradition that lead to overcoming the opposition between the ascetic and the soldierly, the sacred and the heroic, and to see in struggle and victory a positive path to inner perfection and transcendent enhancement of the personality in full dependence on religious premises.

By the second lecture it is tried to remove above all the suspicion that this completion by the heroic nevertheless flows into the mystical-formless and subjective-worldly. Therefore, the Grail tradition is chosen as a further point of reference. In this tradition, the first task enters into the closest connection with the idea of the empire and a fighting order, and thus also with supra-individual and historical objectives: the hero who has seen the Grail is cursed. Moreover, the Grail tradition was chosen as evidence because the doctrine in question is expressed through elements that are of Nordic origin and, for this purpose, point back to our common Roman-Germanic-Ghibelline reality.

The two lectures emphasize that this is not a dead past, but rather a set of meanings that could serve as a higher point of reference for the symbols and myths of today's renewing movements.

The occult forces of the world overthrow strive to prevent this increase and consequently to paralyze the spiritual power of such symbols and myths. With the third lecture it is attempted to discover and uncover the main weapons of this secret war in order to prevent in advance the action that our opponents direct against the resumption of the main motives of the Aryan tradition of the deed, the Order and the Empire in their highest and unadulterated form.

Baron E v o l a

1. The Aryan Doctrine of Holy Struggle

Our culture is in a dichotomy in which the main root of its crisis emerges. On the one hand, we have a culture without life, an ethics of uncertainty, a faith that basically corresponds quite little to our way of life. On the other hand, we have a paroxystic development of everything that is action, admittedly in a materialistic and almost barbaric sense. It is hardly necessary to emphasize how, of these two terms, the second proves to be the predominant one from day to day. Our civilization is essentially under the sign of action. This above all because the tradition peculiar to the Occident is indeed a tradition not of pure knowledge or of contemplation, but of action. But the action known today is nothing but a depotentiated action, because secularized and deprived of any transcendent point of relation. This situation springs from hidden causes, hardly suspected by most. The thought is not daring that, in a certain sense, Christianity is one of these causes. This faith, which is neither Aryan nor Roman, but of Semitic-Southern origin, instead of signifying an addition to our ancient tradition, came to be seen as its brusque interruption. Psychology teaches how inhibitions paralyze sublimation and transform suppressed energies into germs of disease. Analogous is the diagnosis of the process to which we owe the secularization and materialization of our tradition of the deed. The Christian-dualistic conception of the spirit dissected our culture of deed. It blocked the way upwards, the way to the absolute becoming of spirit. It erected an invisible, yet stubborn barrier, so that in the race against it the forces conditioned by the deed values finally found no other area accessible for their discharge than that of the material. From this a pathological oversaturation of this area arose. The desecrated action, deprived of any transfiguring power, had to degenerate

with necessity to fever and mania; it became doing for doing's sake or doing which is only bound to time-conditioned realizations. From the Reformation and humanism on, this process could no longer be stopped.

At this turning point of our history arises for the best the necessity of a revolt and the return to the tradition of a sacral and spiritual deed. Only in this way can the Aryan Occident find its liberation and receive a soul truly appropriate to it. Only in this way will our heroic vocation attain its highest development and will our aspirations for reconstruction be able to find fulfillment.

Tonight we want to venture a short excursion into a world that is almost buried under the positivist superstitions of modern civilization. Our aim is to bring back to light some basic concepts of our ancient common tradition of action and its culmination in the mystical doctrine of victory.

First and foremost, let us consider "games." For the moderns it will be surprising to learn that the definition of fighting games transmitted by Livius is *res divinae*. So the classical equivalent of what today is sport was something sacred, religious: it was a "divine thing", *res divinae*. Moreover, in Greece and Rome, the games were dedicated to symbolic figures of gods and heroes or to their deeds, which were also symbolic. They had in the strictest sense the

Significance of a cult or rite. The fighting games, reports Dion Cassius, are held *rite facte*, ritually. They therefore follow a strict and unchanging tradition. The slightest violation entailed the necessity of repeating them, in order to avoid that divine forces could turn inauspiciously against the city; moreover, Rome was convinced that the neglect of the *sacra certamina*, the sacred combat games, would provoke a grave danger. In moments of

public misfortune or political danger, the games were performed almost in the sense of an incantation rite.

The leaders of the Roman games were originally always strict priestly figures. No profane displays were tolerated in the circus, but they took place under the sign of the altars and temples dedicated to the great Aryan gods. The solemn procession with which the games were introduced was similar to the procession of the triumphators themselves. The symbols of the supreme Capitoline gods were carried into the circus, as it were to symbolize their invisible presence, which moreover found its mystical expression also by the presence of empty chairs. The victorious military leaders, for their part, went from the Capitol to the circus to celebrate the games. Thus, the games prove to be closely related to the mystical and sacred, as well as to the heroic and triumphant element.

Ancient man experienced secret and divine forces behind the physical world, behind human thoughts and instincts, behind collectivities and great historical destinies. The rite was not for him an empty and formalistic ceremony. The rite was for the tradition-bound man an objective spiritual technique, effective to act on these forces, to unleash them, to subdue them or to guide them in certain directions. This background is not to be addressed as superstition, but it is conditioned by a transcendental and super-religious realism. From this background the secret meaning also of the fighting games stands out tangibly.

The fighting games were in their deeper meaning a rite of ancient heroic character. They were a method to unleash divine powers by means of a certain action or to renew in the collective consciousness the presence and effectiveness of divine powers. It is not surprising, then, that mystical numbers and symbols dominate even the architectural structure of circuses and racetracks in such a way that their tangible materiality is adapted

to superordinate meanings. Deep down, at the altar dedicated to the deity Consus, a subterranean entity full of greedy expectation of the blood spilled at the fighting games, there was a kind of breakthrough point of subterranean powers. Above, on the other hand, the statues crowned by goddesses of victory and Olympian deities, and in their midst the symbols of the solar flame, embodied the opposite principle, the truly divine power. Thus, a physical matter – be it even unconsciously – was elevated to a symbolic and supernatural level. The circus was thus transformed into a fateful center, so to speak – Tertullian says impressively: into a council of gods. Analogies created mysterious connections. The victor could thus appear clothed with divine character, if not downright as the momentary incarnation of a hero or a god. If we pass from the Aryan-Roman traditions to the Hellenic ones, we only want to recall that in Olympia the Olympic Games were considered to be founded by Heracles, in memory of a metaphysical struggle, of battle and victory of the Olympic powers over the Titanic ones. At the moment of triumph, the victor was considered a revelation of the Olympian god, of Zeus himself.

Thus we have approached the leading point of our considerations. In the ancient Aryan traditions, the heroic intoxication and victory appeared as a path to inner exaltation, analogous to that taught by the classical mysteries, according to which, in the initiated, death is transformed into resurrection. In this sense, the games, far from being an expression of superstition, could solemnly recall the deeds of gods and demigods: the ancient funerary art, accordingly, often used as material the figures of Olympic victors and triumphant warriors to express the confidence of the deceased in a perfect and indestructible life beyond. On this basis, the already indicated conception of the fighting games as a heroic rite, as a method of awakening and renewing superhuman powers, which were perceived by the

communities of the people as decisive for their destinies and greatness, also becomes understandable. In Rome, a whole series of games had precisely the purpose of renewing the Victoria of Caesar, who was conceived as an entity endowed with independent and indestructible life.

Let us now proceed to a second and higher manifestation of the spiritual tradition, as far as it has relation to the action. We have to speak shortly of the war as a "holy war". It is difficult to deny a metaphysical justification and transcendent intention to the bloody undertakings and conquests of all ancient-Aryan peoples. In the tradition-based worldview, every reality becomes a symbol. This also applies to war. On this basis, war and "God's way" could not infrequently merge into one and the same thing.

Everyone is familiar with the characteristic testimonies that the Nordic-Germanic tradition offers us in this regard. As is generally known, Valhalla is the seat of heavenly immortality, reserved for the "freemen" of divine descent and for the heroes fallen on the battlefield. The lord of this site, Odhin-Wotan, is presented to us in the Ynglinga saga as the one who, with his symbolic sacrifice at the world tree Yggdrasil, has shown the heroes the way that leads up to the divine abode where eternal life blooms, as on a luminous mountaintop that shines above the clouds. According to this tradition, no sacrifice or cult is more pleasing to the supreme God, none bears richer supra-mundane fruits than that sacrifice which the hero makes by falling fighting on the battlefield.

But even more: through the heroes, who offer a falling sacrifice to Odhin, the crowd of those is strengthened, whose this god needs for the last fight against Ragnarökkr, i.e. against the doom of the darkening of the divine, which lies threatening over the world since distant times. In the Edda it is said: "However great the number of the heroes gathered in Valhalla, there will never be

enough of them when the wolf will break forth. The wolf is here the symbol of dark and wild powers, which the culture of the Aesir had originally succeeded in taming and subduing.

Analogous is the Iranian-Aryan doctrine of Mithras, the "warrior without sleep", who fights at the head of the *fravashi*, i.e. the transcendental parts of his faithful, against the enemies of the Aryan faith. We will have to go into more detail about the *fravashi* in a moment, who basically correspond to the Valkyries of the Nordic tradition. First, however, we would like to explain the general concept of the "holy fight" by means of three steps.

The first step is to clarify the relationship between the two cultures through further evidence, which we take from Islamic tradition, medieval crusader tradition, and Indo-Aryan tradition.

As far as the Islamic tradition is concerned, it must be emphasized immediately that the idea of holy war is originally Persian, that is, of Aryan origin, and was adopted only later by the Arab tribes. This being said, the Islamic tradition distinguishes two holy wars: one is the Great Holy War, and the other is the Lesser Holy War. This distinction stems from a saying of the Prophet, who, on returning from a warlike venture, said: "From the minor we have returned to the major holy war." The great holy war belongs to the spiritual order. The minor Holy War, on the other hand, is the material struggle, the physical war fought in the external world against an enemy people, especially against the infidels, the unrighteous or the barbarians. The great Holy War is the struggle of man against the enemies he carries within himself. More precisely, it is the struggle of the supernatural element in man against all that is libidinal, passionate, in bondage to the forces of nature. In this sense, in a text of Aryan warrior wisdom, in the Bhagavad-Gitâ, it is said: "By the realization of that which is beyond the mind, affirm yourself by yourself and kill the enemy in the form of the desire

which is difficult to defeat." The precondition for the inner work of liberation is that such an enemy, the "unbeliever" and the "barbarian" in us, is annihilated.

Within the framework of a heroic tradition, however, the small holy war is understood only as an external struggle, only as a path through whose mediation this very great holy war is to be realized. For this reason, "holy war" and "way of God," jihad, often appear as synonyms in Islam. Thus we read in the Koran: "Those who sacrifice earthly life for the future fight in the way of God – i.e. in the holy war: for to him who fights in the way of God and is killed, or to him who is victorious, we will pay a high price." And further, "And those who are killed in God's way – never does he guide their works astray. He will guide them and give peace to their hearts. And He will bring them into Paradise, which He has made them to know." Here is alluded to the physical death in war, to which the so-called *Mors Triumphalis*, the "victorious death", of the classical traditions corresponds exactly. But the same doctrine can also be understood in a symbolic sense. Whoever has known how to experience a "great holy war" in a small war has generated a force within himself that enables him to conquer the crisis of death. But even without having been physically killed, one can experience death, one can have triumphed and realized a "survival". "Paradise", "Heavenly Kingdom" and similar designations are in reality nothing else than symbolizations of transcendental states of consciousness on a higher level than life and death.

These considerations may also be considered as a premise to find the same meaning under the outer Christian garment, which the heroic Nordic-Occidental tradition was forced to throw over in the Crusades, in order to be able to appear outwardly.

Much more than one is generally inclined to believe, in the Crusade ideology the liberation of the Temple, the conquest of

the Holy Land had points of contact with the Nordic-Aryan tradition, which refers to the mystical Asgard, to the distant land of the Aesir and heroes, where death does not reign, and where the inhabitants enjoy an immortal life and a supernatural peace. The Holy War appeared to be a thoroughly spiritual war, so that it could literally be compared by the preachers to a "purification, as it were the fire of the Purgatory even before death. -"What glory for you to come out of battle crowned with nothing but laurels. But how much greater the glory of winning an immortal crown on the battlefield," – so spoke to the Templars a Bernard of Clairvaux. The "absolute glory" – the same that was attributed by theology to the Lord in heavenly heights: "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*" – was also promised to the crusader. On this basis, Jerusalem, the dreamed goal of the "little Holy War", presented itself in a double aspect, as an earthly city and as a heavenly city, and the Crusade as a prelude to a true achievement leading to immortality.

The military vicissitudes of the Crusades at first caused surprise and confusion. But then they had only the effect of purifying the idea of war from any residue of materiality. The unfortunate course of a crusade was compared to virtue pursued by misfortune, the value of which can be judged and rewarded only in relation to a non-earthly life. Thus, a point of view was taken that was above victory as well as defeat, and that concentrated every value judgment on the ritual side of the deed. The true focus was thus on holy war, regardless of its visible results, as a means of achieving immortalizing glory from the active sacrifice of the human element. The dualism of victory and virtue here is naturally influenced by the general dualism inherent in the Christian faith. Nevertheless, in this attitude a higher point of view comes to the fore again, which has its root and its logical place not in Christianity, but in the heroic reality of Aryan antiquity.

To this reality belongs the tradition as it appears in the Indo-Aryan text of the Bhagavad-Gitâ.

The same doctrine acquires here a metaphysical basis. The pity that prevents the warrior Arjuna from going into the field against the enemy is called by the god: "cowardice, unworthy of a noble and distant from heaven". The promise is: "Killed – you will have paradise, victorious – you will have the earth. Therefore, rise resolutely to the battle." The inner orientation capable of transforming the small war into the great Holy War, into death and triumphant resurrection, is clearly paraphrased: "By consecrating every action to me," says the God, "with the spirit dwelling in the highest state of I, far from any thought of possession, freed from the fever of the spirit, fight!" In equally clear terms it says of the purity of this action: it must be willed for its own sake, beyond any empirical purpose, any passion, any human impulse. "By equating pleasure and suffering, advantage and loss, victory and defeat in value, arm yourself for the battle: thus you will not incur any stain."

As a further metaphysical justification the God explains the difference between that what is absolute spirituality and as such indestructible – and that what as physical and human element has only illusory existence. With the consciousness of the metaphysical unreality of what one can lose as transient life and mortal body, or by which one can cause the loss in others, is connected the knowledge of that manifestation of the divine, according to which it is a power that carries away with itself in irresistible absoluteness. Facing the greatness of this power every conditioned form of existence appears as negation. Therefore, this power reaches terrible revelation wherever this negation is actively negated, that is, where in the onslaught every limited *Dasein* is torn away or destroyed. Individuals are subject to becoming, to transformation, to disappearance, precisely because there blazes

within them a power that transcends them, a power that wants infinitely more than what they can ever want. On this basis, it is possible to circumscribe more precisely the energy that is capable of bringing about the heroic transformation. Values are transformed into their opposite: death becomes assertion of life. The sacred warrior appears as a manifestation of the divine, as a metaphysical force of destruction of the finite. He actively draws this force to himself, transfiguring and liberating himself in it by breaking the bonds of the human. The suggestive utterances of another text, but belonging to the same tradition, are: "Life like a bow; the soul like an arrow; as the target to be pierced – the absolute spirit. To connect with this spirit as the arrow that has been hurried off bores into its target." In short, therein consists the metaphysical justification of war, the transformation of the small war into the great Holy War, as it was familiar to the heroic Indo-Aryan world.

Thus all conditions are given to advance also to the understanding of the most inward content, which underlies a group of classical and Nordic traditions, culminating in the mystical doctrine of victory. As a starting point we may use the observation that in classical and Indo-European antiquity in general several ideas appear in a peculiar mixture: the idea of the soul as a demon and "double"; the idea of a goddess of death; finally the idea of a goddess of victory. In other words, it is the idea of a single being who is at the same time goddess of battle and victory, as well as embodying the transcendental element of the soul.

Let's try to reach a spiritual understanding of these different elements. First of all it is necessary to examine the meaning of the "demon" (*daimon* in the Greek sense), the "genius" or "double", and in which relation to the human soul these beings were thought. The key to this is already given in our interpretation of

that deep-lying force, towards which the human existence is nothing but mere negation. It is only to be added that this force from one side of its unfolding was conceived as formative energy. The demon is similar to the "*lares*" of which Macrobius says: "They are the gods who keep us alive. They nourish our bodies and regulate our souls." Ancient man saw in the demon or double a deep-seated power which secretly directs all those bodily and psychic processes to which ordinary consciousness does not reach, but which nevertheless condition our existence and destiny. It may be said that between the double and the ordinary consciousness there is a relation like that between the individuating and the individuated principle. The first, according to the teaching of the ancients, is a supra-individual force, therefore superior to birth and death. The second principle is subject to dissolution in the ordinary way. It is noteworthy that in the Nordic tradition the concept of the Valkyrie merges with that of the *Fylgja*, that is, with a spiritual entity working in man, to whose power his destiny is entrusted. The same applies to the *frawashi* of the Iranian-Aryan tradition. The *frawashi* is the innermost power of every being, is that which sustains it and causes it to be born and to exist.

At the same time, the *frawashi*, like the Valkyries, are terrible war goddesses who bestow good fortune and victory. Let us dwell for a moment on this equation.

It is known that the Indo-European antiquity possessed a distinctly aristocratic conception of immortality. Not all escape the self-dissolution, the extinguished illusory existence in Hades and Niflheim. Immortality is a prerogative of a few, and essentially a heroic prerogative. An afterlife not as a shadow but as a demigod is granted only to those whom a special spiritual deed has elevated from one nature to the other. In the technical sense, such a spiritual act consisted, according to the ancient Aryan

traditions, in a transformation of the sense of self from the ordinary human consciousness, limited and individuated, to a deep, supra-individual, individuating power which stands beyond life and death, and to which we have said that the concept of the "demon" corresponds.

But the demon transcends each of the finite forms in which it manifests itself. Therefore, the brusque transition from the ordinary ego state to the "demonic" state has the meaning of a destructive crisis: like a lightning strike due to a potential that is stretched too high. Such destruction and crisis actually takes place through death. Let us now suppose that under quite exceptional circumstances the demon can, so to speak, burst into us and thus make us feel its destructive transcendence; then one would have a kind of active experience of death, and it now becomes clear why the figure of the double or demon could merge with the deity of death in ancient conceptions. In the Nordic tradition, the warrior *sees* his Valkyrie precisely at the moment of death or the danger of death.

Let us go further. If in religious asceticism mortification, renunciation of one's own ego, devotion to God are the preferred means with the help of which one undertakes to successfully overcome the crisis just indicated, then in the framework of a heroic tradition, on the other hand, the way to this goal is the active upsurge, the unleashing of the gate element. As a lower manifestation of this element, we thus see, for example, dance related as a sacred method to evoke and employ deeper forces through mental ecstasy. Into the life of the individual unleashed to Dionysian rhythm another life sank in, as it were as the emergence of its abysmal root. *Furies, Erinyes* and other wild spiritual natures are the ancient symbolic visualizations of this force. They therefore correspond to a manifestation of the demon, according to its terrible and active transcendence. On a

higher level are just the sacral fighting games. Still higher is the war. On the clairvoyant summit of danger and the heroic battle swing the possibility of such an experience was recognized. Already the expression "*ludere*" – to play, to fight – contains the idea of solving. This is an allusion to the power inherent in combat to release deeper hidden forces from individual limitation and let them emerge freely. From this arises the reason for the second equation. The demon and the goddess of death are not only identical with the *furies*, *erinyes* and other unleashed Dionysian entities, they are equivalent to the storm maidens of the battles. The *frawashi* are called "the terrible ones, the all-powerful ones," "the ones who attack in the storm and give victory to the one who invokes them."

The same entity finally takes the form of the goddess of victory. This last metamorphosis marks the happy completion of the described inner experiences. Just as the demon or doppelganger signifies a deeper power in their latency to ordinary consciousness, just as the Furies and Erinyes reflect a particular manifestation of demonic unleashings and outbursts, likewise, the goddess of victory is the expression of triumph over this power. She signifies the victorious upsurge to a state beyond the danger of ecstasies and subpersonal forms of decomposition, a danger that always lurks behind the frenetic moment of Dionysian action. It means the upswing to a spiritual state that makes free, immortal, inwardly indestructible.

But where the deeds of the spirit express themselves by deeds and real facts, there it results that really the physical corresponds to the metaphysical, the visible to the invisible. Such spiritual deeds then show themselves to us as the secret soul of warlike undertakings, the crowning of which is the real and actual victory. The material military victory then becomes a mere correspondence for a spiritual fact which has conditioned the

victory where the outer and the inner are connected. The victory thus appears as a tangible sign of an initiation and mystical rebirth that took place in the same point. The furies and death, which the warrior has withstood materially on the battlefield, meet him also inwardly, in the spiritual, in the form of a perilous upheaval of the deepest reasons of his being. By triumphing over these, the victory is his. And the glory that then surrounds him is not an empty sound, but a real power, a metaphysical revelation, a shining forth of the super-world.

This explains why, in ancient traditions, every victory acquired a sacred meaning. Thus, the emperor, acclaimed on the battlefields, offered the experience of the brusque presence of a mystical power that transformed him. Thus, at last, the deep, by no means theoretical sense of a supernatural character breaking through in the glory and divinity of the victors can be grasped. From Nike, the goddess of victory, the Doric hero Heracles receives the wreath that makes him partake of Olympic immortality. If the souls of the heroes are led to the seat of immortality by the valkyries – the valkyries were understood at the same time as those forces which scare the enemy with panic -they are also the ones who determine the final victory. Mystical theology teaches that in glory the beatific spiritual vision takes place, and Christian iconography surrounds the heads of saints and martyrs with the aureole of glory. All this signifies a heritage – albeit a vestigial one – of our highest heroic tradition. The Iranian-Aryan tradition, in fact, already knew the glory understood as heavenly fire, which descends on kings and leaders, makes them immortal and bears witness to them in victory. And the ancient royal crown of rays symbolized precisely the glory as a sunlike and heavenly mystical fire. If one examines the deepest meaning of the conception of the test of arms, peculiar to chivalry, as a judgment of God, one discovers the same conception: victory synonymous with a supernatural sign of truth and justice. By virtue of the same

thought, in Rome the ceremony of triumph had a far more sacred than military character. The triumphator went to the temple of the luminous Capitoline sky-god to place in his hands the laurel of victory, expressing that the true creator of victory was not so much the human and mortal part of the victor as a transcendent, supra-personal element that conformed him in the likeness of that God. For this reason, in the ceremony of triumph, the victor clothed himself with all the emblems and symbols proper to the Deity. Light, sunny splendor, glory, victory, divine kingship are ideas that appear in the classical and Indo-European world in closest connection. In this sense, the mystical doctrine of victory is for us a luminous culmination of our common deed tradition.

This tradition still speaks to us audibly today. It confronts us with the alternative: loyalty or betrayal. We can only repeat here the words we placed at the entrance of this excursion into the old heroic world: Today we are faced with the imperious need to overcome – whether it be a tired, anemic spirituality formed of pious sentiment or abstract speculation – or whether it be the materialistic degeneration of the act. Even if the external and time-conditioned manifestations of the old-Aryan tradition of deeds belong to the past, the spirit inherent in it is still alive today and may claim a supreme right over the old and newly created idols.

Above all: it must return to new life the ideal of a force which is at the same time spirit; of a victory which is at the same time transfiguration and enlightening glory. May a barbaric civilization continue to intoxicate itself with the animal-activist and mechanical ideal of life – all this does not interest us, does not concern us.

War: let us say it with a loud voice: war should not be for us a cruel slaughter, nor a sad necessity, but the way to a higher way of life and the test of the divine mission of a people.

For the ancient Aryan, by the way, every war was the parable of an eternal struggle between metaphysical powers: on one side there was brute force, the Titanic-Tellurian, the barbaric in the classical sense, the feminine-demonic. We have already had the opportunity to emphasize that our culture today is experiencing years of decision, the ultimate meaning of which is in the closest connection with such a realization. After the collapse of our old Europe, after the rationalistic and individualistic devastations and all that the revolt of the masses and the demoniac of materialized collectivism have brought about in every field up to the final point of Bolshevism, dark forces are today preparing for the final attack. To these forces correspond most exactly the ideas of the ancient Aryans concerning the subterranean forces, opposite to which, in the symbolism of the sacred struggle, stood the solar principle of order with its militia. This realization and this metaphysical dualism shall be called to new life today and give the final meaning to our heroic vocation. A new front shall be formed and gather all those who still stand firm and are bearers of tradition. From distant times sounds the suggestive formula: "Life – like a bow; the soul – like an arrow; the target to be hit – the highest spirit." Let this be the watchword of the new Holy War, the principle of an irresistible, heroic and, as it were, metaphysical momentum. It is not a paradox: perhaps never have our ancient myths of the final decision and the last battle, of the newly awakening host of heroes in the struggle against the encroaching demon of the mass world, the sunny tradition of the deed and the mysticism of victory been so intensely topical as they will be in the times to come, in the times that will shape the entire European-Western destiny.

2. The Grail as Nordic Mystery

"Evola wanted to make three things clear above all with his Grail book: 1. that the Grail was not a Christian but a hyperborean mystery, 2. that it was an initiatic mystery, and 3. that the Grail had been the symbolic expression of the hope and will of a certain leadership class in the Middle Ages (precisely Ghibellineism), which wanted to reorganize and unite the entire Occident of that time in a 'sacred' realm, i.e., one based on transcendent, spiritual foundations."

Dr. H.T. Hansen on "The Mystery of the Grail"

In one form or another, in all the great traditions of antiquity, and especially in the Indo-European ones, there recurs again and again the idea of a mighty world ruler; of an invisible empire surpassing all visible kingship; of a place which in a higher sense has the significance of a pole, an axis, an immutable center, and which is pictured as a solid land in the middle of the ocean of life, as a sacred, inviolable region, as a land of light or "sun-land."

Metaphysical meanings, symbols and dark memories are spun into a single fabric. The idea of the Olympic kingship and the heavenly mission rises up. The tradition-bound principle reads: "He who rules by virtue of (heavenly) virtue resembles the pole star. Immovable, he dwells in his place, while everything else revolves around him."

The thought of the world king conceived as Chakrawartî rises; the Chakrawartî, king of kings, immovably turns the wheel of the empire. Invisible like that of the wind, his action resembles the destiny of the forces of nature. In a thousand forms and in the closest connection with the idea of a Nordic-Hyperborean land, the symbolism and analogy of the seat of the center, the seat of permanence breaks through: the mountain height, the sun castle,

the preserved land, the white island, or the island of splendor, the hero's court. "Neither by land nor by sea can the sacred land be reached," Hellenic tradition reports. "Only the flight of the spirit leads there," murmurs the Far Eastern tradition. Other texts speak of the mysterious magnetic mountain, into which the ones reached to the spiritual enlightenment are raptured. Other writings, in turn, tell of the Land of the Sun, from which symbolic figures emerge who are to assume kingship in the midst of masterless races. This is also the island of Avalon, i.e. the island of Apollo, the sun god called Aballun by the Celts. Legendary divine races like the Tuatha dé Danann, who came from Avalon, were also said to come from "heaven". The Tuatha took with them from Avalon certain mystical objects: a stone denoting the legitimate kings, a lance, a sword, finally a vessel that "gives inexhaustible food", i.e. the everlasting nourishment, the "gift of life". These are the objects of the later Grail legend.

From the heights of primeval times, this body of thought descends to the Middle Ages, and in this period it assumes peculiar manifestations. These are, among others, the ideas of the kingdom of the priest-king John and the king Arthur. "Priest-King John" is not a name, but a title. It is spoken of a dynasty of the "priest-king John", as of that which, like the Davidic dynasty, embodies the royal and at the same time the spiritual dignity. The kingdom of John often gets the features of the "original place" – the "earthly paradise". There grows the tree: a tree that in the variants of the legend sometimes comes to the fore as a tree of life, but sometimes also as a tree of victory and world domination. The Stone of Light is also found there: a stone that resurrects the imperial beast, the eagle. John holds the people of Gog and Magog – the elemental powers, the demon of the collective – under his spell. The legends tell of symbolic journeys that the greatest rulers in the history of the world would have made to the land of John the priest-king, or to lands of equal

significance, to seek there a kind of supernatural consecration for their office and power. John, for his part, would have sent emperors such as Frederick II, for example, symbolic gifts containing the meaning of a heavenly commission.

One of the heroes who reach the kingdom of John is Ogier the Dane. However, from the Ogier saga, that kingdom is equated with Avalon, i.e. with the Hyperborean island, the Uranian sun land, the Aryan white island. After Avalon, King Arthur retreats. A tragedy, described by the texts in different ways, forces him to seek refuge there. Arthur's retreat has only the meaning of the latent of a principle. Arthur never died according to the legend. He still lives in Avalon. He will reveal himself again. In his figure only a new manifestation of the polar ruler, of the world king thought is to be seen. The historical is carried along and shaped by the superhistorical.

Already the old etymology traces back the name Arthur to *arthos*, i.e. bear, which again points us back to the "center thought" by the astronomical symbolism of the polar star. The symbolism of the knightly round table and its head Arthur is a solar and polar one. It is reported that Arthur's castle is like Mitgard, the light abode of the Norse Aesir, built "in the center of the world" (*in medio mundi constructum*). In some texts this castle is described as revolving: it revolves around itself, just as on the "white island", *çveta-dîpa*, of the Indo-Europeans of India in the Hyperborean land, whose god is the sunlike Vishnu, the swastika revolves, just as the Celtic-Nordic "glass island" – an image of Avalon – revolves; just as the fateful wheel of Chakravarti, the Aryan king of the world, revolves. The supernatural traits of the Aryan World King are embodied, as it were, in Myrddhin, or Merlin, an advisor inseparable from Arthur, who is essentially not another being distinct from him, but roughly like a complementary part of him. The Arthurian knighthood will seek the Grail. It, which

gathers its members from all countries, has the slogan: "He who is leader shall be bridge for us". According to the ancient etymology, "Pontifex" meant the bridge builder, the one who makes the connection between the two shores, the two worlds.

In addition, there are dark historical memories and geographical transmissions of temporal meanings. The island country lying at the outermost border of the "world", which is spoken of in many traditions, points in fact only to the primeval center in the primeval distance of the time. The sun land is Thule for the Greeks. Thule is equivalent to the Airyanem-Waêjô, the land of the extreme north of the Aryan Persian. Airyanem-Waêjô is the "seed" of the Aryan-Iranian primal race, in which the conception of the king of kings, the bearer of the law from the God of light will reappear. Airyanem-Waêjô knew the kingdom of the sunny Yima, the golden age. But Hesiod remembers, "When that age (the golden one) came to an end, those divine men continued to exist and became in invisible form the guardians of men." This because the "sense" of history, its direction, is decay: the golden age was replaced by the silver age – that of the "mother", after that the bronze age – that of the Titans, at last the iron "dark" age; *kali-yuga*, time of the wolf, twilight of the gods. Why? Many myths seem to want to establish a connection between "fall" and hubris, i.e. Promethean usurpation, titanic revolt. Again, Hesiod remembers: Zeus, the Olympian principle, creates a race of heroes who are more than Titans and can regain a godlike life. Through them the sunlike primordial spirituality, the golden age, can be restored. A symbol: the Doric-Aryan Heracles, ally of the Olympians, enemy of the Titans and Giants.

The doctrine of the supreme center and the world ages is closely related to the doctrine of cyclic laws and manifestations. Without this reference many myths and memories would remain in the state of unstructured and incomprehensible fragments. "This

happened once – this will happen again", teaches the tradition. And also, "Every time the spirit perishes and nefariousness rises, I reveal myself: for the protection of the righteous, for the destruction of the wicked, for the firm restoration of the law, I assume a body from age to age." In all traditions, in various forms, more or less accomplished, there is always to be found the doctrine of the cyclical appearance of a single principle, which continues in an unrevealed state in the intervening periods. Belief in Messiah, Last Judgment, *milenarium regnum* (Millennial Kingdom), etc. – all these are only fragmentary reproductions of this knowledge, distorted by an unbridled religious imagination, a knowledge which, however, also underlies those unclear ideas which have as their object a ruler who has never died, who withdraws into an inaccessible abode and who will one day reveal himself again for the last battle, a "sleeping" emperor who will awaken; a wounded prince who awaits the one who will heal him and lead his empire to new prosperity. These familiar motifs from the saga of the emperor take us very far back in time. The Urarian myth of the Kalki avatar already embodies the same meanings in meaningful connection with the other symbols already indicated. The Kalki avatar is "born" in Shamballa – one of the designations of the Ur-nordic center. The teaching is transmitted to him by Parashu-Râma, the "never died" bearer of the tradition of the divine heroes, the destroyer of the rebellious, desecrated warrior caste. The Kalki avatar fights against the "dark age" and essentially with its demon leaders Koka and Vikoka, which even etymologically correspond to Gog and Magog, the subterranean forces ruled by the priest-king John and unleashed in the dark age, against which also the Ghibelline awakening emperor will have to fight.

The Grail legend can be traced back to this world of thought and can only be understood historically as well as supra-historically on the basis of these tradition-bound teachings and their overarching

symbolism. Whoever connects the Grail legend in terms of content with this understands. If one believes to exhaust the Grail legend by defining it as a Christian legend, as a pagan-Celtic folklore or as a poetic invention of a sublimated chivalry, one will only receive the external, insignificant and unessential from this literature. Equally misleading would be any attempt to make the Grail saga dependent on a particular "folk spirit." We can, after all, declare: The Grail is a Nordic mystery. But then we should understand by "Nordic" something much deeper and more comprehensive than just German or Indo-European and refer to the Hyperborean tradition, which is ultimately the same as the original tradition itself. Indeed, all the main motifs of the cycle in question can be traced back to this tradition.

Extremely significant in this regard is already the indication of Perceval le Gallois that the writings about the history of the Grail were found on the island of Avalon, where "the Arthurian tomb lies". And not only that: other texts call the land where Joseph of Arimathia would have originally taken the Grail, or where certain mysterious ancestors of Joseph lived, the White Island, "isle blanche" and Avalon Island, "Insula Avalonis". They are again the designations of the Nordic primitive center. If England was described as a kind of land of the Grail and as a region in which the Grail adventures would have mainly taken place, much already leads to the suspicion that it is essentially a symbolic land. England was also called "Albion" and "white island", Albania a part of it, Avalon the locality Glastonbury. The old Celtic-British mythology, in fact, seems to have transferred to England, or to a part of England, certain memories and meanings essentially related to the Nordic primordial center, to Thule, the Land of the Sun. The true "land" of the Grail is this. Thus it happens that the Grail kingdom enters into the closest connection with the symbolic Arthurian kingdom, the devastated kingdom, "la terre gaste" and the kingdom whose ruler is wounded, lethargic or

decayed. A rocky island, a glass island, the turning island, the Isle of the Tournance, a land surrounded by waters, an inaccessible place, a mountain height, a sun castle, a wild mountain and a mountain of salvation (Montsalvatsche and Mons Salvationis), an invisible, inaccessible castle, reachable only by the called, and even by them only at the risk of their lives, and so on: These are the main stages of all the adventures of the Grail heroes; they are nothing but as many manifestations of the symbolic abode of the World King. The memory of the primordial center returns: "Eden" is called the Grail land by one text. The Lohengrin cycle and the Saxon Chronicle of Halberstadt report: "Arthur sits with his knights in the Grail, which was then the Earthly Paradise (i.e. the Ur-land) and has now become a place of sin".

In the literature of chivalry, the Grail is actually a supernatural object, which has the following main characteristics: it nourishes – (gives life); it shines (leads to spiritual enlightenment); it makes invincible. Of its other aspects, two in particular should be emphasized here:

Firstly, the Grail is a celestial stone, which not only, like the stone taken by the Tuatha from Avalon, appoints the kings, but also designates the rulers who have to become "priest-king John" (see "Titirel").

Secondly, the Grail is the stone that sprang from the crown of Lucifer at the moment of his defeat (see "Wartburg War"). As such, the Grail symbolizes a power that Lucifer lost in the fall, and it also retains in the other texts the features of a "*mysterium tremendum*". Like a terrible power, the Grail kills, crushes or blinds any knight who approaches it too closely without being called or worthy of it. This aspect of the Grail is related to the so-called trial of the "perilous seat". In the Arthurian round someone is now missing. A seat is empty, which ultimately belongs to the highest head of the order. Whoever occupies it without being the

expected hero will be struck by lightning or swallowed by the earth. The Grail can only be attained through struggle, "it must be won," says Wolfram von Eschenbach.

The mystery of the Grail is divided into two motifs: one refers to a symbolic realm, appearing as the image of the supreme center, which is to be restored. The Grail is no longer present in it or has lost its virtue. The king of the Grail is infirm, wounded, senile, or caught by an evil spell that seems to keep him alive while he has been dead for centuries (Henry of the Turlin).

The other motive consists in the existence of a hero who, by being able to fight for the Grail, should feel obliged to such restoration; otherwise he fails in his task and his heroic power is cursed (Wolfram). He is supposed to be able to forge a broken sword back together. He is supposed to be the "avenger." He is supposed to "ask the question."

What kind of task is this? It seems to be the same that Hesiod has assigned to the heroes: that generation which, born in the ages of decay, has to restore the primeval age. As the Hesiodic hero is to overcome and conquer the Titanic, so the Grail hero is to overcome the Luciferic danger. It is not enough that the Grail knight proves himself in all kinds of natural and supernatural adventures as a "heart of steel" and the "best and bravest knight in the world": he should also be free from arrogance and attain wisdom (Wolfram, Gautier). If Lucifer has lost the Grail, some texts (Grand St. Graal, Gibert de Mostreuil, Morte Darthur) attribute without further ado to Lucifer the demonic force that works against the Grail knights in various trials. Not only that, but in each case the Grail King is rendered powerless by suffering from a burning, poisoned wound contracted in the service of Orgeluse, it being readily apparent that Orgeluse is nothing other than a female personification of the principle of pride, orgueil in French. However, in the castle of the same Orgeluse, other Grail

knights, such as Gawan, are put to the highest test. However, they do not succumb. They win. They marry or "possess" orgueil. The purpose of these tests is to realize a pure power, a spiritual manhood, to raise the heroic quality to an Olympian, royal, solar level, to a level detached from any power of chaos. "The earthly chivalry shall become a heavenly one," is to be read in the *Queste du Graal*. Only under this condition the way to the Grail Castle is opened and one can persevere on the "perilous seat" without being crushed, as the Titans were crushed by the thunderbolt of the Olympian god.

However, the peculiar main motive of the whole Grail cycle is, as already said, the following: To the hero, who has gone so far in such accomplishment of a non-earthly knighthood, another decisive task imposes itself: Once he is allowed into the Grail Castle, he is to sympathize with the tragedy of the wounded, paralyzed or only apparently living Grail King and take the initiative for the absolute act of restoration. This is puzzled by the texts several times expressed: Parzival is to "ask the question," for example. What question? Here the authors seem to want to remain silent. One has the impression as if in this point something prevents the author from speaking, and that a banal explanation is given to cover the true answer. However, if one follows the inner logic of the entire narratives, then it is almost clear what it is really about: The question to be asked is the question of empire; it is not a question of knowing what certain objects in the Grail Castle mean, but it is a question of feeling the tragedy of decay and, having once reached that consummation which the vision of the Grail signifies, of raising the question of restoration. Only on this basis the whole explains itself, and the miraculous virtue of this enigmatic question becomes understandable: because the hero, who is not indifferent and asks the question, redeems the kingdom with this question. Who was only apparently alive disappears; who was wounded is healed. In

any case, the hero takes the place of the previous one as a new, true Grail King. A new cycle begins.

According to some texts, the dead knight, who seems to remind the hero of his revenge and task, appears in a bier drawn by swans. The swan is the beast of Apollo in the land of the Hyperboreans, in the Nordic primeval land. Drawn by swans, the Grail knights travel from the highest center where Arthur rules: from Avalon.

In other texts the Grail hero is called the "Knight of the Two Swords". But in the theological-political literature of that time, especially in the Ghibelline, the two swords meant nothing else than the double power, the double dominion: the temporal and the supernatural. A classical text speaks of the Hyperborean land as that from which originated families such as that of the Heraclides, who bore at the same time the royal and the priestly dignity.

The inaccessible and inviolable Grail Kingdom is also a reality in that form, according to which it is not bound to any place, to any visible organization and to any earthly kingdom. It is a homeland to which one belongs after a birth other than physical, in the sense of a spiritual dignity. This kingdom unites in an unbreakable chain men who may be scattered in the whole world, in space and time, in nations, to such an extent that they appear scattered and one need not know about the other. In this sense, the realm of the Grail, like that of Arthur and John, like Thule, like Mitgard and Avalon, is always there. It is immovable because of its polar nature. Accordingly, it is not nearer or farther to the current of history. Rather it is the currents of history, the people and their empires, which are able to approach it more or less.

Now, at a certain time, the Ghibelline Middle Ages seemed to show such an approach to a great extent and to offer, so to speak, the historical-spiritual material by means of which the Grail

Kingdom would become not only occult, but also visible and, as in the primordial traditions, both an inner and an outer reality. In this way it can be argued that the Grail was the crowning glory of the medieval imperial myth and the highest creed of Ghibellinism. Such a confession is really to be sought in the legend rather than in the life and the clear, political will of that time. Similarly, what moves most deeply and dangerously in the individual expresses itself less through the shaping of reflective consciousness than through the symbolism of dream and subconscious primordality.

The Middle Ages waited for the Grail hero, so that the arid tree of the empire would blossom again, every disruption, every usurpation, every opposition would be destroyed and a sunny order would indeed prevail. The Grail Empire, which was to be led to new splendor, is itself the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. The Grail hero, who would have become the "ruler of all creatures" and the one to whom the "highest power" would be handed over, would be the historical emperor, "Fridericus", if he had been the executor of the Grail mystery or the Hyperborean mystery.

History and superhistory thus seemed to meet in an instant: There was a period of metaphysical tension, a culmination and highest hope – afterwards again collapse and dispersion.

All of the Grail literature seems to be crammed into a short period of time: No text seems to have been written before the last quarter of the twelfth century and after the first quarter of the thirteenth. At the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, one suddenly stops speaking – as if obeying a watchword – of the Grail. Only after many years and in already different mood one writes again about the Grail. It looks as if at a certain moment a subterranean current had appeared, but immediately afterwards it had withdrawn again into the invisible. The time of

this submergence of the Grail tradition corresponds approximately to the eve of the tragedy of the Templars. Perhaps there lies the starting point to the collapse.

In Wolfram von Eschenbach the Grail knights are called "Templeisen", i.e. Templars, although for him no temple comes into question. In other texts, the knights – monks of the mysterious "island" – wear the sign of the Templars: red cross on white robe. Elsewhere again, the Grail adventures take on a twilight mood of the gods: The Grail hero probably accomplishes "revenge" and restores the realm. A heavenly voice, however, announces that he should retreat with the Grail to a mysterious island. The ship that comes to fetch him is the Templar ship: it carries white sails with a red cross.

Secret societies seem to have preserved, like diverging veins, the old symbols and traditions of the Grail cycle after the collapse of the Hohenstaufen culture: Ghibelline "faithful of love", later minstrels, hermetics. One reaches with it up to the Rosicrucian movement. In the Rosicrucians, the same myth reappears: the Castle of the Sun, the Emperor as "ruler of the fourth kingdom" and destroyer of any spiritual usurpation; an invisible brotherhood of transcendent personalities united exclusively by their purpose and essence; finally, the strange mystery of the resurrection of the King, a mystery that turns into the statement that the King is already alive and awake. Whoever attends this mystery wears the Templar flag: a white banner with a red cross. The Grail animal, the dove, is also present.

However, a watchword seems to be given also here. At a certain moment, people everywhere suddenly stop talking about the Rosicrucians. According to tradition, the last true Rosicrucians left the Occident and retreated to "India" at the time when absolutism, rationalism, individualism and enlightenment were already paving the way for the French Revolution.

India is a symbol here. It means the site of the priest king John, the Aryan king of the world. It is Avalon. It is Thule. According to a text, dark times have come over Salvatierra, where the Monsalvat knights are located. The Grail is no longer allowed to stay there. It will be taken to "India", to the kingdom of King John, which "lies near Paradise". Once the Grail knights have landed there, the Monsalvat and his castle suddenly and miraculously appear there, because "among the sinful peoples nothing of it shall remain". Parzival himself takes the office of the "priest John". Of Shamballa, the mystic "city of the north", where the "northern ways" or the "ways of the Aryan gods", *devayana*, lead, it is said by the Tibetan ascetics: "It lies in my mind".

In every end lies a beginning decided. Today, a world of decay is dissolving. New forces are emerging from the depths. Decisive battles are preparing. Primordial symbols are evoked: under swastikas, eagles, Roman hyperborean axes, new peoples march. The myth of the empire has a resurrection. There is already talk of a new state, which has to become an order state: of a new order, which has to unite all occidental forces struggling against the demonia of the collective and the dark tide of the Third International. With it, perhaps, new times are maturing: Times in which the myths of our common Ghibelline greatness, of the invisible, inviolable center, of the Aryan ruler who is to awaken, of the avenging and restoring hero will no longer be considered fables of a lost romantic past, but will reveal themselves as the truth and reality of those who can rightly be regarded as the only living ones.

It would be very welcome that especially the spiritual vanguard of the German renewal movement would give itself the clearest account of this and on this basis would awaken in itself the ability to find in its present myths the path that can really make possible

the reconnection with the origins, with the secret tradition of the Empire and the mystery of the North.

3. The Weapons of the Secret War

There is a secret war: this is the war waged underground by the forces of world overthrow using means that almost always elude the common research methods. The concept of secret war belongs to a so to speak three-dimensional conception of history; not the two dimensions of apparent causes: Events and leaders, come into question, but mainly the dimension of depth. In this subterranean dimension there are forces and influences whose effect is determining, and which often cannot even be traced back to the simply human – be it individual or collective.

Above all, we want to clarify the meaning of the term "subterranean" that we use. We do not think of a dark irrational underground, which stands in the same relation to the generally known part of history, as in detail the unconscious stands to the waking consciousness. We can speak of the unconscious only in view of those who, according to the three-dimensional conception of events, appear to us less as subjects than as objects of history, in that in their thoughts and actions they hardly give an account of the real influences they obey and of the real aims they realize. Thus their center falls more into the preconscious and subconscious than into the clear, reflective consciousness, and in this respect it may well be said that in fact the most decisive actions of the secret war are conducted in the subconscious.

From the point of view of the true perpetrators of history, however, things are quite different; here there can be no question either of the subconscious or of the unconscious: Rather, we are dealing with thoroughly intelligent forces which know exactly what they want and which means are most suitable for the realization of what they want. To suppose that the ground of history is formed by the "irrational," the "life," the "becoming,"

or any other of these obscure, newly invented entities, is only philosophy and a very dangerous error: as will be expressed later, we even see in it one of the suggestions which have been spread in certain circles in the service of certain aims of the secret front. So: the third dimension of history must not disappear in the fog of abstract philosophical concepts, but is to be thought as occupied and inhabited by quite precise "intelligences". If certain secret societies can be the immediate organ of these forces, one must not, however, persist in this and assume that these latter exhaust the essence and effect of the invisible enemy, for it is a struggle which is ultimately metaphysical. According to one of the various conceptions of history prevalent in the Occident, history is not to be seen as a mechanism of natural, political, economic or social causes, but as the development of a plan – the "providential" plan -which is resisted by opposing forces with their historical bearers. Such forces are sometimes referred to in moralistic terms as "forces of evil" or in religious Christian terms as anti-Christian forces or forces of the Antichrist. Such a conception has something for itself under the following three conditions: it is to be translated from the theological to the practical level, it is to become the general methodological principle for a deepened knowledge of the events, it is to be generalized and freed from the one-sided Christian premises, because it is also to be applied in relation to non-Christian culture. When speaking essentially of human institutions, it is better without further ado to speak par excellence of forces of tradition and forces of anti-tradition, of forces of spiritual hierarchy and cosmos and of forces of revolutionary overthrow and chaos. Today, more than ever, there is a need to deal with such thoughts, which are not to be confused with philosophical speculations, but are to be considered as indispensable weapons for the right action. We would like to recall a very significant passage of the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion": "The way of thinking of the goyim

(gentiles) is only animal. Thus, they are incapable of foreseeing the consequences that a certain cause can produce when it is presented under a certain light. It is precisely as a result of this difference in thinking between us (the Sages of Zion) and the goyim that we easily come to the realization of being the chosen ones of God and of our superhuman nature, compared to the instinctive and animalistic way of thinking of the goyim. The latter well understand the facts, but they do not foresee them and are incapable of inventing anything except material things." This document, which makes Judaism the main perpetrator of the overthrow of the world, refers to the goyim: if we simply let it apply generally to those whom we have called the "objects" of history, this judgment on the goy still seems terribly apt today. The way of thinking of most of today's "people of action" seems – compared with that of their masked opponents – childlike indeed. They concentrate all their forces on the immediately tangible, and they are incapable of grasping causal relations beyond an extremely limited and almost always crassly materialistic horizon.

The secret front, on the other hand, works with what we would like to call, with a parable taken from the positive sciences, the *imponderable* or the *imponderables*. It very often causes changes which are almost imperceptible, from which slowly but fatefully considerable effects go out. It almost never acts by a direct resistance, but by an expedient guidance which leads the forces to the desired goal. What Wundt once called the "heterogeneity of goals" plays the main role in this: certain people or circles, who believe that they are only enforcing something they wanted, serve as tools to realize or make possible quite different things, thus betraying a superior influence and "meaning". Therefore, the "differential" between what is wanted and what has happened, between the principles and programs and their true consequences

in history, offers the most precious material for research into the real forces at work in history.

Having said this, let us consider some of the means most frequently employed in our times by the masked forces of world overthrow to camouflage their actions, to prevent those of their opponents in advance, and to exert their influence constantly.

1 .) The positivist suggestion. First of all, one should get acquainted with the idea that the so-called "positive" method of looking at history and events is rather a *suggestion* systematically spread in the modern culture by the anti-traditional forces to cover up their action, than a spontaneous phenomenon or the prejudice peculiar to a very limited way of thinking. Those who believe that history is exclusively man-made and determined only by economic, political and social factors do not look far and confuses the causes with the effects. This is exactly what the forces that want to act underground desire. A culture dominated by the "positive" prejudice offers the most excellent condition for acting from the third dimension. To a large extent, unfortunately, this is the case with modern culture. It is a culture directly incapacitated, blind and defenseless by the positivist, rationalist and scientific prejudice. Today, although we speak of renewal, we are far from tearing off the mask of so many ideas that still form the basis of the modern way of thinking and teaching: Ideas that are not so much errors or limitations as suggestions, purposely spread by the conspirators greedy for destruction and domination.

We have already spoken of certain conceptions of history which are no longer "positivistic" and have as their basis "becoming", "life" or "spirit". We can see in it an example of the application of a second instrument of the secret war, namely:

2 .) The tactics of substitution. It is used every time when the danger of "awakening" makes itself felt and the "objects of history" try to get rid of the ideas through which the occult play of the forces of world overthrow easily prevails. In the case just indicated, in fact, these unclear concepts of "becoming," "life," "unconscious," etc., are only a bait for those who were no longer satisfied with the positivist schemes, so that their eye does not turn where it should look. Through the fog of such concepts the field of vision is veiled as well as through the dark night of positivistic agnosticism. One plays with philosophy and world view, while the conspiracy continues.

The tactic of replacement also develops in a significant and effective way as the

3 .) Tactics of falsified allegories. It is the following: The effects of the work of destruction can carry over into the material and take such a visible and extreme form that they finally call for a reaction. This reaction then searches in an unclear way for symbols and myths that are suitable for the reconstruction, and can even find such. They are almost always symbols and points of reference from the tradition-bound past, which are awakened to new life by the deeper forces of a race threatened with final destruction. In such cases the secret struggle does not assert itself with any direct action, i.e. these symbols are apparently not resisted, one strives rather to let only forgeries and imitations of them come to the spread and validity. Thus, the reaction is either dampened or deflected or even reversed in the opposite direction. In this direction, the same influences then set in that worked in the evil and decay fought and tried to be resisted. This tactic can take place in various fields, spiritual as well as

political, and seems to be particularly popular today. It is worthwhile to list examples of it.

The most typical case is formed by "traditionalism". Tradition is bondage to the metaphysical-forming. Tradition is the secret of all that has form in a higher sense, consequently also of what race and culture mean in a higher sense. Continuity, i.e., uninterruptedness, overcoming the temporal within the temporal, is tradition, and this quality tradition owes to the existence of both a knowledge of symbols, principles, and meanings that are

The modern world is often a place where the vague longing for a return to tradition is diverted into the form of "traditionalism", i.e. into the form of vague assumptions of dilettante reality. Now it often happens in the modern world that the vague longing for a return to tradition is diverted into the form of "traditionalism", i.e. into the form of vague assumptions of dilettantish or militant character, which confuse tradition with customs and habits, end up in a short-winded particularism and lazily persist in certain traditional forms without knowing anything about their spirit. As such, the "traditionalist" entities provide the best pretext for playing their opponents, whose attack against *traditionalism* is only the cloak of their struggle against *tradition*, and which has as its true aim the promotion of revolutionary overthrow. Thus the reaction is prevented and the maneuver brilliantly leads to the desired result. One should be very careful that something similar does not happen with the main ideas of today's renewing movements – or with race and empire ideas, Romanism, Aryanism, etc. It can be argued that among these ideas there is not one which is not exposed to the danger of similar transmutations, because the opponent knows only too well what healing effect could come out of these ideas if they were to break through in the most genuine and highest form.

4 .) Tactics of upheaval. – The secret forces of the world overthrow knew very well that the precondition of the order to be destroyed is the supernatural element, the spirit, conceived not as a philosophical abstraction, but as a higher reality, final goal of the process of the transcendent perfection of the personality and legitimation of every true rulership. Having limited the influence which the last occidental creed could still exert in this respect (we cannot here examine the means employed to this end), the forces of subversion had to strive that every new aspiration for the supernatural awakening outside the ruling religion would be deflected and paralyzed. What we may call Neo-spiritualism, with reference to the various theosophistic, spiritualistic, orientazing, and occultistic sects of modern times, is to be regarded mainly as the result of such a maneuver. In all this, again, it is almost exclusively a matter of distorted images, imitations and distortions of a spiritual knowledge, for which circles of half-educated people and enthusiasts are to blame, who in this respect often seem to be subject to a truly demonic influence.

In this way, a double result has been achieved. First of all, it has been easy to relate the discredit into which these imitations had to fall to the teachings themselves, by which these latter have been rendered incapable of having a dangerous effect. Lately, this maneuver seems to be carried out also by political means: there are, for example, circles that see everywhere only "Freemasonry" and secret societies, where they are esoteric symbols, even if the reference goes to ancient traditions that have nothing to do with the heresies of Freemasonry and have spiritual-aristocratic features. In addition, there is the positivist prejudice that sees only superstition and fantasy in all this anyway.

In the second place, by means of misunderstood "exercises", one has come to direct most of those who practically aspired to the supernatural, not to the supernatural, but to the sub-natural, i.e. to the "unconscious", to mediumship and, in general, to a world which, far from signifying the increase of the normal personality, only its collapse and decomposition.

The world conspiracy has thus eliminated the danger that the true supernatural in the modern anti-material culture could have meant for the secret front. With neospiritualism the world conspiracy has thus eliminated the danger which the true supernatural in the modern anti-material culture could have meant for the secret front, and it now looks with satisfaction at those who proclaim the secret doctrine of the superman in theosophic circles before old women, inferiors and sub-humans, or at the others who dance to the tune of the rationalist-political idols.

5 .) Tactic of the setback. – It is realized when one of the forces, which one wants to eliminate from the world because of its still tradition-bound character, is induced to take the initiative for an action, which in a first moment is directed against a similar, i.e. traditional force; when this is destroyed, it turns against the former and carries it away. The secret forces of world overthrow often reach the goal by suitable infiltrations, so that the representatives of one tradition believe to defend it best by attacking and discrediting other traditions. Whoever does not account for this and attacks the tradition in the form of another culturally related people for material reasons, must be prepared to see sooner or later also his own tradition attacked by a movement of the backlash, so to speak.* The forces of world overthrow count very much on this tactic: consequently they strive by all means to keep every higher idea under the tyranny of particularistic interests,

of proselytizing, of pride and greed: they know quite well that this is the best method of destroying all unity and true solidarity, and of fostering a state of disunion in which their game becomes very easy.

(* Example: During World War I, the Russian monarchy allowed itself to be instrumentalized by the Western powers against the German and Austrian monarchies. In response, the German government promoted the Bolshevik overthrow in Russia by having Lenin travel to St.Petersburg. By the end of the war, however, Bolshevism was raging in Germany, Austria, and Hungary, and after the war all three emperors were eliminated. The calculation of the Western powers or the forces behind them had worked out. This will be discussed in the following section. BS)

The case is similar with any Machiavellian use of revolutionary forces. Some shortsighted statesmen have at times thought that it could possibly mean a strengthening of their people to promote or support the revolution in opposing nations. Without suspecting it, they have come to the opposite conclusion. While they thought they were using the revolution as a means, the revolution has made them its tool: having found the roads paved with other nations thanks to those politicians, the revolution has almost always reached and demolished the first ones as well. It can be said that the whole of modern history has been the scene of an overthrow that has been tragically realized precisely in this way. In this connection it can never be sufficiently emphasized that only the unconditional, ascetic, unshakable fidelity to an *idea can* protect one from the forces of occult war; if the capacity of this spiritual fidelity and the solidarity of a kind of holy war is lost, if one obeys the random motives of a so-called realpolitik, then the front of resistance is broken, and with it the possibility of any true independence and freedom is lost.

Let us mention one of the last manifestations of such tactics: the "principle of nationalities" and "anti-imperialism" are myths used

by the Freemason and Jewish masterminds of the Allies to mobilize every force against the Central European empires and for the destruction of them; but they have now become ideologies which in the future will be able best to promote, for example, a general uprising of all colored peoples against the great European powers and their claim to supremacy.* No wonder that on this basis such an ideology has passed into the hands of the Comintern and become an important tool of Bolshevik propaganda outside Europe.

(* This is how the British Empire perished – despite the victory in two world wars. The British aristocracy rubbed its eyes in wonder – it too had been duped by the forces of subversion. BS)

6 .) Tactics of scapegoating. – When the secret forces of world overthrow feel the danger of being exposed in some aspect, they strive to direct and concentrate all the attention of their opponents on certain elements that can be considered only partially or only in a subordinate way responsible for their misdeeds. The whole reaction is then discharged on these elements, which have become real scapegoats. The occult front is then free to continue its game, since its opponents believe that they have now discovered the enemy and have nothing further to look for. As champions of anti-Semitism in Italy, we certainly cannot arouse suspicion: that is why we have sometimes admonished certain radical anti-Semites to be careful lest, seeing everywhere only the Jew, they occasionally fall into such a trap. The same admonition could be addressed to those who see everywhere only Freemasonry, and so on, since such tactics are effective in many other fields as well. In saying this, of course, we do not mean to deny in the least the degree of culpability of Jews and Freemasons, but rather to raise the question whether even deeper and more mysterious forces have determined the functional role of

Judaism and Freemasonry in modern times, and we are convinced that it would be too good to be true if, with the elimination of Judaism and Freemasonry, a golden age could be ushered in without further ado, as some sincerely believe. One should beware of any one-sidedness and never lose sight of the overall picture of the true secret front.

Now for the:

7 .) Tactics of dilutions. – It is a special aspect of the "tactics of replacement". In order to understand what it is about, the following should be said in advance: The process that has led up to the present general crisis has distant origins and different phases. In each of these phases the crisis was already present, although in a form not yet acute, potential rather than actual. The doctrine of "progress" can be considered as one of those suggestions that the secret forces of world overthrow spread in order to make the eye turn away from the origins and the process of decline goes on and on under the sign of illusory values, especially the dazzle of the "achievements" of the technical-mechanical civilization. The tragic experiences of the last years, however, have managed to partially banish this hypnosis, with which one has begun to account for the fact that the speed of the alleged "progress" meant only that of a race to the abyss. To stop and to return to the origins as the only way to a new normal culture became then slogans. The secret front then mobilized new means to prevent any radicalism. First of all, it coined and spread the slogan of "untimeliness"; then it understood it, to direct the forces striving towards the origins again to states in which the crisis and the evil appeared in milder and consequently less felt forms. This trap has also snapped shut. The leaders of the world

upheaval know, of course, that from this moment on there is no longer any great danger: the reaction will soon follow the same path and find itself again at the starting point, but now without the possibility of still offering resistance to the final collapse.

One could cite numerous historical examples of this tactic as well. The leaders of today's counter-revolutionary movements should be very attentive to this. For example, certain features of today's nationalism should be carefully examined from this point of view. Everyone knows about the subversive and anti-hierarchical role played by the collectivist-demagogic concept of nations (since the French Revolution, BS) vis-à-vis the preceding cultural forms. Now the reference in today's struggle against Bolshevism and its various internationals goes back predominantly to the idea of nation. It is therefore necessary to shape the concept of nation in such a way that it no longer means a stage of that path which has just led to the corruption to be fought today. We have already had occasion in our writings to consider this problem more closely and to distinguish systematically between two opposing concepts of the nation.*

(* See the essay "Das Doppelantlitz des Nationalismus"; in our collection the No. 8. BS)

Here we must limit ourselves to two words. According to the first conception, nation means only the mass – we have intentionally not said people, but, in French, "nation" – it is only a pretext to abolish any difference and rank in a humiliating leveling. As such, in occidental history, the nation appears in the context of the demise of the old hierarchical states and as a prelude to that further leveling which will no longer have as its general denominator the nation but the international. – According to the other view, on the other hand, the nation as a particular community of the people has the significance of a first reaction

against internationalist egalitarianism: it already embodies a principle of difference which is to be developed in a further intra-ethnic meaningful division and ranking. Then there is no longer talk of nation, but rather of empire in the tradition-bound sense.

8 .) The tactic of confusing the principle with its representatives. – In many respects, the decay of tradition-bound institutions has as its precondition the decay of their leaders and representatives. The real dissolution and destruction, however, is made possible by the tactic of confusing the principle with the person, and this is another weapon of the secret war. If the representative of a certain principle appears unworthy, one proceeds in the process against this representative at the same time or even essentially against the principle itself; in any case, one also drags the principle into this process. Instead of declaring that the representative is not worthy of the principle and replacing him with someone else, one claims that the principle is wrong, corrupt and in decay and must be replaced by a new principle.

Everyone knows that in only too many cases the attack against one or another degenerate aristocrat has turned into an attack against the aristocratic principle itself and into a weapon of demagogy. History abounds with examples of this tactic, to which world subversion owes so much. The hierarchical order of ancient Aryan society culminated in a spiritual rulership, that of the warrior nobility,

The collapse of this order came about in many respects as a result of the tactics just described. The collapse of this order was in many respects brought about by the tactics just indicated. The warrior nobility did not rise up against the degenerate representatives of pure spiritual authority in order to replace them by other more worthy representatives of the same principle, but

in order to emancipate themselves under this pretext and to lay claim to the highest authority. In a subsequent phase or culture, the third estate rose up against the degenerate warrior nobility, not so that true aristocrats and warriors might take its place, but to usurp power. In a third phase, the process against a certain destructive and negative side of capitalism and the bourgeoisie (i.e. against the third estate) has not had as its goal a corresponding reform, but has been the pretext for the revolt of the masses and the usurpation of the gradually deposed power by the proletariat: Class struggle, Third International, birth of Bolshevism.

If we have had to confine ourselves to a few examples and to deal mainly with the exposition of the principles, we hope that this circumstance will not be an obstacle to the discovery of the manifold applications of these principles and of the valuable results to which they may lead when applied systematically in any field. Indeed, it can be asserted that there is hardly any field in which the secret struggle has not taken place in some way.

Let us reiterate that these are not "philosophical" attitudes, but very serious matters. We are even convinced that no leader or fighter of the front of counter-revolution and tradition can be considered mature and up to his true tasks until he has developed within himself the ability to see clearly into this subterranean world of causes and to fight the enemy with the same invisible weapons.

I remind you once again of the myth of the Wise Men of Zion: compared to them, the people who understand only the "facts" are like dull-witted animals. Especially in times which, like today's, are prelude to the final decision of a whole cultural world, we must feel the demand in us to awaken in this elite or order, which has been spoken of so often in our lectures, the ability to supplement the material struggle by an invisible, subtle

struggle, by a secret, inexorable knowledge, which now, however, is not in the service of dark powers, but of the bright, sunny principle of Aryan spirituality.

4. The Sacred Character of Kingship

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Every great "traditional" form of culture was characterized by the presence of beings who, by virtue of their "divinity," that is, by an innate or acquired superiority over human and natural conditions, appeared capable of representing the living and effective presence of the metaphysical principle in the bosom of the temporal order. Of such a nature, according to the deeper meaning of his etymology and the original value of his function, was the *pontiff*, the "bridge-builder" or "way-builder" between the natural and the supernatural. Further, the *pontifex* traditionally identified himself with the *rex*, in keeping with the prevailing notion of a *royal divinity* and a *priestly kingship* (1). The "divine" kings thus embodied in the permanent state that life which is "beyond life". By their presence, by virtue of their "pontifical" mediation, by the force of the rites entrusted to their power and of the institutions of which they were the originators or supports, spiritual influences radiated upon the world of men, permeating their thoughts, intentions and actions, forming a rampart against the dark forces of inferior nature; which gave to the whole of life an order which made it suitable to serve as a fruitful basis for the realization of something higher; which consequently created the general conditions for prosperity, welfare, and "happiness."

The basis of the authority of kings and rulers, that for which they were revered, feared and glorified, was in the ancient worldview essentially this their sacred and superhuman quality, understood not as an empty figure of speech but as a *reality*. As one felt the invisible as preceding and higher principle opposite the visible and temporal, accordingly one recognized such natures

immediately the priority over all and the natural and absolute ruler right. What is lacking in all traditional cultures and only becomes a matter of a subsequent and already descending period of time is *the lay, worldly, merely political idea of kingship* and therefore that of a primacy based only, be it on force and ambition, be it on natural and worldly qualities, such as intelligence, strength, skill, courage, wisdom, concern for the material common good and so on. Even stranger to tradition is the idea that power is conferred on the king by those he governs; that his laws and authority are expressions of popular consciousness and subject to its approval. *Rather, at the root of all temporal power was found the spiritual authority of what might be called a "divine being in human form" (2). Bâsileis ieroí:* The king-more than a man, a sacred cosmic being-possesses the transcendent power that distances him from every mortal, enabling him to bestow upon his subjects gifts beyond human reach, and enabling him to give efficacy to the ritual acts of tradition to which, as we have said, he has the prerogative, and in which were recognized the limbs of true "governance" and the supernatural supports of all tradition-bound life (3). Therefore, kingship prevailed and was considered *natural*. It did not need material coercion. It imposed itself first and irresistibly through the spirit. "*Glorious is the dignity of a god on earth,*" says an Aryan text, "*but hard to attain for the inadequate: worthy to be a king is only he whose mind rises to such heights.*"

In the tradition, the symbol of the *sun* corresponded essentially to the royal divinity. The king was recognized as having the same "glory" that belongs to the sun and the light -symbols of the higher nature – when they triumph over the darkness every morning. "As king he *ascends the throne of Horus (the sun-god) of the living, like his father Râ, every day*"; "I have ordained that you *rise as king of the south and the north on the throne of*

Horus, like the sun, forever" – these are phrases referring to the ancient Egyptian kingship. They coincide, by the way, exactly with the Iranian ones, where it is said of the king that he is "of the same race as the gods", he "has the same throne as Mithras, he rises with the sun", and where he is called *particeps siderum* (partaker of the star power), "lord of peace, salvation of men, eternal man, victor who rises with the sun".

This solar "glory" or "victory", which thus determined the royal nature and its right from above, was not, by the way, limited to a mere symbol, but identified with a real and creating power, of which the king was considered the bearer. In ancient Egypt the king was also called "fighting Horus" – hor âhâ – to denote this character of victory or glory of the solar principle embodied in the king: the king in Egypt was not only of "divine origin" but was also "appointed" as such and then periodically authenticated by rites representing precisely the victory of the sun-god Horus over Typhon-Seth, the demon of the inferior realm. Such rites, by the way, were attributed the power to attract to themselves a "power" and a "life" that supernaturally "entwined" the king's abilities. But the ideogram *uas*, "power", is the scepter that the gods and the kings carry, an ideogram that in the older texts stands for another scepter in serrated form, in which one recognizes the zigzag of the lightning. The royal "power" thus appears as a manifestation of the celestial lightning power; and the union of the signs "life-power," *ânsûs*, forms a word which also denotes the "milk of flame" on which the immortals feed, itself not without relation to the *uraeus*, the *divine flame*, which is sometimes life-awakening, sometimes destructive, and whose symbol surrounds the head of the Egyptian king. The different elements, then, converge exclusively in the idea of a "non-earthly" fluid, a power – *sa* – that consecrates and certifies the king's victorious solar nature and that "dashes" – *sotpu* – from one king

to another, forming the unbroken "golden" chain of the royal race destined to rule (4).

According to the tradition of the Far East, the king, the "son of heaven" – *T'ien-Tse* -, that is, the one not born according to the laws of mortals, has a "heavenly mission" – *T'ien-Ming* -, which likewise involves the idea of a supernatural real power. The nature of this power "from heaven" is, according to the designation of Lao-Tse, "doing-without-doing" (*wei-wu-wei*) or *immaterial doing by presence*. It is invisible like the air and has nevertheless the irresistibility of a natural force: the forces of the ordinary man – says Meng-Tse – bend under it like the stalks bend under the wind (5). Anchored in this force or "virtue," the ruler in ancient China actually formed the center of every other thing or energy. It was believed that on his conduct secretly depended not only the glory or misery of his kingdom (it is the "virtue" – *Te* – of the ruler, less his example, whereby the behavior of his people becomes good or evil), but also the regulated and favorable course of the natural events themselves. His function as the center involved and required his persistence in that inward, "victorious" mode of being which has been spoken of and to which the sense of the familiar expression "immutability in the center" may here correspond. But if this is so, no power can arise against its "virtue" to disturb the traditionally ordered course of human and even natural things. So, in every normal event, the ruler had to seek the ultimate cause and the secret responsibility for it in himself.

More generally, the idea of sacred interventions by which man, with his hidden powers, maintains the natural order and renews, so to speak, the life of nature, belongs to an earliest tradition and very often interferes with the idea of the king himself. That the first and most essential function of the king consists in the performance of those ritual and sacrificial acts which were the

focus of life in the tradition-bound world is, in any case, an idea which persists in all regular forms of tradition, as far back as the Greek cities and as far as Rome (6), producing the inseparability of the royal dignity from the sacrificial and pontifical already mentioned. The king, endowed with non-earthly powers, a divine being, appeared naturally as the one directly capable of bringing to fruition the power of the rites and of opening the ways to the higher world. In those forms of tradition in which a special caste of priests appears, therefore, the king, if he corresponds to his original dignity and function, belongs to it, as its head, *pontifex maximus*. If, on the contrary, among certain peoples we find the custom of deposing or eliminating the head when a failure occurs – because this failure was considered by them as a sign of decay of the mystical power of "happiness", because of which one had the right to be the head – we have here the echo of something which, though in forms of materialistic degeneration, leads us back to the same sequence of ideas. And among the Nordic peoples, up to the time of the Goths, where the principle of royal divinity remained untouched (the king was here called *Ases*, proper name of a certain Scandinavian category of gods), an unfortunate event, such as a famine, a pestilence, or a crop failure, if not exactly the absence of the mystical power of "luck" tied to the king, was nevertheless considered the result of something the king must have committed, which undercut the objective efficacy of his power.

It was therefore required of the king that he preserve the symbolic and solar quality of the *invincible* – *sol invictus*, *hélios aniketos* – and thus maintain the state of an unshakable and superhuman centrality, which corresponds exactly to the Far East's idea of "unshakability at the center. Otherwise, the *power*, and with it the function, passed to the one who proved that he knew better how to draw it to himself. Already here we can point out one of the cases in which the idea of "victory" becomes the junction of

different meanings. For those who understand it correctly, the legend of the *king of the woods of Nemi*, whose dignity passed to the one who succeeded in surprising and "killing" him in a time of priestly kingship, is highly significant in this respect – and Frazer's attempt to explain manifold traditions of the same type, which exist pretty much everywhere in the world, can be traced back to this very legend. Of course, here the "trial" as a physical fight – should it never have taken place in reality – is only the materialistic reduction of something which has a higher meaning. To be able to grasp the deeper meaning hidden in the legend of the priest-king of Nemi, it is necessary to remember that according to the tradition, only an "escaped slave" was entitled to pose the Rex Nemorensis (i.e. understood esoterically, *a being escaped from the fetters of inferior nature*), after having first come into possession of a branch of the sacred oak. But the oak is equivalent to the "tree of the world" of many other traditions and is a common symbol to denote the primordial power of life; expressing that only a being who wishes to partake of this power can seek to wrest dignity from the Rex Nemorensis. As for this dignity, it must be remembered that the oak, and also the grove of which the priest-king of Nemi was the "rex", was related to Diana, and that Diana was even the "wooer" of the king of the woods. The great Asiatic goddesses of nature were often symbolized in the ancient traditions of the Orient by sacred trees: wherein we discover, among the symbols, the idea of a kingship derived from marriage or mating with this mystical "life" force – which is also that of transcendent wisdom and immortality – embodied both in the goddess and in the tree. Thus the saga of Nemi acquires the general meaning that we find in many other myths and legends of lore, namely, that of a "victor" or "hero" who, as such, comes into possession of a woman or goddess in place of the rex, who in other lore appears in the *indirect* meaning of a guardian of fruits of immortality (the female figures in

relation to the symbolic tree in the myths of Heracles, Jason, Gilgamesh, etc.) or in the direct meaning of a personification of the secret powers of the world and life or of superhuman knowledge. (7)

Remnants of traditions in which the themes contained in the archaic saga of the King of the Woods recur, moreover, remain until the end of the Middle Ages, if not longer, and are always linked to the ancient idea that rightful kingship has the propensity to manifest, even in specific and concrete, we would like to say "experimental" ways, infallible signs of its supernatural nature. A single example: before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, Venice demanded of Philip of Valois that he prove his actual right to wear the royal crown by one of the following means. The first, the victory over his adversary, with whom he would have had to fight on the tournament field, brings us back, in fact, to the Rex Nemorensis and to the mystical authentication of any "victory". (8) About the other two means, we read in a text of the time: "If Philip of Valois is true king of France, as he claims, let him show it by exposing himself to hungry lions, for lions never wound a true king; or else let him perform the miracle of healing the sick, as the other true kings are wont to do... In case of failure, he would be considered unworthy of his crown."

The supernatural power revealed in the victory or in the thaumaturgical virtue cannot be separated, even in times that, like those of Philip of Valois, already fall in the "modern" era, from the idea that traditionally one has of the true and rightful kingship had. (9) And if we disregard the actual assimilation of the individuals to them, the idea remains that *"what brought the kings into such veneration was mainly the divine virtues and powers that were present only in them and not also in other men."* Joseph de Maistre writes: "God literally establishes the kings. He prepares the royal families; he makes them flourish in a cloud that veils

their origin. At last they come forth, crowned with glory and honor; they establish themselves, and this is the greatest sign of their legitimacy. They rise of their own accord, without violence from one side and without explicit negotiation from the other. There is a certain magnificent calm here that is not easy to describe. *Rightful* usurpation-that would seem to me the most apt expression (were it not too bold) to designate this kind of origin, to which time then soon gives its consecration." (10)

Notes

1. Cf. Servius, *Ad Aened.*, III 268: "Majorum haec consuetudo at rex esset etiam sacerdos et pontifex". The same can be said – as is well known – for the Ugrian tribes.
2. In the *Mânavadharmçastra* (VII, 8) the king is called a "great deity in human form". The Egyptian king was considered a manifestation of Râ and of Horus. The kings of Alba and of Rome personified Jupiter, the Uranian Odin and Tiuz, the Assyrian Baal, the Iranian the god of light, and so on. The idea of a divine or celestial – as we shall see, especially a solar – descent is common to all pre-modern royal traditions.
3. Conversely, in Greece and Rome, the king could no longer be king if he proved unworthy of the priesthood, for whose sake he was *rex sacrorum*, first and supreme executor of the rites for the entity whose simultaneous temporal case he represented.
4. One of the names of the Egyptian kings is "Horus made of gold", where the gold denotes the "solar" fluid from which the "incorruptible body" of the immortals arises: to be equated with the above-mentioned "milk of flame" and the "power of lightning", both of which also strengthen themselves at the solar flame and refer to the king. It is not uninteresting to note that glory figures in Christian tradition as an attribute of God – *gloria in excelsis deo* -and that, according to mystical theology, in "glory" the vision of "beatitude" is fulfilled. The Christian iconography is used to spread it as an aureole around the head of the saint, which gives the sense of the royal

Egyptian uraeus and the radiant crown of the Iranian-Roman royalty.

5. On the nature of the "virtue" of which the king is the possessor, cf. *Dschung-Yung*, XXXIII, 6, where it is said that the secret actions of "heaven" reach the utmost degree of the immaterial – "they have neither sound nor smell", they are delicate "like the lightest feather". On doing-without-doing, cf. *ibid.* XXVI, 5-6: "It is by the breadth and depth of their virtue that those who are perfect in the highest degree assimilate themselves to the earth; by the height and They are like heaven in their splendor, and like space and time in their extent and duration, which are without limits. He who lives in this glorious perfection does not show himself, and yet, like the earth, he reveals himself by his beneficence; he does not move, and yet, like the heavens, he causes manifold change; he does not act, and yet, like space and time, he brings his works to their final consummation." Further on – XXXI, 1 – it is said that only such a man "is worthy to possess the supreme authority and to command men."

6. Aristotle (*Pol.* VI, 5, 11; cf. III, 9) says: "Kings have this their dignity by being priests of a common cult." The most important act that fell to the king of Sparta was the offering of sacrifices; and the same could be said of the first Roman kings, and then of the rulers of the imperial period.

7. Cf. J. Evola, *La tradizione ermetica*, Bari 1931, pp. 13-25. Some ancient traditions concerning a "feminine" origin of royal power can sometimes be interpreted in this way. Their meaning is then exactly the opposite of that proper to the "gynecocratic" view, to which we shall perhaps return on another occasion. – On the connection

between divine woman, tree and sacral kingship, cf. also the turns of phrase in the *Zohar* (III, 50b., III, 51 a – also II, 144b, 145a, with reference to Moses as the consort of the "matron"), where it is said that "the way that leads to the great tree of life is the great matron" and that "all the power of the king dwells in the matron," since the "matron" is the "feminine" and immanent form of the divinity; that to which, later on, among the Gnostics, as the "holy spirit," often corresponds again a feminine symbol (the virgin Sophia). In Japanese tradition, which persists *unchanged* to this day, the origin of imperial power is traced to a sun goddess, Amaterasu Omikami, and the crux of the ceremony for the rise to power – dajo sai – is given by the relationship that the king establishes with her through the "offering of the new food". – As for the "tree", it is not uninteresting to note that it remains in relation to the idea of emperor also in the medieval sagas: the last emperor, before his death, will hang scepter, crown and sword on the "scrawny tree", usually located in the symbolic region of Presbyter John, just as the dying Roland hangs his unbreakable sword on the "tree". Further agreement: Frazer has pointed out the relationship between the branch that the runaway slave must break from the sacred oak of Nemi in order to be able to fight with the king of the forests, and the Golden Branch that allows Aeneas to descend into the underworld as a living man, i.e., to be initiated into the unseen as a living man. Now, however, one of the gifts that Emperor Frederick II receives from the presbyter will be precisely a ring that makes "invisible", i.e. transfers into immortality and into the invisible. In Greek lore, the immortality of the hero is often synonymous with their passage to immortal life. The ring provides the "victory":

just as Siegfried in the Nibelungen through the *symbolic* virtue of making himself invisible. Machens conquers the "divine" Brunhild and leads her to the royal wedding camp.

8. On another occasion we shall better elucidate the conception which here -as in the "*Waflerprobe*" of medieval chivalry – actually confronts us only in roughly materialistic form. According to tradition, the victor was such only insofar as a superhuman energy was embodied in him; and a superhuman energy was embodied in him insofar as he became victor: two moments in a single act, the coincidence of a "descent" with an "ascent".

9. The thaumaturgic virtue is also confirmed by tradition to the Roman emperors Hadrian and Vespasian (Tacitus, *Histories*, IV, 81; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, VII). Among the Carolingians we find traces of an idea according to which the soteric power, as it were, materially affects the royal vestments. Beginning with Robert the Pious, passing through the kings of France, and from Edward the Confessor through those of England, up to the age of the revolutions, the thaumaturgical power is then transmitted by dynastic means, extending at first to the cure of all diseases, and later confining itself to some of them, and proving itself in thousands of cases, so much so that it appears, in the words of Pierre Mathieu, "as the only miracle of duration in the religion of the Christians." Among the spiritual influences that worked in the heroes whose cult was celebrated in Greece, besides the prophetic ones, was often counted the soteric virtue.

10. Also in the Iranian tradition the opinion prevails that the nature of a royal being must prevail sooner or

later inevitably. From the passage of De Maistre one takes the custom of the symbolic covering with a cloud, which one applied traditionally, in Greece above all, to the stolen and immortalized "heroes"; besides, here the old mystical idea of the victory becomes apparent, insofar as the "putting in" is, according to De Maistre, the "greatest sign of the legitimacy" of the kings.

5. The Hidden Background of the Middle Ages

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The present reflections on the spirit of the Ghibelline Middle Ages have their starting point in the idea of the primordial opposition between two particular spiritual attitudes. One is the royal-warlike, the other the religious-priestly. The first forms the masculine, the second the feminine pole of the spirit. The first has the "solar" and "victorious" symbol; it corresponds to the ideal of a spirituality which signifies power, victory, order of the various forces and people in an organism which is at once worldly *and* supra-worldly in the sense of a sacral ideal of empire. All that is difference, personality and hierarchy is affirmed and glorified by it. – To the other attitude is inherent the moon symbol – i.e., the symbol of a nature which has the principle of its light apart from itself. Limiting dualism, division between spirit and power, suspicion and contempt against any higher masculine assertion of personality, pathos of equality and brotherhood, of "fear of God", "sin" and "redemption" are the elements that come to the fore here.

What history shows us until today as a conflict between religious authority and "worldly" power is only an echo and later materialized form of this contrast. The religious attitude is in any case so little to be equated with the "spirit" at all that it means only the relatively late result of a degradation process which an older, higher and just "solar" shaped tradition has experienced. If we look at the constitution of the greatest tradition-bound cultures – from China to the Ur-Nordic families, from Egypt to Iran, from pre-Columbian Peru to ancient Rome, etc. -, we can always confirm the idea of an absolute unity of the two powers: kingship and spirituality. At the head of the hierarchy there is no

church, but a "divine kingship"; not the ideal of the "saints", but of those beings who, through the superiority and conquering power of their rites understood as "divine technique", play the same masculine and dominating role in relation to the various spiritual powers or gods that a leader embodies in relation to men.

Only a process of spiritual emasculation could lead from such a level down to the "religious" attitude. The distance between man and God and the servitude of the former to the latter in favor of the priestly caste became greater and greater, the traditional unity dissolved, and in its place came the division between unmanly spirituality – priest-spirit – and un-spiritual masculinity – secularization of the idea of state and king. If we owe especially to the Aryan races the most luminous forms of the ancient "solar" cultures, in the Occident the victory of the religious spirit and in its wake the Orientalization of the Greco-Roman world, the collapse of imperial thought, and the advent of early Christianity itself are essentially due to the Semitic element.

In this essay, we will highlight some little-known features of medieval culture in order to serve as evidence that, in this culture, the striving was effective after reconstruction of a universal tradition whose ultimate meaning -despite all outward appearances – was anti-Christian or super-Christian.

The Nordic-Aryan Awakening of Romanism

With great probability such a turn is due to the Nordic-Germanic races. Already in the oldest testimonies these races appear closely related to the Achaean, Uriran, early Roman and generally Nordic-Aryan. Because of the hard, unmitigated, roughly formed outer forms of their life and their customs, these races could also be called "barbarian" in comparison with a culture which, by its

soulless legal-administrative organization and its hedonistic, literary and metropolitan turn, had already sunk to the synonym of decay. These "barbarian" races guarded in their myths and legends the high spirituality of a primordial tradition reflected in a life shaped by martial and masculine values of dignity, pride, freedom, honor and loyalty.

The gods originally recognized and worshipped by such races are clearly embodiments not of the religious but precisely of the "heroic" spirit. It is the shining host of the Aesir in their permanent fight against the "giants" and elemental beings. It is Donar-Thor, the "strongest of the strong", the "irresistible", the "lord of the castle against fear". It is Odin-Wotan, the giver of victory and wisdom, the father of the heroes chosen by the Valkyries on the battlefield, whom he makes his sons and immortals. Heroic dynasties, like those of the Wälsungen, fight to the last against the *ragnarökkr*, i.e. the "darkening of the gods", a symbol of the coming gloomy modern times. Still the Gothic kings were called *âmals* – the "pure ones" or "celestials" – and as their origin they praised the symbolic Mitgard, the "land of the middle", which was located in the extreme north, as well as the hyperboreis of the sunny Apollo and the Iranian *airyanem-vaêjê*. A lot of other motives and myths of ancient Aryan origin are to be confirmed with these peoples as a testimony of a warlike spirituality alien to any "religious" deviation.

The invasion of the "barbarians" contributed to the further disintegration of the material structure of the Asiatic empire, but at the same time it meant the galvanizing contact with a force still preserving itself in its pure state. This force called for struggle precisely under the sign of *romanitas* and *imperium*, i.e. the signs of that greatness to which the ancient world owed its adaptation to the type of male-solar spirituality. The Christian "conversion" of the "invaders" left their ethos almost untouched for a long

time. Their own inner tradition, taking up the ancient symbol of Rome, confronted the usurpation and the hegemonistic claim of the churches and strove for the formation of a new European culture. As is well known, the coronation of the Frankish king, which took place on the ancient birthday of the invincible sun god (*natalis solis invicti*), already bore the formula: *Renovatio Romani Imperii*.

Similar things thus call up similar things. The Uranian eagle of Odin flies towards the eagle of the legions and the Capitoline god of light. Old spirit appears in new forms. A great formative and unifying current breaks out. On the one hand, the Church allows itself to be alienated in order to be able to preserve itself on the crest of the wave: it "romanticizes" its Christianity; on the other hand, it resists, it wants to eliminate the new reality, to subordinate itself to the Empire. But one thing must be clearly stated: If the Middle Ages appear to us as a great culture, traditional in the higher sense, it is not *because of*, but in *spite of* Christianity and by virtue of the Nordic ferment.

The Pagan Ethos of the Feudal System

The chivalrous feudal system, the feudal system, is the characteristic feature of medieval society. It is directly rooted in the Nordic-Arian, based on the two principles of free personality and martial loyalty; nothing is so foreign to it as the Semitic-Christian pathos of "socialism" and the community of love. Here the individual precedes the group. The highest value, the true standard of nobility, was already in the old Norse tradition – as in the primal Roman – being free. Distance, personality, individuality were inseparable elements of every expression of life. The state was – as in the aristocratic-ancient Roman conception – synonymous with a council of chiefs, of freemen, each of whom

was absolute master of his land, pater, leader and priest of his clan – *gens*. Above the council the state was enthroned as a super-political idea embodied in the king, since the latter – in the Old Norse tradition – was king only because of his "divine" blood, his appearance fashioned as an avatar of Odin-Wotan himself.

However, in the face of a common warlike goal of conquest or defense, another relationship emerged: a clear hierarchy with the principle of loyalty and warlike discipline. A leader – *dux, heritigo* – was elected, and now the free lord turned into the follower of the chief. As soon as the enterprise was finished, however, the normal original relationship of independence and free individuality was restored.

The process that leads from such Uranian constitution to the medieval feudal system can be essentially characterized by the equation of the sacral idea of the king with the military idea of the temporary leader. The king becomes the embodiment of group unity even in peacetime. This was made possible by the reinforcement and extension of the martial principle of loyalty or *fides* to the sphere of civic life as well. Around the king a following of "comrades" – *fideles* or *leudes* – is formed, who probably always felt free, but who saw in the ideal of loyalty, of service to their prince, of fighting for his honor and glory something like a prerogative and a higher form of life than the merely individual one.

The feudal constitution comes into being with the progressive application of such a principle. To it corresponds essentially the general idea of a direct organizational law, which left the greatest scope to the dynamics of the various forces. Powers of subjects to lords and lords to masters, so that everything – fate, freedom, honor, glory, property – was based on individual value, nothing or almost nothing on an informal collective or on a "public" power. Even the king was exposed to the lot of losing and

regaining at any moment the quality which had just made him king. Never was man treated so harshly: nevertheless, this regime was a school not of servilism but of independence and manliness, and under it the relations of loyalty and honor reached a degree of unconditionality and purity never again attained.

Now we need not spend many words on pointing out how little this constitution, highly characteristic of the medieval spirit, can find its counterpart in the Christian-Semitic ideal of love. That *fides* is found, long before it appears as "German loyalty", already in one of the oldest Roman cults and let Livius say that the *fides* characterizes the Roman in relation to the barbarian. In fact, the Aryan-Indian bhakti *ideal* had the same sense, as well as the ethos determining the Iranian society. In such society, even at the level of initiation, e.g. in Mithraism, the masculine virtues had higher value than pity and mildness, whereby the brotherhood in such a created society – as among the medieval "equals" and "freemen" – was the sincere, clear, hard individualized brotherhood that can exist only among warriors united by a common enterprise.

The Secret Imperial Tradition

The *fides*, the *loyalty* as binding means of the individual feudal unity, led in a kind of transfiguration into the supra-temporal to a higher loyalty, which carried the determination of a supra-political, ecumenical kingdom unity in itself. Like the church the empire claimed supernatural origin and final purpose together with the meaning of a way of salvation for mankind. But since two suns cannot exist in the same planetary system and the duality church-empire was understood exactly according to the parable of the two suns, so the conflict of the two tops of the great feudal unity order had to start soon.

But the one who only holds on to his outer political-hegemonic appearance does not do justice to the sense of such a contradiction. The "religious" ecclesiastical universal idea is opposed by the imperial one as a secret tendency to restore the unity of the two powers, the royal and the spiritual, the sacral and the masculine-knightly. Even if the imperial idea in its expressions often limited itself to advocating only the rule over the body and order of the Christian peoples, there remains in its basis the pagan Nordic-Aryan idea of the "divine kingship". This idea, originally carried by the "barbarians", overcomes the limit of a particular race when it comes into contact with the symhonen of ancient Romanism; it becomes universal, sets itself opposite the church as a more genuine soul, unifying and transfiguring center for the warlike-feudal structure.

Even the ideology peculiar to the Church as the adversary of the Empire confirms this view. The Gregorian doctrine is typically anti-traditional: dualism of powers, primacy of an unmanly spirituality over a warlike masculinity repressed in Semitic fashion to the merely material level. The priest as sovereign above the leader of a state conceived merely as a political power. The king – a "layman" who owes his authority only to "natural law" and whose empire means only a fief – *beneficium* – graciously given to him by the priestly caste.

Of course, such a claim must be considered a modern aberration. Even leaving aside what was inherent in every great pre-Christian tradition: even under the "converted" Byzantine Empire, the church remained an institution dependent on the state. The consecration of kings in later times could hardly be distinguished in essence from the priestly one. But if the kings and emperors, even in the Frankish age, undertook to "defend" the Church, this did not at all have the meaning of submission to the clergy. To "defend" the church meant to grant it protection and at the same

time to exercise authority. What was called defense was a true contract by which the protected recognized himself as dependent on the defender and took upon himself all the duties that the language of that time summarized in the word *fides*. According to the testimony of Eginhard, "after the acclamation, the Pope threw himself before Charlemagne, according to the rite prevailing in the time of the ancient emperors". The same Charlemagne claimed not only the "defense" of the Church, but also the right and authority to "strengthen her inwardly in the true faith." Equally significant are the declarations that royal blood is sacred and that kingship itself is a priesthood. The ruler is equated with Melchizedek, the priest-king who is *above* Abraham: "*Vos gens sancta estis, atque regale estis sacerdotium*" (Stephen III) – "*Melchisedek noster, merito rex atque sacerdos, complevit laicus religionis opus*".

The hostile turn of the Guelphs against the empire is therefore indeed to be seen as an uprising that resorts to the words of Gelasius I: "After Christ, no man can be king and priest at the same time" in order to disparage the idea of empire. Here the myth by no means falsifies history, rather it introduces us to its deeper dimension and complements it. As can already be seen from the words reproduced above, the enigmatic symbol of Melchizedek and his "royal religion" appears in application to the emperors already in the Frankish period. Melchizedek, king of Salem, is the priest of a cultus superior to the Semitic religion of Abraham, in fact he is the biblical visualization of the extra-biblical pagan and in a higher sense "traditional" thought of the "universal ruler" (of the Aryan-Indian *Chakrawartî*) or of a function which "solarly" unites the two powers in itself and forms a living point of contact between world and super-world. In a meeting of history and myth, reality and symbol, exactly this thought returns in numerous legends about the Germanic emperors. According to the legend, not only Charlemagne, but

also Frederick I and II "never died". The latter had received from the mysterious "Presbyter Johannes" (a medieval popular metaphor for the "universal ruler") the symbols of an immortal life and a non-human power of victory (salamander skin, water of life, golden ring). Their life should continue in a mountain (e.g. the Untersberg near Salzburg or the Kyffhäuser in Thuringia). Thereby we return to universal symbols of ancient pagan tradition. Just in a mountain or a subterranean locality also the Uriran king Yima, "the shining one; he among the people who is like the sun", had found shelter, and there he lived on. The Nordic-Aryan Valhalla, the seat of the deified kings and immortal heroes, was often called a mountain – Glitnirbjorg, Himinbjorg. According to certain Buddhist legends, the "awakened ones" – just like many Greek "heroes" and even Alexander the Great in some legends disappear into a mountain – the "mountain of the seer". In general, the mountains, like the symbolic mountain of the medieval sagas and fairy tales, the Indian Meru, the Islamic Kef, the Montsalvat of the Grail legend or the Olympus itself, are only different manifestations of a single motif: through the symbolism of the "height" they point to the transcendent spiritual states, which within the primitive cultures were considered as the prerequisite of the authority and unconditional supernatural function of the empire. The symbolism of the subterranean, i.e. hidden localities – that, for example, relations between *coelum* and *celare* were assumed is significant – expresses similar thoughts. The legend of the "never died" emperors raptured on mountains thus proves to us that one was unconsciously inclined to recognize in such princely figures revelations of precisely the immortal function of the universal spiritual super-kingdom. But this function would have to manifest itself again, according to another always recurring traditional motif (Edda, Brahmâna, Avesta etc.), in a turning point decisive for the world history. The same idea can be found in the medieval sagas. The emperors of

the Holy Roman Empire will wake up again on the day of the unleashing of the people of Gog and Magog – a symbol of the demonic of the mere collective – already kept closed behind a steel wall by Alexander the Great. Then the final battle will be fought. On their success it will depend whether the "gloomy tree" or the tree of life and the world, to be equated with the Eddic ash Yggdrasil, whose death has meant the *ragnarökkr*, the twilight of the gods – will blossom anew.

Now it is significant that some of these myths (cf. e.g. *Speculum Theologiae*) push their aversion to the church so far that the resurrected emperor, who makes the gloomy tree blossom anew, is assimilated to the Antichrist: of course not in the ordinary sense (since he is always conceived as the destroyer of the demonic people of Gog and Magog), but rather in the sense of the symbol of a type of spirituality that cannot be traced back to the ecclesiastical one.

The Ghibelline ferment and the rugged struggle for imperial dignity thus had an invisible side beyond the visible one. When the victory seemed to favor Frederick II, popular prophecies already proclaimed: "The great cedar of Lebanon will be cut down. There will be only one god, that is, one monarch. Woe to the clergy! When it collapses, a new order is already ready".

The Importance of Chivalry

Chivalry relates to the empire as the clergy relates to the church. If the empire embodied the attempt to reunite the two powers according to the pagan ideal, in chivalry a similarly directed attempt is effective: it wants to reunite the two powers according to a pagan ideal. This ethos developed a type of warrior, aristocrat and hero to an ascetic and even supernatural level.

Chivalry proclaims as its ideal the hero instead of the saint, the victor instead of the martyr; it recognizes as its standard of value loyalty and honor rather than *charity* and love; cowardice and dishonor are considered worse evils than "sin. Instead of yielding to evil and responding to evil with good, it demands punishment for the unjust and retribution for evil with evil. It does not tolerate in its multitudes those who would literally obey the Christian commandment "Thou shalt not kill". As a principle it recognizes not love for the enemy, but fight with him and magnanimity only in victory. Thus, in a world that was Christian only in name, chivalry asserted an almost unmitigated heroic-pagan and Aryan ethic.

But not enough: a basic idea of the chivalric spirit, reaching from the field of feudal law to the judicial and even theological, is the solution of every question by the proof of stronger force (judgment of arms or God). If here also the strength was understood as a virtue which God has given to the human being for the victory of the justice and truth, so this thought is based on the mystical-pagan doctrine of the victory (cf. the Iranian *hvarenô doctrine*) which overcomes every religiously coined dualism, unites spirit and power, regards the victory as a kind of divine consecration, moves the winner to the heaven as near as the ascetic, makes the defeated, however, the guilty.

It may be argued that chivalry recognized the authority of the Church and fought the Crusades in defense of the Christian faith. – Above all, if the chivalric world showed loyalty not only to the Empire but also to the Church, it must be remembered that this was not so much a conscious acceptance of the Christian faith as a variety of the general ideal of service and the heroic subordination of life and fortune to a supra-personal. Through the Crusades, in fact, the old ideal of the "holy war" as a manly way to overcome death comes to new life: an ideal that is not

only peculiar to Christianity, but rather to the Iranian tradition as well as to the Indian Bhagavad-Gîtâ, even to the Koran, as well as to the classical insights about the *mors triumphalis*. Even if it was fought for the liberation of the country where Jesus died – it remains that the crusades originate mainly from the spirit of those world views which were allowed to confess: "The blood of the heroes is closer to God than the prayers of the pious and the ink of the wise" and which worshipped as heavenly ideal the Valhalla, the home of the heroes, and as seat of the immortals the "hero island" of the blond Radamantys. On the other hand, the crusades have little in common with that tradition which is echoed in the saying of Augustine: "He who can think of war and endure it without the heaviest pain has lost human feeling". There is also silence here from the martyrs of the Theban Legion and the drastic statements of Tertullian about the evangelical saying: "He who seizes the sword will perish by the sword" and the command of Christ to Peter to sheathe his sword again.

In the Crusades, the old spiritual masculinity triumphs under the Christian mantle – the sacred and pious is again replaced by the sacral warrior. The sacral warrior is the type of knight in the great medieval orders. From this point of view, of course, the Templar Order is one of the most characteristic. Equally characteristic, however, is the savage destruction of this order by the Church in alliance with a king like Philip the Fair, hostile to the nobility and already close to the Laic modern type. Among other things, the accusation was brought against the Templars that as an introductory stage of their initiation, the neophyte had to repudiate the symbol of the cross and declare that Jesus was a false prophet and that his teachings did not lead to salvation. Furthermore, the Templars would have celebrated abominable rites, in which, among other things, newborns were burned. These were confessions extracted by means of torture, which were maliciously interpreted as sacrilege. In all likelihood, the

repulsion of the cross meant the liberation from a lower form of religion in the name of a higher one. In the infamous newborn burning rites, it is probably the "baptism of fire" of the reborn. The symbol can be compared with that of the salamander, who, like the immortal phoenix, revives in the fire of the heroic rebirth, and whose skin we find as one of the "signs" that Frederick II is said to have received from the "presbyter John".

On the other hand, the symbolism of the temple is not to be evaluated as a mere synonym of the church. The temple stands above the church – the churches pass away, the temple remains as a symbol of the kinship existing between all great traditions. From this point of view, in our opinion, even the great universal crusade movement to Jerusalem, to the Temple, is not without a secret background. Already the predominantly Ghibelline character of this movement and the role played in it by the Albigenses and the Templars themselves should awaken in us doubts. In fact, often inherent in the movement to Jerusalem was an occult movement against Rome, which itself unconsciously challenged Rome, and whose *militia* was chivalry; it was to achieve its goals through an emperor whom Gregory IX saw as "the one who threatens to replace the Christian faith with the ancient rites proper to pagan peoples and who usurps the functions of the priesthood by sitting in the temple."

Gottfried von Bouillon – this most significant role model for the crusading chivalry, called *lux monarchorum* – is, after all, that prince who ascends the throne of Jerusalem, after he had dwelt with iron and fire in Rome, killed the counter-emperor Rudolf von Rheinfelden and threw the pope out of the Caesarian city. The legend further creates meaningful "kinship" between this Crusader King and the mythical Swan Knight, which in turn points us to pagan-imperial symbols (through Helias' legendary descent from Caesar himself), as well as to solar and pagan-

Hyperborean symbols: the swan, which Helias- Lohengrin derives from the celestial seat, is also the emblematic animal of the Hyperborean Apollo and a sign that often recurs in the paleographic traces of the Nordic-Arctic cult) – In such a context, then, Gottfried von Bouillon appears in connection with the Crusades as a new symbol of that secret power, which in the political struggle of the Teutonic emperors and even in the victory of one Otto I. only made an outward appearance.

The Grail and the Woman

The temple is at the center of chivalry, not only as the temple of Jerusalem, but also as the "temple of the Grail". The Grail corresponds in many respects to the esoteric side of chivalry. According to the Christian version of this legend, after the Holy Communion the Grail – the mystical vessel endowed with its own luminosity, which extinguishes all need for earthly food and confers eternal youth – was carried off to heaven by the angels. It descended to earth again when a heroic race appeared, capable of guarding it. The head of this dynasty had a temple built for the Grail; he founded the Order of the Grail, made up of twelve "perfect" or "heavenly" knights. The search for this mystical sanctuary formed the highest ideal of knighthood and is in many ways synonymous with the search for a spiritual tradition lost in the course of time or returned to the realm of the invisible (disappearance of the Grail into the heavens). Now, if this tradition were equivalent to the priestly one of the Church, how could one explain the idea that the Grail has disappeared? And how, that the return of the Grail to an earthly temple is bound to a new generation not of priests, but of heroes and knights? Here again we are confronted with an indication of a spirituality which is different from the ecclesiastical one and for which the ecclesiastical tradition is no support.

On the other hand, the Grail legend is only the Christian adaptation of extra-Christian pagan motifs. For example, the two mystical objects of the Grail legend – chalice and spear – can be found among those objects that the "divine race" of the Tuatha dé Dannan (probably the Cro-Magnon) carried with them from Avalon to Ireland. To the island of Avalon – "where there is no dying" – King Arthur returns. According to some legends, however, King Arthur himself would be the creator of the Grail Knighthood. The description of the castle, in which, according to ancient Gaelic tradition, he guards an ambrosia-giving vessel corresponding to the Grail, coincides with the image of the symbolic seat of the "universal ruler", with the palace of "Presbyter John", the Eddic Asgard, seat of the Aesir and original Nordic kings, as well as with numerous other allegorical allegories of the "place" of the supreme authority ruling the two powers. Even before it became the chalice used by Jesus in the Last Supper, the Grail was prefigured as that magical vessel given to Matholwch by Brân, Lly's son. This vessel had the power to resurrect the "dead" and heal any wound. Many other vessels of this miraculous kind are often mentioned in the Celtic sagas, and it is said that they do not deny the sacred nourishment to the "sinner", but – typical of the Aryan spirit – only to the coward and the oath-breaker.

All this points to backgrounds, to the mysteries of chivalry. If the ignorance of a certain academic scholarship has hardly drawn attention to it, Aroux, Rossetti and Luigi Valli have paved the way for further discoveries. In the texts, stories and poems of chivalry up to Dante and the "Faithful of Love" ("Fedeli d'Amore"), these scholars have demonstrated the existence of a ciphered allegorical idiom, with the help of which not only a doctrine transcending the bounds of the Christian faith, but also a determined, sometimes fierce aversion to the Church became the expression.

In this context and as a conclusion, some short reflections on the chivalric symbolism of the "woman" shall find place here.

As is known, the cult of the "woman" is very characteristic of chivalry, which was carried to such an extent that, if understood in a literal sense, it could only be judged as an aberration. To pledge oneself to a "woman", to swear unconditional loyalty to her, to seek glory and heroic death in her name, these were leitmotifs at the knightly courts. The "woman" was left to decide on the courage and honor of the knights. According to the "theology" practiced at the castles, there is no doubt that the knight who died for his "wife" was destined to the same blissful immortality as the crusader who fell for the liberation of the temple. Strange and downright offensive to bourgeois eyes: the knight's "wife" had to undress the neophyte and accompany him to the bath in preparation for his "watch at arms" and knighthood. On the other hand, figures such as Tristan and Lancelot are at the same time knights of King Arthur on the Grail quest, i.e. members of the same mystical order to which Parzival and the "heavenly" knight such as the hyperborean swan knight, who finally rejects Elsa, also belong.

In all this a higher meaning may be seen. Since this content was intended neither for the inquisition judges nor for other ignorant people, it was expressed by the symbolism of strange customs and erotic tales. In connection with a well-determined pagan-traditional symbolism, in many cases the same interpretation is in fact applied to the "woman" of ancient chivalry as is applied to the woman in the "Fedeli d'Amore". The woman to whom unconditional fidelity is promised and to whom the knight consecrates himself by participating in the Crusades; the woman who accompanies to the purifying ritual bath, who is considered by the knight as a prize and who confers immortality on him if he dies for her – such a woman is ultimately not a physical woman, but rather a symbol that from a certain point of view is equivalent

even to that of the Grail. As Luigi Valli has shown documentarily in reference to the "Fedeli d'Amore" literature, the "woman" means the "intelligence" conceived in a transcendent sense, the "sacred wisdom", that is, the personification of a transfiguring spirituality and of a life no longer mixed with death. She is, so to speak, an avatar of Hebe, the continuing youth, who in the Olympic seat becomes the bride of the hero Heracles, the "beautiful victor"; of Athena, sprouted from the divine head, whom this Doric hero himself had chosen as his leader; of the Eddic goddess of light Freya, the object of the continuing greed of the telluric, elemental beings who strive in vain to attain her; of Sigrdrifa-Brynhilt, whom Wodan destines to be the earthly bride of a hero who will overcome the firewall (here we may recall the symbolism of the Templar baptism of fire); of the Gnostic virgin Sophia and of all those goddesses who appear in numerous Eastern and Western myths in connection with the tree of life and the world, and who represent the elemental force of life, hence also power (cf. the double meaning of the Sanskrit term *cakti*, which means both "bride" and "power").

However, these symbolizations do not simply reveal a religious longing hidden behind the veil of female-erotic symbolism. In the case of the "Fedeli d'Amore" such a disguise would have been completely superfluous and inexplicable, if the speech had not been meant for another. It had to be about views that were linked to the great spiritual traditions of Aryan paganism. In these traditions, in fact, the pathos of sin and redemption, the horrors of the afterlife and the consolation of the Savior were unknown. In place of the democratic truth, by virtue of which every mortal is given an immortal soul, they taught a twofold way, a twofold possibility, a twofold destiny: on the one hand, the way of the ancestors and earthly demons, Hades, the frozen Niflheim, the waters of dissolution and oblivion – on the other hand, the luminous way of the gods – *devayâna* and heroes, the Olympian

land of the immortals, Valhalla, the waters of awakening, the avestan sunlike "sleepless life".

At the height of medieval society, the pagan idea of a supreme "solar" authority was revived by the ideal of empire. The temple and Grail symbolism was Christian clothing of a super-religious heroic thought. Through the crusades and the "weapons" or God's judgment, the old doctrines of *mors triumphalis* and "victory" are called to new efficacy. In such a context it is highly probable that behind the symbolism of the "woman", especially in her relation to the Grail legends, a pagan initiation doctrine was hidden, thus: no religious evasion and no servilism towards the divine; assertion of the "sunny" attitude, according to which, in contrast to the spiritual masculinity of the initiate, the principle of wisdom itself, of immortal life and power, to which the knight consecrates himself and to which he remains "faithful" until death, bears feminine characteristics.

It is interesting to note, however, that in a tradition that appeared later and meaningfully bore the name *Ars Regia*, Royal Art, a synonymous doctrine and symbolism emerged. With the even more impenetrable expressions of the hermetic-alchemical writing, the esoteric doctrines of the ancient Egyptian "divine kingship" were resumed and the "myth" of the "immortal independent generations of kingless ones" was fashioned, of the "bridegrooms of women", of the "rulers of the two powers raised to the solar dignity."

In the present essay, we have been able to use only a few elements from the wide-ranging, documentary area to prove our theses. Every great historical age consists of a foreground and a background. Only in the latter is to be found the true sense of the forms which appear in the former. The ordinary history considers only the forms of the surface. Likewise, the psychology of yesterday adhered to the limited world of forms of the external

consciousness, without suspecting the determining background of the pre-conscious. In our time burdened with positivistic ignorance, a historical method directed essentially to the background of cultures is still scarcely available. Having applied such a method to the Middle Ages, we have been able to find confirmed as the true meaning of this culture something that does not coincide with the convictions of those who longingly want to see in such a period a kind of golden age of the Catholic tradition, the most complete realization of the Christian ideal. In the medieval ecumenism, we have seen the preponderance of forces which are quite clear.

The first one is the one of the forces that kept the pagan-Aryan spirituality untamed until the last one, in its connection with that glorious symbol that made Dante, the great Ghibelline, say: "Christ himself was a Roman".

6. The Swastika as a Polar Symbol

From: Hochschule und Ausland, 1934/35

The following reflections which we make on the higher meaning of the swastika would seem somewhat strange if the researches of Herman Wirth on the Ur-Nordic races were not already known in Germany. Something, however, which deserves to be emphasized more than it has been done so far, is the fact that the thoughts expressed in this regard, in what is of actual validity in them, do not represent merely the conjectures of a modern researcher. Rather, they can be linked to a doctrine which, even if its traces are scattered, is nevertheless found with the characteristics of universality and unanimity in all the great traditions of the past: from the Far Eastern, Tibetan, Indo-Aryan and Iranian to the Hellenic, Egyptian, Gaelic, Germanic and Aztec. And for us it is certain that these traditions, if they were taken over once directly, beyond the "positive" limitations, would be able to tell us more than many doubtful reconstructions on philological and paleographic basis.

The first thing that arises from this circle of ideas is the integration of the concept of the Aryan or Indo-Germanic or Nordic race. What until yesterday was called by this name and believed to be an original tribe, is revealed to be a special and relatively new branch of a much older and purer race of Arctic origin, which might more properly be called by the old name of a Hyperborean race. Such an integration removes many of the onesidednesses and difficulties inherent in previous accounts of the Aryan thesis. The Aryan thought here rises in truth to a universal thought, establishing a principle of perpetuity and common origin of elements of culture which were at first supposed to be separate, and which are actually found scattered in

the Orient as well as in the Occident, in the North as well as in the South. In particular, the swastika symbol appears in a new light. One knows about the difficulties, which the thought of an Ernst Kraus or Ludwig Mueller encountered, according to which this symbol would have been peculiar in the old times only to the Indo-Germanic tribes. Already in 1896 the American Thomas Wilson, and later the Italian Alberto Mosso, worked out a map from which it is clear that the swastika is also found in places which, like California, Central America, the Far East, Mesopotamia, North Africa, etc., can certainly not be regarded as the native seats of the Indo-European race. In relation to the Nordic primitive race, however, this difficulty diminishes. If one unites the directions, which are described by Wirth as the indirect or direct emanations of the Nordic race as a leader race, with what further emerges from the testimonies, which the old traditions can offer us, then we are very well able to explain the spreading of the swastika symbol in the world – also beyond the domains of the Indo-Germanic races, insofar as then these races would be in each case only one of the emanations of the Nordic primal race.

Secondly, the solar, the sunlike character, which is characteristic of the Nordic primitive culture, has to be noted. This can be seen directly from the concordant testimonies which the traditions of the ancient peoples offer us concerning the Arctic original homeland. The hyperborean land of the Iranian Aryans, *airyanem waêjô*, is understood allegorically in the Avesta as the home both of the sunlike "glory" and of the Yima, the "radiant, glorious one, the one who among men resembles the sun". *Çweta-dwîpa* or *uttara-kuru*, the sacred land of the extreme north, is conceived by the Indo-Aryans as the "white island" or "island of splendor," as the home of *Narâyâna*, "in which burns a great fire that radiates on all sides." The Hellenic land of the Hyperboreans is again linked with the sunny and radiant Apollo. From Thule, which

merges with him, it will be said: "a sol e nomen habens" (from the sun god Sol it has the name). The Aztec Tullan or Tlallocan (which also corresponds etymologically to the Hellenic Thule) merges with the "House of the Sun". Gimle or Gladsheim, in the primordial home of Asgard, is called in the Edda eternal, golden and radiant as the sun. The same is true of the mysterious "north of the Norse sea" and inhabited by "transcendent people" recalled in the lore of the Far East, and of the mystical Chambhala, the "Norse city" of the pre-Buddhist Tibetan lore of the Bon. And so it could be continued.

Now this is a symbolic testimony which can be traced back to two elements: to the idea of a sun-cult and to the idea of a sunlike rule. As to the first point, we know that Wirth's reconstruction tends to give to the Nordic-Atlantean primitive races precisely a common religion of the solar type. If such an assumption is traditionally quite within the range of probability, it nevertheless requires a more precise justification, to which we shall point. In the meantime, we note the following: that between the sun and the divine fire there has always existed an intimate relationship, which, by the way, is easily readable from the Indo-European traces. The cult of fire was linked both to the Uranian and "solar" component of the patrician rite in traditional antiquity (see in J.J. Bachofen), and to the notion of solar and "divine" kingship itself, viz. the function which in the various cultures the original leader-race was able to embody in a high degree: the Iranian-Aryan "glory", hvarenô, which makes the kings (equal to the agni-rohita, the Vedic fire as "conquering royal power", and the fire-fluidum "life-force", ânshûs, of the Egyptian kingship), is a solar fire. But here we have the first and simplest authentication of the swastika sign as a Nordic symbol. In fact, it is common knowledge that the swastika, in its special relationship to the ancient swastika, has often been considered both a fire symbol and a sun symbol. One has only to go beyond the "naturalistic"

reduction of such terms. An immovable point for any serious research must be that ancient man did not superstitiously "deify" the forces of nature, but rather used them as symbols to express higher meanings. The "naturalistic" character of certain symbols receives its right sense only from the premise that the true symbolism, far from being arbitrary and "subjective", refers to those sides of nature according to which it presents itself as a great symbol. Now one must forget that to all peoples the flame always appeared as a divine revelation; forget that among the ancient Aryans a precise sacred ritual of the swastika as a symbol of fire is only a naturalistic transformation of the primitive tool that was used by certain peoples to ignite the flame. The swastika joins the begetting principle of fire and light, but in a higher sense: in the spiritual and, we may say, in the royal sense. In the highest sense it can call itself the mysterious seal of the primordial light and fire, which have come to work and ignite in the ruling castes, in a solar function over the inferior forces and races.

Here the moment has come to pass to the main point of our considerations, precisely in relation to the swastika not only as a fire symbol, but also as a polar symbol. From the most diverse testimonies it appears that the solar function embodied by the leaders of the great tradition-rooted cultures was compared to that of a pole. The leader represented the constancy, the immovable point, around which the ordered movement of the forces takes place, which circle him hierarchically graded as rex (rex from regere). Here it is about the deeper meaning of the Far Eastern term: "immutability in the middle", to be connected with the words of Confucius: "The one who rules by means of virtue (virtus) (the celestial one, born of immutability in the middle) is like the polar star. He stands firmly on his place, but all the stars revolve around him". Incidentally, the Aristotelian concept of the "immovable mover" is a theological translation of the same conception – to be found again in the designation expressing in

Sanskrit the function of the "lord of the world", the cakrawartî. Cakravartî means "the one who makes the wheel turn", the wheel of the regnum, in that he appears as the immovable point, the "pole", which forms the center and support for its regulated movement. In a deeper sense, however, there is also a relationship here to what might be called Olympic superiority. The "polar" symbol is that of an irresistible force in its serene superiority, of a perfectly controlled power from above, which legitimizes itself, as it were, by its very presence; which brings about the unmediated and threatening experience of something transcendent: an appearance of the permanence of the "world of being" or superworld, which was often itself represented by a fire symbol. And this is also the meaning of the sun symbol embodied by the Hyperborean god Apollo: for this, as Phoibos, is not the rising and setting sun, but the sun as a calm and evenly reigning light: equal to that light itself which surrounds the very Olympians and the pure spiritual substances dissolved by the world of passion and becoming. As in the function of the sunny ruler, beginning with the symbolic Hyperborean king Yima, so also in the circle of the great Nordic-Aryan deities of the day, of the luminous sky and of the light this very theme is reflected, traces of an Olympian primordial spirituality are indeed found.

Now, one of the oldest symbols of this spirituality and also of the polar function into which it translates itself in relation to a given hierarchical system, apart from the circle with the center, which was already traced giantly by the menhirs, is precisely the "cross of the glacier", the swastika. In fact, the swastika is not only a symbol of the movement, as some pretend, but, as already Guénon has pointed out, the symbol of a circular movement which takes place around an invariable center or axis: and the fixed point is the basic element to which the symbol in question refers. And if the swastika is also a symbol of the sun (the wheel of the sunlike Vishnu), it is always related to this idea, that is, it is

not the mere "revolution" of the sun, but the solar principle, traced back to a dominant central, an unchanging Olympian element. In this sense the swastika is a polar symbol, which already in the oldest prehistory revealed those meanings which it was to express in the shining cycles of the Aryan mythologies and kingdoms coming from the Nordic primitive culture.

One step further one makes with the statement that the polar symbol could also be referred to certain cultures or cultural centers if these embodied a function corresponding to it in the totality of the history. Thus the Chinese Empire was called the "Middle Kingdom". Meru, the symbolic Indo-Aryan Olympus, was considered as the pole of the Earth; the symbolism of Omphalos, which came to refer to the traditional center of the Doric-Olympic Hellas, to Delphi, leads us back to the same meaning; the Eddic Asgard, conceived as the mystical ancestral home of the Nordic royal families, coincided with Midgard, which means the seat or land of the center. Even the name Cuzco, the center of the solar empire of the Incas, seems to express like Omphalos the thought of a "center" of the earth. On the other hand, it has been pointed out by some that Tulâ (to be associated with the Hellenic or also American name of the homeland of the Hyperboreans) means "Libra" in Sanskrit and that in particular the sign of the zodiac bears this name: but according to a Chinese tradition, the celestial scale was initially the Great Bear, and this observation – apart from the fact that the Bear is a signifying figure in the cult of Hyperborean origin – is of the utmost importance, because the symbolism that joins the Great Bear is naturally closely tied to that of the Pole, which the Swastika likewise contains.

The thought taken up again today by Wirth is that the original homeland of the white race, the progenitor of the Indo-Germanic and Aryan races, was the Arctic region, i.e. the polar region; and this in a period of time which precedes that known glaciation

caused by the inclination of the earth axis and the variation of the equinoxes. And here a suggestive and highly significant thought has its root: namely that of a meeting of symbol and reality, of metaphysics and physics, just under the sign of the pole. We would like to say that the prehistoric polar cycle of the Nordic primal race could be regarded as the primal expression of the Olympian spirituality itself and of the polar function itself, which then came into effect wherever it led, by adaptation or radiation, to new cultures and new traditions, different in form but uniform in spirit. The symbol of the "center" and of the pole can be, from this point of view, a kind of traditional and supra-historical sign of recognition, originally adhering to a complete correspondence of reality and symbol, with regard to a homeland that falls on the geographic pole of the earth and at the same time has the value and function of a spiritual primordial pole.

We are merely setting this thought apart. In order to justify it fully, we would have to enter here into a field of considerations so vast that we have had to devote to it a large part of a special work. But we cannot pass over a fundamental point, regarding the swastika as a Nordic and polar symbol.

In our opinion, Wirth has fallen into the error of letting extend to the entire Nordic tradition a cult which in truth adheres to an already adulterated and fatigued form of it. As one knows, he pays special attention to the winter solstice and thinks that the perpetual alternation of death and resurrection of the sun as a yearly god – on the background of an unchanging principle (earth, water, mother, snake, house, etc.) represented predominantly in female form – is the secret of the Urnordic faith. Here the sun appears as a nature that has rise and fall, death and resurrection, in short: Genesis and Passion. Immortal and unchangeable for him is rather the mother, the source of life, in which the sun-god dies and rises annually. Now one has only to adhere to what Bachofen has already convincingly expounded in

his researches on Mediterranean mythology, in order to give an account of the rather un-Nordic and sunlike character of such a conception, which in reality adheres to the chthonic cycle of the southern, preAryan, and later even Semitic maternal law – the cycle of the great Asiatic goddesses of fertility. Recently Alfred Rosenberg had to point out just this strange confusion of ideas, which in Wirth's case is certainly to be attributed to the circumstance that the testimonies belonging to the oldest epochs, i.e. to the Nordic cycle, are often found mixed with those belonging to later and already mixed ages and cultures. While Wirth correctly distinguishes a Nordic-Arctic (Hyperborean) race from a Nordic-Atlantean one, he has failed to make a corresponding distinction with regard to symbols and motifs – he adheres in this respect to both the one and the other. Already according to the testimony of the Avesta, Mō-uru, i.e. the land and culture of the "mother", appears only as the third of the "creations", that is, as a cycle already distant from the Nordic one of airyanem waêjô.

If in the cycle of the year the precedence of the winter solstice is related to the polar symbolism (north-south), while that of the equinoxes is bound to the direction of the geographical longitude (east-west) – nevertheless the theme of the passion, the death and the resurrection of the sun-god in the mother, in short, the theme of a becoming and eternal change carried into the world of the gods is essentially an anti-Olympic theme, inaccessible to the higher Nordic-Aryan spirituality. It is a theme to be attributed to the influences of the south and basically means: Dionysus against Apollo, Loki against the Aesir, the confused desire of earthly beings for a pantheistic ecstasy versus the calm self-consciousness and natural supernaturalism of the divine races. What Wirth tells us can consequently be understood as a syncretic symbolism, already far from the pure Urarian cult and perhaps more correctly related to the subsequent Atlantean

culture, since we do indeed find numerous traces of a gynecocratic theme in the Atlantean testimonies.

The polar cross, the swastika, on the other hand, is the symbol of the primordial vision not yet falsified by such mixtures; consequently, it can be considered to us as a true Nordic sign in the higher sense. And that is because, as we have already said, the basic theme of this symbol is not the change, but a center effect to which it remains assigned. On such a basis also the sun and fire symbols, which the swastika likewise contains, attain a quite different meaning, which directly enters into connection with the distinctly Uranian special character of the Aryan and Aryan-Hyperborean deities and cults, with the patrician system of the strict father right, with all that in spirit as well as in ethos and mores is synonymous with masculinity, true rule, order and cosmos triumphing over chaos.

In such a context of ideas, the swastika could actually lead us to a content of the Nordic thought, to a content that can be called classical and Doric in a higher sense, in relation to this style of centrality, of inner Olympian superiority, of clarity in the bosom of every "fire" and of every release of forces. According to an ancient tradition, those who are predestined to rule are said to have the vision of a celestial wheel: like a wheel, overturning and conquering, the one thus drawn acts. But at the same time the wheel embodied "rita", i.e. the order, the spiritual Aryan law, represented as a divine chariot in motion. The connection of these two concepts gives the basic idea of the moving swastika itself: whirling and victorious wheel, generating fire and light, but with a consolidated rest, an unchanging steady constancy in the center.

When the Nordic homeland disappeared in the distance of the times, the memory of it changed from the history to the supra-history, with which it took the meaning of a softening reality,

attainable no more on external ways, but only by the spiritual act. And thus already Pindar says that the way of the Hyperboreans can be found neither by water nor by land, but opens itself only to the heroes who remain faithful like Heracles to the Olympic principle; thus Li-tse reports that one can penetrate into the mysterious area of the extreme north "neither with the ship nor with the carriage, but reaches it only with the flight of the spirit"; thus it is said of Chambhala, the Hyperborean homeland of the Tibetan tradition, likewise: "it is in my spirit".

Perhaps nothing better than the sign of the swastika can point to this inner path, namely the path to bring about a resurrection of the new deep-intimate forces of Germany from the summit of the Nordic tradition also today. In truth, already in the Indo-Aryan equivalent of the swastika, the swastika, is the good foreshadowing. Swastika can actually be interpreted as the monogram composed of the letters forming the congratulatory formula su-asti, equivalent to the Latin "bene est" or "quod bonum faustumque sit". "What is good and happy, let it be!" No better symbol could have been found to express the rebirth certainty and the will of validity of one of the great hereditary races of the hyperborean primordial rulers against the dark forces of darkness that were about to overwhelm them.

7. Feminism and Heroic Tradition

From: Der Ring, June 6, 1933

Starting from the premise that as perfection the qualitative and differentiated is to be regarded, as imperfection the quantitative and formless, already from certain side the proof was tried to ascribe to the much praised occidental culture the meaning not of an evolution, but of a decline, an involution.

Today, various tragic events have finally disabused most of us of the myths of cheap optimism, so that we are able to feel the truth of this apparent paradox. For centuries, the Western world has been undergoing a terrible process of leveling. Its political manifestations – from liberalism and democratism over to the Bolshevik mass man culture – are only particular and already external phenomena. Not only are the distinctions of caste and inner dignity, to which our ancient traditions owe their greatness, undermined today: a like process of regression sets as an ideal for the future, after accomplished leveling between man and man, also the leveling between sex and sex. From the same anti-aristocratic and anti-hierarchical striving observable in so many decaying phenomena of the modern world, the feminist phenomenon is forming, but its most acute expression is to be found in the two countries which, like the two scissors of a single pincer, close around our Europe from East and West: Russia and America. The Bolshevik equality of woman to man in every social, legal and political respect finds, in fact, complete correspondence in the emancipation that woman had already attained on the other side of the ocean through feminism.

A comparison will help us. In order to make clear to us the deviousness inherent in such modern turns and, at the same time, to determine the values which could lead back to normality, we

shall briefly refer to the outlook on life which was common to all the great Aryan cultures, especially to the classical, Greco-Roman and Nordic-Roman worlds.

The cult of form – of form as a law of order and distinction – was the center of such a conception of life. The world is cosmos and not chaos, inasmuch as, like a perfect organism, it is formed out of a number of well-differentiated and indistinguishable parts and functions. The "truth", the final aim of such parts is not to return by the dissolution of their individuation to the state where they were still one, but: to be more and more themselves, to express more and more precisely their own nature up to the realization of absolute individuations, which were conceived as the prerequisite for the greatest diversity and definiteness of the universe. On such a way also the basis for a hierarchical order in the family, the gens, the city, and finally in the empire itself was formed, a hierarchy which did not develop by force and oppression, but spontaneously, from the recognition of natural differences between people, genders and races emerged.

In its empirical immediacy, of course, no being is only itself. Opposite natures emerge and conflict in it. Such a state of mixture, however, was regarded as imperfection, the goal of ethics and even of asceticism was traditionally considered to be its overcoming up to the setting of types which are only and completely "themselves": for instance like living statues formed by an artist out of formless matter. Now, as far as the sexes in particular are concerned, man and woman present themselves as two types – and he who is born a man is to perfect himself as a man, he who is born a woman, is to perfect himself as a woman, through and through, in the physical and in the spiritual, with overcoming of every confusion. On the spiritual plan, too, man and woman are each to tread their own path, which must not be left without confusion and contradiction.

In the world considered normal to us, where the freedom native to heights and that inner boldness prevailed, without which life is a dirty affair and meaningless – but in such a world the essential characteristic of masculinity was considered to be inner frugality and dominion, "being in oneself," a purity formed by strength – and two great paths were indicated for this goal: the path of action and the path of contemplation. Thus, in the warrior or hero and in the ascetic, the two basic types of pure masculinity were expressed. Symmetrically to such types there are two for femininity. The woman realized as such, rises to the same level on which the man stands as warrior and ascetic, in so far as she is lover and mother. As there is an active heroism, there is also a passive heroism. The heroism of absolute assertion is opposed by the heroism of absolute devotion – and the one can be as luminous as the other if it is experienced with purity, like a ritual offering. It is precisely this duality of the heroic that determines the difference between the paths to perfection for man and woman. The attitude of the warrior and the ascetic, the first of which asserts itself through pure action, the other through a masculine seclusion in a life that is beyond life – corresponds in the woman to the heroism of momentum, whereby she gives herself completely to another, In such a relationship she finds the higher meaning of her own life, her joy and – in the borderline case – her salvation. The ever more resolutely guided realization of these two, separate and distinctive directions of the heroic with elimination of all that is feminine in the man and masculine in the woman, up to the completion of an absolute woman in relation to an absolute man – this is the tradition-rooted, normal law for the sexes.

We hardly need to suggest in what contrast such views stand to the leveling and humanitarian principles which in recent times have dominated morality, law, social order, even the ideal of

cognition and creation of Western man. It is on this basis that the spirit and face of modern feminism can be understood.

In fact, it was inconceivable that a world that "overcame" the castes and – to express ourselves in Jacobin jargon – "restored to every man his dignity and his rights" could have preserved the sense of right relationship between the sexes. The "emancipation" of women had to fatefully follow that of slaves and the glorification of status and traditionlessness, that is, of the ancient pariah. And an abdication was taken for a conquest.

After centuries of "enslavement", the woman wanted to become free and to exist for herself. Feminism, however, was not able to give to woman a different personality than the mere imitation of the male one can give. As a result, its claims are nothing but a mask for a thorough distrust of the new woman toward herself: i.e., for her inability to be and to be valid for what she is – as a woman and not as a man. Underlying feminism is the premise that woman as such has no value, that she can only be valid insofar as she becomes as much as possible a man and claims the same prerogatives. Hence feminism is a symptom of degeneracy in the strictest sense of the word. And where tradition-rooted ethics demanded that man and woman become more and more themselves, expressing with ever bolder coinages that which stamps one as man, the other as woman – there we see that the modern movements strive for leveling, for a state which in fact lies not beyond but on this side of gender individuation and differentiation.

On the other hand: what feminism had in mind on the practical level was the homunculus created by the banks, offices, markets and the other shining centers of modern life. Feminism, therefore, did not find it difficult to prove that woman, too, has more or less the same intellectual and practical dispositions that establish the right, the autonomy and the "superiority" of the

new male type that has become a shadow of itself. Man, on the other hand, has let things take their course, and even helped them along, has pushed woman into public life, into offices, schools, workshops, and the other pernicious affairs of modern society and culture. This has given the final leveling impetus.

And in a world where the boxer, cowboy and Jewish banker have taken the place of the ascetic and warrior as the supreme masculine type, the spiritual emasculation of modern materialized man often seems to have evoked to new life the ancient primacy of the aphrodisiac female over the man vertified by sensuality and working for it in a senseless way. On the other hand: the varieties of a sexual corruption and bitterness accompanied by as much superficiality, or the degeneration of the female type even in its physical characteristics, the atrophy of the natural possibilities of woman, the suffocation of her inwardness. Hence the type *garçonne*, the masculinized, sportive girl; empty, incapable of any impetus beyond herself, and finally incapable even of sexuality itself: since in the modern woman the possibility not only of maternity, but even of love, does not in the last analysis arouse such an essential interest as otherwise making oneself beautiful, dressing oneself up in clothes – or in such a way – as a woman, in as little clothes as possible – decoration, physical training, dance for the sake of dance, and so on.

Here it is easy to foresee where also in material terms the relations between the two sexes must lead on this basis. In love, as in the magnetic and electric, the creative spark is the greater and more lively, the more determined the polarity, i.e. the differentiation of the sexes is: the more the man is really man and the woman really woman. In the world of the "evolved" and "emancipated" woman there may well be the promiscuity of an ambiguous comradeship, of pale "intellectual" sympathies, or a new banal communist naturism: but no longer love conceived in that deep, elemental

sense in which the ancients recognized in it a cosmic elemental force.

Just as social egalitarianism has abolished the former masculine, living relations between warrior and warrior, prince and subject, so likewise feminist egalitarianism will lead more and more to a distastefully distorted world. The vanguard of such a world -Russia and America – is already present and conveys to us the most significant warnings.

But everything is connected, both in the decadence and in the rebirth. When speaking of the decadence of modern woman, it should not be forgotten that ultimately man is responsible for such decadence. Just as the plebs could never have broken into all areas of social and cultural life if kings and aristocrats had been truly capable of holding sword and scepter in their hands, so in a society led by real men, women could never have and would never have taken the path of today's feminist degeneration. Therefore, the true reaction would have to be directed not so much against the woman as against the man. One cannot demand that the woman become true to her nature again, as long as the man only knows and glorifies the distorted image of himself. In spite of every outward appearance: only in the spirit is the sex true and unconditional. The reintegration of the modern man in the tradition-bound sense, i.e. in the sense of an aristocratic superiority, of an ascetic and martial dignity, of a Doric-Aryan purity is equivalent to the reintegration of the male type itself and – even if it is accomplished only in an elite -presents itself as an indispensable condition not only for our political reconstruction, but also for the restoration of the right relations between the sexes, the elimination of the feminist heresy in the name of a new "heroic" style and the return of woman to her natural possibilities of fire, light and liberating devotion.

8. The Double Face of Nationalism

From: Europäische Revue, 1932

It is a fact that the world war not only exhausted the process of formation of nationalisms inside as well as outside Europe, but virtually brought it to its acute phase. Therefore, the desire to grasp the meaning of this event is fully justified.

What is the significance of contemporary nationalism within the framework of a philosophy of culture? We are convinced that this question demands the following solution: *In modern nationalism there are two mentally separate, even opposite, but often combined possibilities, one of which is to be evaluated as a form of degeneration and regression, while the other represents a path to higher values and the prelude to rebirth.*

In the following essay, we will try to analyze this suggestion in all its implications. Phenomena like nationalism can be interpreted only in the broad framework of an overall historical picture based on critical value judgments. In such a picture, the gradual downward slide of political power from level to level within that hierarchy of values, in the framework of which the qualitative differentiation of human possibilities had been completed in ancient cultures, proves to be striking. This process can be traced from the threshold of "historical" time to our own day. In the political history of the Occident it has its special meaning. It is the *regression of the castes*, as first described in our book "Pagan Imperialism". We have found a more detailed treatment of them in the -hitherto unpublished – expositions of the Italian deputy V. Vezzani. Finally, René Guénon has given these ideas a systematic and definitive form in his work: "Autorité spirituelle et pouvoir temporel" (Paris, 1929).

As is known, already the oldest traditions speak of a sense similarity of the political with the human organism. In every higher organic form of appearance, however, *four* different functions exist in hierarchical connection: at the lower boundary the still undifferentiated, dull life forces – above them already rise the organic exchange functions – which for their part lead into that *will* which moves and guides the whole body in space; above all stands the power capacity of intellect and freedom, as it were as center and lamp of the whole organism.

Traditions, which saw in the state a higher spiritualized living being instead of a necessity-born contingency, demanded a similar separation and hierarchical gradation into estates and castes. The series: formless vitality, organic exchange function, will and spirit is reflected in the four traditional castes of *servants* or *workers*, independent *peasants*, *craftsmen* and *merchants*, *warriors*, and holders of *royal-priestly power*. One caste was built up rankwise above the others: mass man was under the control and rule of those who were above. The latter, in turn, led by the authority of the warrior nobility, rallied around the one who, in his mastered perfection, stood witness, as it were, to a possibility that transcended the human.

The ancient world of the Orient (Iran, India, Egypt) and the Far East knew such a type of social organization, which Greece and Rome partially approached. In the political teachings of a Plato and Aristotle it came to the revelation of related spirit, which then finally flared up for the last time in the ecclesiastical-knightly world of the Middle Ages.

It is important to note that such an organization corresponded to a *qualitative* criterion and testifies to the formation of higher forms of interests and personality. In the ancient Orient, the higher castes were called those of the "reborn" – *dwijas-*, thus they formed a spiritual elite. The warrior class and the nobility

had not only a political meaning, but also a kind of sacral status, which was also the case in the medieval chivalry. Any activity based on work, industry, administration of the common property, and the like, was relegated to the two *lower* castes, like those functions which in the human organism serve the bodily requirements of life.

Thus the hierarchy of the four castes reflected the gradual ascent of the individuality by devotion to higher forms of action than those of the immediate only life. In contrast to the lowest caste, the anonymous collective, which wants nothing but "to live", the second caste – that of the organizers of work and wealth – already represented the beginning of a higher type, a "person". But from the third state, the heroism of the warrior caste, the ethos of the aristocracy, arises the foreshadowing of a "more-than-life," of a being that gives itself its law, beyond the natural, instinct-bound, collectivistic and utilitarian drives. If in the primordial concept of the *leader* ascetic, king and priest merge into a personal union, the universal and almost *supernatural* personality is fulfilled in it, the consummate expression of that which in everyday man does not find the strength to detach itself from the world of the accidental and to be "self". To the extent, then, that the rulers, the perfected individuals, formed the axis of the whole social organism, this organism was, as it were, a body governed by the spirit; temporal power and spiritual authority were one; hierarchy was *legitimate* in the unconditional literal sense.

So far the scheme serving us as a starting point, whose ideal-typical value is of course independent of its time- and space-conditioned manifestations, which can more or less reflect its sense. On such a basis, however, the continuous "decay" of power in the historical age becomes a terrible fact for us. The era of the "holy kings" – equally ruler and priest figures – already stands at the threshold of the "mythical" time. The peaks of power are

being removed. From their highest representatives the power descends to the next lower level – that of the caste of the *warriors*. What remains is the profane ruler type of a monarch as army commander, judge and legislator.

Second stage of decay: the great European monarchies decline. The aristocrats degenerate. The attempt of the Holy Roman Empire fails. Through revolutions (England and France) and constitutions, the kings, facing the "will of the people," become powerless remnants. In the realm of parliamentary, republican and bourgeois democracies, the formation of capitalist oligarchies marks the new fatal step with which political power descends from the second to the *third* caste – that of the *merchant*.

The crisis in the bourgeois society, the advent of the "proletariat", the despotism of the mass constituted into a purely collective, economic and international entity announce to us the approaching end. Power comes to the *last* caste: those who go without name and without countenance. Matter, metal and number become standard. The way of life of the servants – work – becomes religion. The earth knows no more heaven. Unconditional rule of the impersonal and mechanical.

Comparatively: Someone can no longer bear the tension of the spirit (sacral kingship) in himself: not even that of the will – the force that moves his body (warrior state): he lets himself sink. But then he rises again magnetically, body without soul, under the influence of *alien* forces emanating from the unconscious layers of mere vitality: Indignation of the last stand, *demonia* of the collective.

It is time to free ourselves from the illusion of the "myth of progress", to open our eyes to reality. It is time to recognize the terrible fate of spiritual disruption that weighs upon the Occident: a fate whose last fruits are ripening today.

At the core of the involutory process described above is the shift of viewpoint from the individual to the collective, in the closest connection with the indicated regression of that vocation which secured the higher castes their rightful hierarchical authority to the status interests of the lower castes.

Man is free only in an unconditional action. This is the case in the two symbols of a pure action (heroism) and a pure knowledge (asceticism and contemplation), which can attain their full validity by an aristocratically aligned rule. Through them, the two upper castes opened ways for man to participate in that order of the "supramundane" in which alone he can belong to himself and grasp the essential and universal value of personality. If these higher interests are destroyed in the exclusive concentration on practical and temporal goals, or if they are absorbed in economic aspirations and needs peculiar to the lower classes, then man disintegrates and decentralizes, he surrenders himself to powers which snatch him from himself and hand him over to the irrational and prepersonal energies of collective life. To rise above those powers used to be considered the fighting aim and sense of every truly higher culture.

Thus, the collective is gaining more and more predominance in the social forms of recent times, almost going so far as to replace the *totemism* of primitive communities. Concepts such as nation, race, party, society or humanity today bear the stamp of a mystical personhood; they demand devotion and unconditional submission from the individual who belongs to them as a part. At the same time, in the name of "freedom," hatred is sown against all superior and ruling personalities, who alone may appeal to a justified and sacred right of submission and obedience on the part of the individual. This tyranny of the group is not limited to the political and social expressions of life of the individual: it arrogates to itself moral and spiritual rights; culture and spirit are

to cease to be objective modes of activity and ways of elevating humanity, to become dependent organs of the world-bound collective being. Loudly proclaims a morality that sees the meaning and value of the spirit solely in the service of the body. That man, before he feels his personality value, his I, should experience himself as a social group, party or nation – this is one of the special and significant demands of the last ideological overthrow movements: with it the same relationship returns in which once the primitive stood to the *totem of* tribe and clan.

In the reawakening of the Russian people, in the belief of Bolshevism in its prophetic-universal mission, the meaning of that relapse into primitive social conditions, which can already be observed in various forms, is confirmed. The Russian Revolution is rightly addressed as the final departure of a barbaric-Asian race against the tsar's 200-year attempts to civilize Russia on the European model. And equally correct is the view that Bolshevism consequently flows spontaneously with all the elements of decomposition of European society today. Bolshevism is nothing else than the primitive Slavic spirit of the people reviving in a modern form: this traditionless people in its social mysticism, the fusion of spirituality and sensuality, the predominance of pathos over ethos, of the instinctive over the intellectual, points back to pre-personal formlessness and communist promiscuity, just as they are peculiar to the primitives.

The shocks of the world war have set these elements free again: for the still healthy members of Europe terrible germs of inner decomposition. The "culture" of the Soviets proclaims the "age of the proletariat", devotes itself to this end to the annihilation of personality and freedom, which is considered a "leprosy", the "poison of bourgeois society" and the "beginning of all evil". The Soviets demand not merely the abolition of private property, they demand, as is well known, the abolition of all free and

independent thought and of all "motives directed to the supernatural or to any interests alien to the working class" (Lenin); their aim is the advent of the "omnipotent mass-man" who alone shall live and give shape to every form of life and thought of the individual. The only thing modern about Bolshevism is its "method": mechanization and rationalization are the most excellent means to realize the "mass-man" already mystically pre-existing in the Slavic soul in a universal people's rule built on a purely economic basis. Thus the culture of the Soviets consciously approaches another race which likewise arrogates to itself a universal mission of world renewal and the claim to pronounce the last word of culture: the American.

In America the process of regression does not betray the elemental force of a people persisting in a cultureless state. Here, on the contrary, the merciless lawfulness is at work, by virtue of which all men, as soon as they have turned from the form of the purely spiritual to the desire for the day-bound things, inevitably cease to belong to themselves and become parts of that irrational collective being which they are no longer able to control. The beatification of the world, the laicization of the sacred to which Protestant heresy has opened the gates, have brought America to its present condition. By actually achieving the ideal of Europe, domination of the world, the United States has – probably unconsciously – completely reinterpreted power, health, activity, and personality into the practical and physical, thus creating a much more dangerous form of barbarism. Here the ascetic is regarded as a day thief and parasite, as a "superfluous member of human productive society"; the warrior is considered a homicidal and hypertensive person, the humanitarian-pacifist arrangements should take it upon themselves to abolish this class in order to replace it by boxers, detectives and cowboys. On the other hand, the perfect type, the spiritual fighter and the winner of bets is the "working, productive man"; no kind of activity, not even that of

the mind, has validity if it does not appear under the name of "productive work" and is in the "service of society". This conception irrefutably shows that such a "culture" culminates precisely in the type of the *last-ranking* state familiar from antiquity – that of the *labor slave*. Here, too, man, having renounced his spiritual personality, ceases to have any significance, except within the framework of those "duties" which are imposed on him by the collective community whipped forward by the fever of achievement, the instinct of movement and realization. Only illegally, however, such "duties" can claim moral, even religious validity – as in the latest ideologies; the standardization of the soul itself and its dissolution into a flattened generality and into the all-dominating economic-mechanical are the obvious goal. In the process, even the ability to recognize the degree of this decay is extinguished.

These are the forms in which the circle closes, the decline completes. Russia and America are two equivalent examples, two identical faces of one and the same thing. From the earlier so obvious similarity with the human organism, in the state developing in the splendor and the authority of the higher castes, the social body has now sunk to the type of a subhuman torso image. Emergence of the antlitzless animal. Thus we are given all the elements to approach the problem in all seriousness: *What is the true meaning of nationalism in the modern world?*

After all that has been said, the following type of clearly recognizable nationalism already emerges: it is that state which immediately precedes the international structure of an economic-proletarian collectivism. What is important in this nationalism is not so much the formation of a *special* national consciousness: rather the fact that the "nation" has become a person, an independent being. The inability to overcome those bonds of soil and blood which affect only the natural side of man is elevated to

an ethical value. It is the impossibility of the individual to acquire a sense outside the collectivity and the given traditions. The mere fact of being a "national" gives him purpose.

Here, all phenomena are given the radiant wreath of mystical inviolability, guaranteeing and demanding unconditional respect. This ethnic-infra-intellectual element not only does not recognize higher principles as having any authority, but rather subordinates them to itself; in the first place is the "nation" – then, in subordination, come reality, truth and culture. Certain nationalist groups, however, go even further: they reject any uninvolved and objective judgment as abstract; they demand that even in questions of reality, truth and culture one should not disregard national tradition and political interests. Therefore, they also speak of "our" scientific, philosophical, and even religious tradition and express a preconceived disdain or, at the very least, indifferent reserve against everything that is not "of us," that is not necessarily "conducive to the nation." (When we speak of "tradition" in the negative sense, we refer only to that conception of it which does not contain an intellectual – that is, supra-ethnic – element. In this case, however – to speak with *Chesterton* – "tradition" means merely the extension of the democratic majority right over the historical: the totemic right of the dead stands above the living, a right based on the fact of being dead of the same race).

Just as no superior activity is allowed to develop freely and to create an existence above the ethnic conditions, so there is no room and no appreciation for a more highly developed personality in the framework of such nationalism, unless it is an "exponent" of the nation. Born in the age of revolutions, in the collapse of aristocratic-feudal systems of government, this nationalism therefore expresses the purest "mass spirit" – it is a variant of democratic intolerance, an intolerance directed against

any leader who is not exclusively a "servant of the fatherland" and an organ of the "will of the people" and depends in everything and for everything on the approval of the same.

Without difficulty, then, we see that between nationalism and the Russian or American type of anonymity there is basically only one difference in degree: in the first case, the individual sinks back into the ethnic-national primordial ground; in the second case, however, the differences of the ethnic primordial groups disappear as well, a widespread collectivization, a decomposition into the element of mass, comes into being. In order to pass from one to the other degree of collectivism, it is enough that in place of the racial mysticism the idea of a purely economic-mechanical type is put. It is due to the impersonal character of such a structure if last remnants of the difference of quality are actually eradicated: by the rationalization and mechanization of public life the gates of the future are virtually opened to the fatherless "mass man". – Since the "culture" of today stands on the standpoint of economic-mechanical development of power, since on this level more or less all values and scales are led back, the step from one to the other is perhaps only a question of time.

And yet one asks: can there be another meaning inherent in nationalism? We believe that we can *answer* this question in the *affirmative*. We have said that nationalism appears as a transitional form in the epoch of the third caste that has attained political rule, but before the final emergence of the last class.

This situation in the history of ideas enables nationalism to become the bearer of a double meaning. As a transitional form, it can be found both in the direction of decay and in the direction of reconstruction. Assuming that the process of regression has reached its end in the sense of an Americanized or Sovietized world, those who still feel the forces for a resurrection would again meet nationalism in the new rise – but a completely

different kind of nationalism! Like the quantities called "vectorial" by physics, the phenomenon of nationalism can be determined only on the basis of a *directional factor*: The first form of nationalism is in the direction according to the collectivism realized in the degree of "nation". In the second, on the contrary, the direction is from the collectivity to the reconstruction of a new *aristocratic* hierarchy. The preconditions of this second nationalism can be indicated in an excellent way by the words of *Paul de Lagarde*: "An individual nation stands higher than humanity, and each individual member of a nation is more – that is, should be more – than merely national, more than merely what each nation-mate is as such: in nationality there is added to humanity a very valuable x; and in the individual personality there is added to this valuable x a still much more valuable y". (P. de Lagarde, *Deutsche Schriften*, B.I, p. 163. Cf. p. 423: "With the idea of humanity we must break: for it is not that which is common to all men which is our own duty, but that which is suitable only to us"). It is thus a hierarchy that progresses from the abstract to the concrete; the abstract is the collective, the general – the concrete is the differentiated individual. *Compared to the formless mass of "mankind", the resurgence of a differentiated national consciousness can already represent a first progress. The national consciousness, the ethnic tribe, however, should again become only formless matter compared to the personality. The personality, which finds itself, completes itself according to higher forms of life, reaching beyond the blood-conditioned, transforms that matter from chaos to cosmos, from potentia to actus. The relationship thus turns into the opposite: the nation is no longer the purpose of the individual – the individual as spiritual-aristocratic personality, on the contrary, becomes the purpose of the nation. The nation can be considered as its mother, but it has only the meaning of the material conditionality of the soil*

compared to a tree, the upper parts of which tear themselves loose from the soil and climb up to the free heights.

This clarifies the main point of difference. For the final clarification we still have to refer to the *qualitative* meaning of the old caste hierarchy. A nationalism which is not to be a prelude to mechanical-collectivist conditions, but an overcoming of such conditions and a prelude to reconstruction, is possible only on the basis of the following demand: unconditional power and immediate authority for a new order of values which transcends all that is practical, "social" and economic. Otherwise no true hierarchy can exist, and without hierarchy the return to a higher, spiritualized type of state cannot be accomplished. In fact, hierarchy does not mean mere subordination, but subordination of the lower to the higher. But lower is all that can be measured by practical, interested, worldly standards; higher is that which expresses the nature of pure and objective action. Any other criterion is either illusory or pernicious.

"Illusory" is the *idea of hierarchy within the framework of the merely economic*, but on the basis of diversities of money, of skill, of political or official rank, of "class" in the Marxist sense, etc. Only when interests arise which decidedly transcend the total field of the economic is the principle of true hierarchy given. We must start from the premise that our purpose in life is not the development of economy, but that any economy is a means to an end. But the end is the inner elevation, the development of the personality in the integral and "supra-worldly" sense.

Hierarchy is *distortion* when it expresses the enslavement of the non-practical under the practical: like a body that shapes the mind into its organ. This is roughly what *Julien Benda* means by the "trahison des clercs". But in the "pragmatism" prevailing in all fields – even in that of the scientific –, in the small-money Machiavellianism and general careerism of today, this very

distortion is confirmed in the majority of cases. But nothing is more anti-hierarchical, even *anarchistic*, than such types of apparent "hierarchy." -

We had set ourselves the task of exploring the two opposing possibilities of nationalism. An examination of the extent to which the various nationalisms prevailing and struggling in European and non-European states today embody one or the other possibility is not within the scope of the present consideration.

9. Overcoming Activism

From: Deutsches Volkstum, 1933, p. 929ff.

That activism has become something like a watchword in the modern age can hardly be denied. In theory and practice, action, that is, everything that is tension, momentum, becoming, transformation, eternal search, inexhaustible movement, is praised and defended. The level of "principles" so familiar to the rationalistic world of thought of the 19th century is inexorably approaching its twilight – and this demise is still greeted with joy. In fact, today we are witnessing not only the triumph of action, but also a philosophy of its own in the service of action, which, with the help of a systematic critique and a strong speculative apparatus, strives to create alibis of every kind for itself and pours out its contempt with full hands on the values represented from points of view rooted in deviation from tradition.

The interest in "knowing" is more and more pushed back in favor of the interest in "doing", or at least in favor of the elements which are translatable from the sphere of knowing into that of doing and practical realization. Most people today hardly know what to do with a pure cognition, whose proper object, as in the traditional concept, is supposed to be a superhistorical reality, a superworld – hyperkosmia – beyond time and space. When looking at the world of things, the modern eye has become more and more accustomed to neglect its "being"-aspect in order to refer all the more to its aspect as "becoming", "development", "history".

Thus "historicism" and "dynamism" unite with "activism" also on the level of higher forms of culture. In the field of exact science, principles which until yesterday were considered to be inherently evident and unchangeably valid, are today addressed as

hypothetical assumptions which must be subjected to control in the sense of the process of development of scientific knowledge. In the opinion of many, even in the religious sphere the immutability of dogmas visibly loses that validity which is due to them as a reflection of transcendent absoluteness, as it is supposed to be inherent in a truth of "non-human" character. A thoroughly profane exegesis, in alliance with the so-called comparative religious studies, endeavors to see in the dogmas themselves nothing more than moments of the process of development of an "immanent" history of religious need: whereby not for a moment is hesitated to make the most blatant humanizations.

In the field of philosophy the situation is even clearer. Pragmatism, voluntarism are currents which – even if in different forms – all flow together in a single motto which translates into the forms of speculative justification nothing else than the basic motive of the immediate existence of today, its tumult, its speed fever, its mechanization shortening every interval of time and space, its convulsive, breathless rhythm, as it pushes to the utmost limit especially in America. Here the activist theme into an almost demonic paroxysm, it absorbs the wholeness of life in a constant, unrestrained acceleration, while the horizon is continually darkened by timebound transient realizations. Here the *demonia* of the collective becomes omnipotent in its domination over beings deprived of any tradition-rooted hold and cramped to a restlessness that wants to go beyond all limit, while in many cases subpersonal and faced powers push them towards the "animal ideal" of an ahrimanic world.

What is exceedingly characteristic is the fact that modern culture does not limit itself to reflecting the activist orientation of life, but whips it up even further, exaggerates it, sees it not only as an actual given, but rather as something that *should* be, because it is good to be that way. The glorification of activity – in its

manifestations as irrationality and primitiveness – is often confused with the glorification of life itself, even with the spirituality of world events. Torn down from the sphere of the eternal and unconditional, the spirit itself is understood as "becoming," as "history," as "élan vital," and presents itself under this guise as the object of a new superstitious religion and mysticism. Things have reached a point today where, for those who have not yet completely forgotten those ancient traditions on which our true spiritual nobility was based, a halt and an exact account of the situation in relation to a superior point of view imperatively impose themselves.

Certainly, this undertaking is not easy, since today even the literal sense corresponding to the various value formations has been almost lost to most. The truth may be pronounced that a healthy culture is not possible if next to the principle of action there is not that of contemplation. For this reason, modern historicist and activist culture, far from representing a higher privileged form of culture, rather stands before us like an anomaly, like a hideous marvel in its hypertrophic one-sidedness. Within the framework of any tradition-bound conception, contrary to so many misinterpretations of this term, "contemplation" did not at all mean passivity, evasion, renunciation, repression of energy, but that austere path by which asceticism and inner elevation from "life" to "more-than-life", from the sense-bound reality to a metaphysical experience, from which supra-individual principles and realizations can be derived, which are suitable as a basis for realizations and rearrangements also in the level of the death-bound nature and the act itself, which acquire only in this way a meaning and a higher right.

Our modern world recognizes only the time-bound reality. Every transcendental view is regarded as "overcome". Historicism, that retrospective consideration of all things under their merely temporal, therefore subordinate aspect, gives as gain what is

basically nothing more than a dull impoverishment of higher possibilities, as they have been recognized and hierarchically asserted by every tradition-bound culture. A world so constituted gets to the point of not even grasping the sense and deeper value of the act. A criticism and revolt against the briefly outlined orientation of the contemporary world is not feasible in the name of a standstill at any price or an intellectualistic-rationalistic abstraction, but only in the name of the action itself: by the proof that the "modern" world basically knows as much as nothing about what really is action. What it claims and praises is only a subordinate and inferior form of action. Precisely therein lies the confusion and danger. There is action and action. A healthy activism is to be distinguished from an activism that is only fever, exaltation, centerless frenzy, which, far from testifying to strength – as the vulgar conception wants – rather only points to inability and incapacity. Today, it is almost universally this second aberrant type of activism. Therefore, the need arises to return to a more elevated conception, to restore balance and inhibit a process whose destructive consequences are all too evident.

One has lost the sense for what in the classical traditions the opposition between natural and intelligent world meant spiritually. The movement was for such teaching the substantial principle of the natural things, but only as "eternal flight of the things which are and, as it were, are not" (Plotinus), as incapacity of the completion, of the self-possession in a limit and in a law, of the self-realization as a perfect act. The "intelligible" world – *kosmos noetos* – was not the world of non-action, but rather of completed action, that which was opposed to the nature of "nature" insofar as it was free from desire, from "privation," self-sufficient: as absolute action, it has in itself its object and its master. A supernatural, aristocratic ideal of action was thus the soul of such an anti-modern show, without, however, exhausting itself in it. Whoever lets some tradition-bound teachings of the

Aryan East have an effect on him, is forced to marvel at the assertion that everything that is movement, activity, becoming, change – belongs to the passive and female principle, symbolized in the female aspect of the deity: Çakti, while the positive, male, solar principle, symbolized in the male deity Çiva or Purusha, belongs to immobility, unchangeability, identity. Likewise, for very few today, the meaning of the sentence would be evident: "The wise man recognizes in the deed the non-deed and in the non-deed the true deed".

This sentence does not mean at all that quietism and that nirvanadom, with which insufficiently educated people believe to be able to characterize the whole Orient. Rather, it expresses the consciousness of a higher, aristocratic ideal of activity, compared to which the ordinary deed is almost relegated to the rank of non-action. The thought itself is quite similar to what Aristotle meant metaphysically and theologically with his doctrine of the immovable mover: He who is the cause and actual master of the movement does not move himself. He excites and directs the movement, arouses the action, but does not act himself, is not carried along in the action of the deed, is not action, but an immobile, thoroughly calm, dominating superiority, from which the action proceeds and depends. Therefore, with an expression taken from the farthest East, its powerful and invisible dominion is "action without action" – wei-wu-wei. Given this ideal of a ruled action, the one who acts out of momentum, passion, empathy, desires, and restless needs is not really an agent of action, but already an agent of action. Paradoxical as this expression may sound, his action is a passive action. Compared to the transcendent, higher-order, royally cold, purely determining, immobile way of the "lords of movement", his acting is

He moves, creates, runs, but the reason, the absolute cause of his action lies outside of himself, just as with the woman the initiative causing her conception is situated outside of her.

If one approaches the deepest meaning of the activist, dynamist, Bergsonian teachings, as they are in vogue today, in the light of the indicated distinction between the ideal of action and non-action – it can be found in the most diverse occidental and oriental forms of expression – one will always find, in principle, precisely that passive and subordinate form of action. What is praised today is generally nothing other than the blind, instinctive élan that drives one to go without knowing why one is going, without having the power to be other than one is, to control oneself, to create in oneself a center, a limit, an absolute ground: action for the sake of action, out of mere spontaneity, out of immediate and never to be redeemed necessity, which is presupposed as the deepest law of life, even of the spirit. In many cases even the whole thing amounts merely to the more or less conscious will to stupefy and distract oneself, to a restlessness or a noise which betrays the fear of the great silence, of the inner seclusion, of the absolute being of the higher individuality, in that thereby the very elevation of man against the eternal is supported.

Someone has correctly compared the kind of movement praised by modern civilization to that on a wheel, which becomes all the faster and more dizzying at greater distance from the center. This corresponds in fact to the truth. Plotinus had already outlined to us the concept of that becoming which means nothing else than "the eternal flight of the non-being beings". This realization should serve us as a sure basis for a spiritual reaction and restoration.

The tumult of modern life, the unleashed multiplicity of forces which it has produced both in the framework of the social order and even in the realm of nature, which is increasingly technically dominated, should be counteracted by forces of centrality: of asceticism, of command-violence, of absolute domination, absolute individuality, absolute show – forces which today are rarer than ever to be discerned among our fellow men. It would

be a vain hope that this deficiency could be remedied so long as the ideal of action prevails in its supremacy, and action is fixed again and again upon a single type of material and passive deed, obeying an external impulse and directed outward. As long as no other is valid than this and the inner, the secret deed, which does not create machines, banks and societies, but human beings, ascetics, free beings, rulers over their own souls, freed from any thirst, is not considered as deed, but as renunciation, abstraction, loss of time; as long as the criterion of value is understood in this way, as long as, on the one hand, one continues to glorify that action which is nothing but passion-bound action, unregulated "life-swing," irrationality of an unstoppable becoming, joy in the tension and striving, in contrast to which the attainment, the exact and calm fulfillment and solution is considered the worst misfortune, the death of life (no other meaning is given to romantic doctrines like those of Herder and Schlegel or the Faustian conception of life of an Oswald Spengler); as long as, on the other hand, one continues to stifle every interest that is not oriented towards material goals, towards social and quantitative instead of qualitative realizations – as long as nothing better can be expected than a breathless staggering, which drifts further and further away from any center, from any meaning, from any control except that which is conditioned by the interdependence of the parts of a monstrous wheelwork in which the individual is no longer capable of anything.

As already indicated, we see American civilization striving towards this very goal; not really different from this is the Soviet ideal, which denies any role to the history-dominating personality, in order to extol all the more the automatic development of the mechanized, omnipotent "collective man" as a task. Thus the technical-activist orientation of the "modern" world is led *ad absurdum*, as soon as it has buried the tradition-bound ideals. If it is impossible to pass by the achievements of

this civilization, its really barbaric aspect, which can be called ahrimanic, is equally unmistakable. The proud temples created by such deeds stand empty of gods; never will the gods descend to them unless a decision is made to react, to realign people of a different generation and outlook on life. If the modern world, in its passive activism, in its feverish running of thirsty or persecuted people, basically realizes nothing else than the last consequences of romanticism (which, for its part, is in many respects the last manifestation of Semitic messianism), a new equilibrium, which does not extinguish action, but integrates it, centralizes it, elevates it to sunny activity, can be achieved only in the sense of a restoration of the classical experience (in the wider sense of this word).

It is necessary to return to the "Olympic" component, as it was inherent in all great traditions of the luminous Aryan spirituality. For the romantic man the "infinite" is the value, the "limit" the evil. Classical man, on the other hand, saw in the infinite – *apeiron* – the evil, insofar as he saw in it the indeterminate, which is chaos and not yet cosmos: be it in itself, in the uncontrolled tumult of passions and sense impressions – be it outside of it, in the indeterminate becoming of things and beings, which "are and are not" embedded in the stream of time. The limit – *péras* – on the other hand, was understood as absolute perfection, as the dominion of ethos over pathos, as the sign of a power capable of transcending itself, of conquering itself, of giving itself form and absolute law, in order to approach, in ascetic or heroic clarity, a mode of being proper to the "superworld." For the classical man, limit is completion, goal, work, highest type of spirituality, as it appeals to us, for example, from the calm and powerful linearity of the Doric style, as it also symbolically appears in the visualizations of solar and astral kind of the Aryan myths.

The foregoing remarks could only touch upon this widely ramified subject. At least we believe to have shown the positive point of relation against the dangers of modern activism. What we need today is the ideal of a new classicism of action and domination, infused with a new breakthrough of the supernatural, disciplined by the values of masculine asceticism and aristocratic superiority over simple "life". Thus slowly new centers will mature, new qualities and personalities – new only because they are traditional in the

are in the deepest and most vital sense of the word – before whom, out of a law of destiny, the centerless powers will obediently bow in a better future, those powers without countenance and without luminosity which are unleashed upon us in these end times.

10. Overcoming the Superman

From: German Folklore, 1936

It is surprising how easily ideas that lack any real consistency often gain suggestive power – so much so that they create a kind of passionate alibis for themselves: those who believe them to be true experience them in such a way that they eventually believe they find them confirmed by their own experience.

This is true, for example, of evolution and Darwinism. The theory of man from the animal and the selection of species by assertion of the stronger against the various conditions of the environment, by adaptation and hereditary transmission of the traits of character – this materialistic and anti-aristocratic myth of the science of yesterday everybody already recognizes as a more than shaky hypothesis, which has had its time and which sees itself deprived of its supposed "positive" foundations more and more every day. And yet, until yesterday, this theory meant a revelation for a whole generation: not as a hypothesis to be considered and tested within the purely scientific field among many others, but as a new and undoubted world view, as an enlightening discovery, as a new knowledge gained once and for all by the human race. And there we find an art, like Jack London's, as a typical example of the mentioned passionate alibis. Jack London, in fact, often makes us experience the theory of evolution and natural selection. Based on his general conception of life in a whole series of figures, events, descriptions and episodes, it appears to us as true, as evident. The suggestive power of art puts before us as true a world in which the biological heritage, the instinct of self-preservation and the struggle for existence are indeed the leitmotifs, in which the highest type of man more or less resembles the type of the wonderful beast, the

animal that in full possession of all its powers and life instincts has triumphed over everything, has prevailed against everything: as it were, as the sum of a series of heritages which have reached him through the dark ways of blood, from the primeval times of savages, forests or icy deserts, if not from animal-like pre-humanity.

Not too different from this is the atmosphere in which, in general, the myth of the "superman" gained form and life. The designation goes back in part to Nietzsche. We say partly because Nietzsche's philosophy is composed of far more diverse and heterogeneous components than is generally supposed. After all, it cannot be denied that the evolutionist superstition with its biological appendages was able to operate extensively on an area of Nietzsche's thought which, though not trivial, is of course the most decrepit. One may say that what has been understood by Nietzsche until yesterday, goes back predominantly to this area, precisely as to that which is in direct connection with the ideas spread in the time.

Nietzsche's theory of the "superman" is an appendage of naturalism – and as such it is something that now belongs to the past, and which, taken by itself, could misguide the aspirations of the best of the new generation. It is in the "religion of life" or, better said, in the "superstition of life" that everything begins and ends. Thus we would like to call a conception, in the center of which stands that pure vitality in its merely biological meaning, which natural science considers purely externally, according to the same method which it applies to matter, and which in turn the "voluntarists," the "intuitionists," and the "activists" interpret as an immediate sensation, as something given directly by consciousness. In any case, however, such a thing is only that of the animal, instinctive, pre-personal life; it is the root and the deeper will of that which in us is only body and nature. Now the views under discussion seem to want to see nothing else in man,

or if they recognize something else, they always recognize it as a subordinate, as a derived reality to "life". For them, the "I" is not a supernatural principle, not the expression of another reality, but more or less the sensation of the life force, which can be increased or decreased, strengthened or weakened.

Only from here the well-known Nietzsche concept of the "revaluation of all values" and likewise the power theory following from it receives existence and meaning up to a certain degree. A number of ethical, social and religious conceptions had conspired for centuries against the "life", had favored a sinister selection in the wrong sense, in so far as in them everything was passed off as spirit and value what kills and emasculates the instinct, what clouds or diminishes the feeling of the vital force. It is the values of "decadence" and "resentment" which the slaves, the weak, the disinherited, the badly gone proclaimed and with which they gradually wore away the basis on which in healthy and strong times the superman and the right of the superman as the ruler were based and triumphed. Nietzsche calls for a revolt against these "values of decadence," he reveals their poison and establishes as the principle of a new valuation the criterion that only that which affirms the life instinct, justifies the life instinct, increases the life instinct, the highest expression of which for him is the "will to power," is to be considered true, moral, legitimate, spiritual and beautiful; and that everything which distances from life, limits life, condemns life, is false, immoral, ugly and contrary to law. Nietzsche proclaims a new religion of the will to power as a prelude to the advent of a new epoch of the superman.

One must admit that Nietzsche understands the "will to power" as the will not only to external, but also to internal domination. The superman is not only the master of man, but also the one who lets instincts, which are developed to an elementary, threatening vehemence, correspond to the ability to control them absolutely, but not in the sense of suppressing them, but to keep

them like wild animals on the chain and to let them burst forth as soon as he wants. Of course, in one case as in the other, or in the ruler over himself as in the ruler over the others – in the part of Nietzsche's philosophy considered here – everything ends only in a feeling, a sensation. The will to power, developed through good and evil, through the hardest trials and up to the most nonsensical consequences, with absolute relentlessness towards oneself and others, has always only the value of a heightened and carried to the extreme "life"-feeling and of an "I" that gains consciousness and confirmation of itself from nothing else but this wild feeling. The tide swells, but it can end in nothing, finds no transfiguration. The uplift is basically in vain; asceticism is dark, almost demonic, it enjoys itself, is without higher meaning.

A commentator of Nietzsche, Georg Simmel, has spoken of circumstances in which the intensity of life in its utmost degree – the "more-life" – is transformed and, as it were, changes into another "quality", into a "more-than-life". But in the world of this Nietzschean superman, the conditions are missing for such a process to become reality: an idea is missing, a point of reference that becomes, so to speak, a transformer in the circuit and allows this to appear as "light", as "more-than-life", i.e. as revelation and affirmation of a supernatural. Apollo, the Olympian principle, the Olympian superiority, interpreted by Nietzsche as a symbol of the unreal and the external, remains for him always the enemy and the danger for Dionysus, i.e. for life, the indomitable impetus of life, which turns to itself, affirms itself and does not want to be at all other than it is, insofar as every beyond is for him an illusion and escape of impotent and sick people. The circle remains closed. And we consider it certain that the evocation – albeit unconscious and speculative – of a life of the highest height, the intensity of which only a supernatural point of reference could be adequate, and the non-possession of such a point of reference, so that that intensity chased back into itself

caused, as it were, a short circuit – we consider that this was precisely the situation that actually led Nietzsche to a tragic end, to madness.

If "man is something that must be overcome", if "man is the bridge that leads from the animal to the superman", this overcoming, this transition is illusory if one does not start from the premise of the existence of two opposite natures, of two opposite worlds, and instead continues to consider nothing but "life" in its various forms and degrees of strength, the only quality "life". And today "racism", in certain of its misapplications, which certainly correspond neither to the higher ideality of the German tradition nor to that of the National Socialist revolution, seems to resume precisely the worst heritage of Nietzsche, when it proceeds to trace back every value to its biological basis and to see in life, blood and race the measure and the preconditions for every spiritual form: it thus amounts to a falsifying restriction which without further ado blocks the way to a true overcoming and a true superhumanity.

For us, on the other hand, what has been true in all great traditions applies: that "life" is not spirit, and spirit is not "life," but that spirit gives form to "life"; and that what actually gains higher and more compelling expression in "life" does not come from "life," but from the spirit that reveals itself through life or by means of life, i.e., from something supernatural. If one has recognized the true center in this sense, then the first precondition for every true overcoming is that one leads the self-consciousness, the "I"-feeling step by step from the pole "life" to the pole "spirit". But today the voluntaristic, activist, irrationalistic tendencies work exactly in the opposite sense: by strengthening in every way the purely physical and "vital" I-feeling, they strengthen at the same time the prison of the I, they lead to an ossification, a trumpeting, a brutalized and de-spiritualized conception of will and individuality, of health and of

the power, which equals just as many obstacles to inner emancipation. Here the circuits remain closed. The reference point for the "transforming" of the "intensive-life", the "more-life" into a "more-than-life" is missing. The Übermensch does not reach beyond the "beautiful vanquishing beast" or the "demon" of Dostoevsky, this reduction of Nietzsche into the absurd. If the – inwardly – conjured intensity does not have the possibility to result in something, it can only give way to an exaggerated, tearing tension, that silent tragedy which the "titanic" always brings with it.

Olympian, on the other hand, is the true type of the superman: a calm grandeur expressing an irresistible superiority, something that startles and at the same time arouses admiration by abruptly triggering the sensation of a transcendent power perfectly mastered but ready to be discharged, the wonderful and threatening feeling that antiquity always associated with the concept of "numen". "Over-life" – i.e. spirit, completely realized I in its supernatural manifestation – which permeates and absolutely dominates everything that is merely "life" – this is the essence of that type.

But this type, the true superman, cannot be traced back to a construction of today's thinking. Quality characteristic of a super-race, substance of what in the Nordic-Doric race was the classical ideal of the form in the heroic-sacred- Hellenic culture circle, always received itself in the consequence as a symbol in the ruling aristocracies. There is no great tradition of Indo-European antiquity that did not know it. The tradition of the "divine right" of the legitimate kings, because male bearers of a power from above, is the last echo of this. If one understands the sudden reappearance of this ancient concept in a world in which all great horizons were already absent, in which there existed for its embodiment, apart from a confused desire for power and freedom, only the profane and obscure myths of evolutionism

and natural selection, one also understands the invisible birth of Nietzsche's theory of the superman, its limits and the path that can lead beyond them.

11. Our Anti-Bourgeois Front

From: Der Ring, No. 27, 6. 7. 1934

Only recently Mussolini again took a stand against the "bourgeois spirit" that is rich in significant content in its decisiveness. Mussolini declared that bourgeois spirit and fascist spirit, bourgeois ethics and heroic ethics are irreconcilable opposites. Already once he had expressed: "Fascism spurns the comfortable life". To all that history can condemn to bourgeois immobility, Mussolini, in the new speech to which we refer here, contrasted the principle of a "continuous revolution," that is, of an uninterrupted creative tension which, hidden and invisible in the "gray toil of daily construction," should nevertheless reach full revelation in the "radiant moments of sacrifice and glory."

Even if these statements are primarily on the level of the present fascist political reality in Italy, they are capable of a further development, in the sense of general and idealistic orientations, not only valid for Italy alone. To break the bourgeois front in its entirety and in all its material and intellectual, economic and sentimental ramifications is indeed the most urgent task of our epoch.

Bourgeoisie has three basic aspects: social the first, moral the second, sentimental the third. We will briefly note their individual characteristics here.

Socially speaking, bourgeoisie carries its own definition already in the word. "Bourgeoisie" is synonymous with the "third estate," more precisely with the class of tradesmen and artisans resident in the medieval cities. Now it is clear that the "progress" of history since the Middle Ages can essentially be summed up in an abnormal development of the bourgeois element and of the interests and activities peculiar only to it, while the other, higher

elements of the medieval hierarchy remain outside – a development which has quite the character of a cancerous proliferation. It is the bourgeois who pours out with full hands the curse of ridicule on the ideals of the preceding chivalrous age. It is the citizen who first, like those "new people" so despised by Dante, gave the signal for anti-traditional indignation by appropriating (as a "philistine," i.e.) the right to bear arms, fortifying the centers of impure economic power, and helping his banner to break through; it is the citizen who, in the urban communes, counterposed an anarchic claim to autonomy to imperial authority. It is the citizen who has gradually brought it about that today a claim appears as the most natural thing in the world, which in other, normal times would have been considered an absurd heresy: namely, that the economy is our destiny, so that now profit is our purpose in life, haggling and trading a "doing," the conversion of every value into the terms of "rentier" – of *prosperity*, of comfort, into values of speculation, of supply and demand – constitutes the essence of our civilization.

For this reason, the saying that our modern civilization is a hebraized civilization is anything rather than nonsensical. Modern civilization and bourgeois civilization had thus become almost synonymous terms. To the advent of the citizen to power, who was finally detached from the "medieval" residues first by the revolution and then by the democratic constitutions, the Occident owes its illusory greatness and at the same time the terrible spiritual destruction of which we are witnesses today.

The second aspect of bourgeoisie is its moralism. This is basically its modern aspect, which must be underlined all the more, because its negative character escapes most people, precisely because the process of the bourgeoisification of all values has finally spread a uniform *forma mentis* over all related expressions of life. In the text of a tradition, which was laid down two

thousand years before Nietzsche, one can read: "If the way (i.e. the direct connection to pure spirituality) is lost, virtue remains; if virtue is lost, ethics remains; if ethics is lost, moralism remains. Moralism is only the externalization of ethics and denotes the principle of decline." In this saying are clearly distinguished the various stages of the process of decline that has led down to the bourgeois idol: to moralism. Such an idol had remained quite unknown to the great tradition-bound cultures: they had never known a system of dressage and egalitarianism built on convention, compromise, hypocrisy and cowardice, a system that bases its claim to validity on an inferior socialized utilitarianism, that is, on a system of taboos for the protection of undisturbed gorging, enjoying and doing business. Moralism has developed in the same step with the parasitic degeneration of the bourgeois civilization of the Occident, so that its attitude can be easily connected with the most characteristic statements of the most important ideological exponents of this civilization.

By the way, it must be noted that if before the advent of the bourgeois spirit there was no talk of moralism but of ethics, ethics itself is nothing more than secularized spirituality and laicized religion. What today has the value of a conventional morality and yesterday had the value of an inner ethics, possessed according to tradition a "sacral" reason, which is already evident in symbolic veiling from the circumstance that in antiquity every system of laws was regarded as "supernaturally" revealed or of "divine" origin or as enacted by legislators not simply of human origin: Manes, Mino, Manu, Numa and so on. This fact flows from the very essence of every tradition-based culture, which always strives to relate man to a force from above, a force capable in its intensity of tearing away, bending and taming every lowly, that is, purely human element, thus creating possibilities of superhuman elevation, rather than inhibiting and channeling every upsurge, every revelation of power and boldness, so as to arrive at the serial

production of little beings and little lives running on synchronized rails. Even if this force from above is no longer present, its trace still remains for a while, there remains an ethics in the classical sense, an ethos as an inner character form and tradition-bound lifestyle, endowed with a spontaneous love of domination over oneself, of discipline, of daring, of fidelity, or of command. Once this ethos has been exhausted, morality and the constant concern for good manners begin to take its place, that is, moralism. The focus passes to the Philistine in his various masks: from the fanatical Puritan to Candide and Babbitt. Thus the inward emasculation, the normalization at any price, the compulsory standardization all along the line comes to the breakthrough. Thus, there was a danger of slipping from the bourgeois epoch to an even deeper and more degrading level on the basis of logical continuity, namely in so far as, after Puritan standardism, the methodical "liberation" from the "bourgeois prejudices" of the "personality", the "I" and the "freedom of will" to the higher glory of a communist, mechanized and etatized social conglomerate has become the watchword of the new soviet gospel. Therefore, here, as in other fields (for example, in that of the economy, where bourgeois capitalism has launched its Marxist antithesis in counterpoint to itself), a kind of nemesis or immanent justice has arisen to strike hard at the subverters of higher order.

The third aspect of bourgeoisie is its sentimentalism. It is as typically bourgeois a quality as romanticism itself. In the sentimental and romantic the small, tamed and "decent" bourgeois soul culminates by being deeply moved by poetic sweetnesses, melodramatic heroisms, pathetic complications of love, oleographic distortions of nature. All this, however, serves him for nothing but physical compensation, in order to be able to hold practically his social, professional and family daily routines undisturbed. In this sense, the assertion is not at all paradoxical

that idealism, i.e. the worn-out rhetoric of "sacred ideals," "sublime ideas," "beliefs," and such generalities is an entirely bourgeois affair: a fuzzy and empty thing, created only to cover the absence of a silent creative force. We maintain, then, that, rather than absence, it is the presence of "ideals" and "beliefs" in the sense indicated that characterizes a bourgeois epoch. "Ideals" and "beliefs," on the other hand, were absent where they were felt to be too little, where man was centrally grounded in relation to himself, where a pure force, power, and genuine will to create prevailed. Ascetic cultures, warlike cultures, creative cultures have as little room for "ideals" and "beliefs" as for "moralities" and "sentimentalisms." In them, essentially superior forms of life prevail – or rather: forms of a super-life, without rhetorical or sentimental expressionisms, without taming, without the falsifications that necessarily adhere to those who stand outside themselves, who vacillate toward their essential core and are not fixed in themselves. This is true on the individual and typological level as well as on the level of races and different phases of historical cycles.

The revolutions that today strive to impose their ferment in a salutary sense on old Europe must, from the innermost logic, profess to be anti-bourgeois, and in this context the clear and unequivocal declaration of Mussolini and the assertion of the historical principle that results from it gains the significance of a sure and authoritative point of reference. We said "from the innermost logic", insofar as historically such revolutions in their aspect of cultural reconstruction today run through a scale in an ascending direction, which Europe has already run through in a descending direction. After all, power had descended from the level of purely intellectual authority to an aristocratic-military level and from there to the level of the bourgeoisie and democracy, from where it threatened to sink to the level of the proletarianized masses. The first phase of the European revolution

and reconstruction had the task of an annihilation of the Bolshevik-Marxist danger. The second phase can be none other than the one of anti-bourgeoisie. Only in this way will it become possible to come into contact with the tasks of a higher world order, an aristocratic reconstruction.

12. On the Spiritual Prerequisites of European Unity

From: Paneuropa, 1932

The fact can hardly be denied that in the general sense of crisis and uneasiness which frightens the whole European society of today, the ideal of a higher ecumenical culture is evoked by the best spirits – a culture in which a new principle shall raise again to unity the European traditions scattered in their forces and bearers.

It is likewise a fact that certain negative forces, which formerly appeared only in isolated phenomena and, so to speak, only in a formless state, are now beginning to organize themselves. They become powers in the special sense of this expression. However, in their claim to dominance and antithetical character to all that can be regarded as European tradition, such forces form a certain threat which calls us to a necessary alternative. – So also from this point of view the demand for a European unity asserts itself – at least as a unit of defense and resistance.

In this respect Count R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi in his pamphlet "Stalin and Co." has pointed out in clear lines the danger which the new Soviet Russia means for the future Europe. This barbarous power is at present striving in the direction of absolute organization of every force, rationalization and planned exploitation of its immense natural possibilities. The Five-Year Plan stands before us as the first manifestation of this will, which, moreover, is equipping itself for conscious international intentions. But if Russia persists in this direction and in this will to power, we shall see a bloc which no single European people, only a united Europe, could resist.

In our view, however, the Russian danger is not the only one to which a decisive alternative is being imposed vis-à-vis tradition-bound Europe before it is too late. In the West, the Russian danger corresponds to the American danger. It is true that this is not yet an immediate – material or political – danger, although the very influence of American finance on European politics is a worrying fact. There remains, however, the danger of a materialistic worldview which can affect us in the same destructive, anti-European sense as the Bolshevik ferment.

Russia, of course, cannot be equated with the United States. The two peoples in many cases show unmistakable differences in people, temperament, race, and political constitution. But one culture as well as the other proves to us the demoniac of the collective; the anonymity of power; the conscious or instinctive lowering of every transcendent interest under the interests of the group and its material realizations; the mechanical ideal and technical messianism; the indifference (America) or hatred (Russia) against the autonomous personality and every kind of "unproductive" activity against everything that was still considered "deed" or "contemplation" to us in the tradition-bound sense. In this context, it should be noted that Soviet ideologists, technicians, and even poets consciously model themselves after the American ideal, giving it almost a mystical aureole.

Only one or the other hint can find place here. We cannot emphasize – as we have done elsewhere – the numerous points in which the two cultures actually coincide. Only this much: even from the economic point of view there is no fundamental opposition between the Soviet state trust, where the proletarian capital is never allowed to dwell with individuals, and the system of steady investment, the great American production, where the capitalist sinks to a kind of ascetic tool for the multiplication and perpetual productive accommodation of every profit. Ultimately,

everything can be traced back to the following difference: The forms which in Sovietism strive for realization through a tension which preserves in itself something tragic and savage, through an actual dictatorship and a system of terror – reappear in America under a semblance of democracy and freedom, in that these forms prove to be the spontaneous result to which the mere interest in production, the tearing away from any traditional element, the "animal ideal" of material world conquest, has led.

For this very reason, America harbors a lurking danger: not, like Russia, as a hostile force and a neatly formulated thought. Rather, it carries within itself the germ of that inversion of values, that materialization and "socialization" for which the Soviet myth stands as the ultimate result. By allowing itself to be carelessly Americanized, Europe introduces into its sphere the Trojan horse; a principle which will dissolve in the peoples every tradition-bound remnant. The external, practical, mechanical, sporting, Americanized forms of life are inevitably imbued with a new conception of the world, on the basis of which Europe – almost without realizing it – is moving in the very direction where the danger of the omnipotent Soviet mass man is threatening.

The symbol which Europe can invoke for the unity for the defense of its life and the preservation of its ancient tradition is therefore, in our opinion, incomplete if we do not place Russia alongside America, if we do not recognize in the one and in the other the two claws of a single pincer which tightens around us from East and West.

Destruction of the personal; rise of the collective; omnipotence of the mechanical over the organic, of the mixed and standardized over the articulated; "*trahison des clercs*" on a grand scale – that is, enslavement of every intellectual and spiritual possibility in favor of merely material and "social" realizations – these are for us the

characteristics of the universal "ideal" claimed by America and Russia for a new and higher humanity.

Against this we should defend our universal European thought. We have deliberately emphasized the spiritual side of the anti-European danger: precisely in order to come closer to determining the true conditions of a new European unity.

Today we have come to such a situation that the material and political dangers are causing concern and ready counteraction all along the line. The material danger of the new Russia, drawn with suggestive words by Count Coudenhove, will therefore perhaps in a not distant time force the European peoples to interests and principles which will finally reach beyond the limited political egoisms. Nevertheless, it remains for us that any unity which is realized in the plane of the material – and to this plane belongs for us all that which is economic and "political" in the narrow sense – can only be a transitory unity, a unity which can be smashed to rubble again at any moment by the most diverse forces, be they irrational. Moreover: If it is to be an organic unity, not the unity of a mere aggregate, there is no thought of obtaining it by external means – by a series of international treaties without the existence of a higher principle. Unity in one and the same spirit, in a single tradition – this seems to us the premise from which to proceed, the true basis on which one can organically arrive at a unity which is also material, at a political "Pan-Europe". Likewise, it seems to us that the true point of reference must not be an *international* one, but a *supranational one*.

When talking about the necessity of a "European" reaction, the crucial point must not be overlooked: In whose name is resistance to be made? Suppose, to stand up against Russia as a confederation of Soviet republics or against the United States. As Prince K. A. Rohan has rightly seen in considering a similar

question, *"if several regiments march on separate roads into an abyss, it is of little use that, without changing their direction, they should unite beforehand into one army; then precisely the united army will fall into the abyss and the downfall will remain the same."* It would be frivolous to believe that by creating some European form of unity the decline of this culture could be arrested if the individual peoples have not yet carried out an inner renewal, that is, a reaction of the same direction, a spiritual integration, whereby all that in them tends toward the Russian or the American is eliminated. Then a single spirit would be present and active, and the peoples would be virtually brought into the position of organically uniting into a higher unity, above any individuality. It can also happen that the events precipitate, that some economic, political or military form of unity imposes itself as an immediate method of help, even before the spiritual counterpart corresponding to it, a European total consciousness, is present. Nevertheless, it must be recognized: Where the outside is not organized by an inside, where no soul gives unity, life and form to its own body -there it can only be a question of unfinished phenomena, incapable of maintaining a real and lasting existence.

The problem is therefore: In which direction should the individual European peoples carry out that inner renewal which, on the one hand, can protect them from the final overthrow of our traditions – and, on the other hand, lead to the overcoming of everything that separates and opposes them?

We believe that Western history offers elements for the solution of such a question. If European unity is the myth of a better future, it is also the reality of our best past. In medieval culture, a single spirit ruled over the most diverse races and traditions; enthroned, as a point of reference superior to the limited interests of the individual political units, was the supra-political, unified, not international, but precisely supranational authority of the

Holy Roman Empire. Thus, it is precisely medieval culture that provides us with the example we need in the face of the crisis and materialism of the modern world. Of course, we do not intend to return to outmoded and obsolete phenomena: In other, suitable forms, however, one and the same spirit can be awakened again and again. Provided this is the case, the processes which have led destructively from the ecumenical medieval Europe to those of today are the most instructive: they indicate the path which, in a modified way, when traversed in the opposite direction, expresses the very sense of that integration of which we spoke earlier, and which constitutes the condition of a new, true European unity.

We can only point out here the most general and well-known meaning of such processes. – European unity perished when the supra-political principle of empire was replaced by the political principle of fatherland. Through such a principle, Europe passed from the universal to the particular, from the sacred to the blood-conditioned, in order to finally end up in the mere collective and "social" (for which America and Russia may be regarded as "top achievements"). The transition is most intimately connected with the destruction of that hierarchical, tradition-bound ideal which formerly prevailed within the individual states. As is well known, the means of binding feudal units was neither the plebeian idea of nation nor the economic-social law, nor the power of a centralized "public authority", but loyalty – *fides*. Out of the feeling of fidelity, the peasant and industrial classes recognized the authority of the nobility, and the nobility that of the prince. Fidelity – a fidelity already supra-temporal – made the prince capable of subordinating the political unity of which he was the leader and living center to the ecumenical and supra-political unity of the sacral empire. The social division allowed each estate to develop its own way of life; the hierarchy of the estates made the physical-economic part of the total life a separate stratum, beyond which the realization of higher ways of life and deeds

according to the heroic-aristocratic as well as the ascetic ideal (which often coincided – as it was the case with the great orders of knights) could take place unhindered. This division and hierarchy made possible the completion of separate and free forms of personality – equally it led beyond the merely material and social. Among the elites – that is, among those who were always capable of loyalty in the higher sense – such a hierarchy created the possibility of domination for a supra-political and universal thought. If Bolshevism literally declared through the mouth of Lenin that the Roman-Germanic world was the greatest obstacle to the realization of the proletarian ideal of the mass man, we have in it the confirmation that what has been indicated above is most likely to us as a firm "European"-traditional standpoint and as the basis of internal integration in the anti-Soviet and anti-American sense.

When the hierarchical medieval ideal perished, when the division into estates dissolved, when the work of national centralization and the establishment of public powers began, and when the leaders descended from the higher aristocratic functions to direct absolutist interference in areas of politics already interwoven with the economy and the nation as a collective – then a materialism set in by which the way was completely cleared for a disintegrating particularism. The princes thus prepared their own downfall. They created the organism in which, through the revolutions, the "nation" was to gain a body as a mere collective. Although it may seem paradoxical, there is in fact only a difference in degree between the ideology of the "nation", which presents itself as the highest value to each of its members, and the myth of the omnipotent fatherless mass man. It is a question of two successive stages of a counter-hierarchical and counter-aristocratic decline, whereby in the last instance the promiscuity of primitive peoples is revived: The "individual" here is nothing but an anti-litigious part of the group. – This is precisely the anti-

European ideal – provided that the most important ideal for our European tradition is to be sought in culture, in the formation of individual perfected personalities, in the free organic placing of the same in a living hierarchy.

Even if in summary brevity, such considerations bring clarity to our subject. What constitutes the strongest obstacle to any true European unity, in which the same evil to which the struggle is directed betrays itself, is European nationalism precisely in the plebeian-collective sense. Within the framework of such nationalism, race, economy, politics in the narrower sense of this expression – that is, that which corresponds to the physical of the old social organisms – arrogates to itself the value of the spirit, it denies the authority of any activity superior to that which is politically or ethnically conditioned; it debases the idea of class, nobility, even the state; it thus breaks up, with a series of antagonistic schisms and concepts, the unity of the spirit and of tradition. As long as spirituality is mixed with politics, and nobility with plutocracy or the leaders of a merely economic or military organism, as long as the state is only "nation" – and not a hierarchy of rank corresponding to the hierarchy of types and values – just as long, we think, will desires, egoisms, hegemonisms of the various peoples, fighting and betting plans of voracious monopoly trusts, etc., continue to exist as driving powers. On the level of the material, which is not subject to any higher principle, a true unity is not possible; here only fragmentation and struggle or the collapse of the collective-material-technical "ideal" peculiar to the last age can be expected. In the last case perhaps the state of a universal "brotherhood" would approach, in which, however, not the abolition of the "national" spirit with its desires and its worldly pride, but its outermost form would be recognizable. According to Benda's word: Then the nation will be "Man" and the enemy is called "God".

In our opinion, the integration which would have to be carried out within the individual peoples for the preparation of the new European unity should develop in the aristocratic, respectively "classical" sense. On the political and economic level, an intellectual upper class would have to separate itself, to which all the rest would be subordinated. Thereby a counter-centralistic direction could begin, for the creation of separate ways, functions and forms of activity as a basis of qualitatively different realizations of the human personality.

We cannot consider here the various sides of such renewal. From a material point of view, perhaps the idea of corporatism, not syndicalist but in the ancient sense corresponding to the guilds and guilds, can effectively contribute to it. It is a question of the creation of cooperatives and estates, which should relieve the state from the material-economic side and thus allow it to rise to a higher, balancing and ordering, still purely spiritual and symbolic function. Against the incursions of an anarchic individualism and of the degrading huckster and wage-worker interests, the old principles of loyalty, of honor and pride of service, of the joy of an activity suited to one's own nature and standing, should come to life again, so as to re-establish the connection between the material and the immaterial side of each individual state. The higher hierarchical layer would be precisely the most suitable situation for the realization of an ecumenical European consciousness, which could unite the different peoples in spirit, without mixing their bodies, from above.

In this last respect, it is not useless to remember again the contrast between collectivist and universalist (supranational) thought. In the former, the differences are abolished; in the latter, they are integrated. In the realm of the material they persist – they are only abolished by their hierarchical subordination to the spiritual part of each member. European unity, therefore, would be no more compelled than medieval unity to deny the principle

of fatherland and race, provided that this principle remained in its proper place and made no claim to draw to itself forces whose proper, healthy development might take place only on a higher level. An organism is the more perfect, the more divided it is – but it is also the more perfect, the more the parts, which are different from each other, harmoniously and directly obey a single, free will, independent of the instinctive and animal element.

It is precisely such unity that should be considered a prerequisite for the directives used by the pan-European movement with regard to material issues as well, for the solution of the European crisis and for the formation of a European political defense bloc. In some cases, the spiritual unity could calmly prevail as an experienced state, not needing any external regulation. In other cases, however, unity would have to be capable of dynamically demonstrating its profound reality in the power with which the most diverse races and traditions could be brought to unity in a single unstoppable momentum and will. Whether it is a matter of a defensive or a conquering campaign, there should always be effective in it an urge from above superior to the blind determinisms of the political passions, and in it the service of an ideal and universal principle should prevail. The Crusades, through which Europe for the first and last time set a unifying, universal, free and at the same time organic deed, superior to the limits of soil and blood, show us such an ideal in a time-conditioned manifestation.

Provided that the spirit rises again and a new sense of loyalty is established, it seems to us that the kind of unified form appropriate to European tradition can be found in the ethos of the old Nordic-Aryan constitution. We think of those cooperatives of the free, which in times of peace were like a parliament of equals, of landlords independent within their own

mundium; but in times of war or of a common purpose, and as long as the enterprise lasted, the landlords and their men were transformed into unconditionally loyal followers of a single leader.

As for the political, supranational constitutional principle, which today is practically such an ethos, such a regime of freedom and equality and at the same time of strength – if the "European" hierarchy could be prepared, decreed and established, this constitutes a problem that does not fall within the framework that we have set for the present consideration.

13. The Red Flag

From: Der Ring, 1933, No. 52

Grasping the meaning of history objectively, beyond the "myths" shaped by an anti-traditional and anti-aristocratic culture, instead of the vaunted "evolution," we find a process of constant decline and progressive darkening, which finds a strange correspondence both in the Eddic *Ragna-Rökker*, the "darkening of the divine," and in the *Kâlî-Yuga*, the "dark age" of India's ancient-Aryan traditions. A law of development in the social and political field emerges with particular clarity: the law of the regression of the castes.

The hierarchical order of rank, as more or less recognized by all great organizations rooted in tradition, comprised essentially four levels. At its top was the sphere of a purely spiritual aristocracy, from which sprang the "divine kings," the "solar initiates," who in their dignity of the "more-than-human" appeared in the eyes of all as irresistibly clothed beyond all others with the legitimate right of command and leadership. Below this was the sphere of the warrior nobility. In third place came the propertied classes, the peasant, the artisan, the merchant. Lastly, the serving classes, the simple unindividuated masses, whose natural function was work as such, the service practiced in reverence and subordination to the higher castes, from whom they received their order.

The fact that such a hierarchical constitution often only imperfectly entered into the historical realization does not mean an obstacle to understand it as a basic scheme in the cultural development. The idea of a decline of power from one to the other of the four great tradition-rooted castes thus reaches full clarity. The power epoch of the "divine kingship" loses itself in the distant shadow realm of the prehistory, so that today only

very few know about its true sense: one considers it for "myths", for "superstitions" or reduces it to the superficially meaningless catchword: Theocracy. Once these first peaks have fallen, power passes to the second caste, and the era of the "warrior kings" dawns. No longer a male-spiritual aristocracy, but only a secularized warrior nobility now stands at the head of the states, except for the last great European monarchies. A new break comes with the revolutions and subsequent constitutions: even if there are still kings -they may rule for appearance, but they no longer rule. Power descends to the "third estate". By means of the Jacobin illusion of liberalism, modern capitalism takes on solid forms, to finally merge into a capitalist oligarchy, which controls and dominates all politics under the parliamentary-democratic regime. Power is thus held by the third, the ancient caste of merchants, traders, holders of economic wealth. With the Third International, with the proletarian revolt against capitalism and the bourgeoisie, with the new Bolshevik collective ideal, there now comes the final collapse, the advent of the fourth caste: power seems to fall to the mere anti-litigious masses, who now wield the scepter.

The new universal epoch of mankind is being established under the raw signs of the hammer and sickle.

This outlines the law of the retrogression of castes. Naturally, this is not only a social decline, but also one of a certain ethics. If the ideal of the pure spirituality and the ethics of the liberation from the human frailty were suitable for the "solar" epoch; if the war epoch still held high the ideal of heroism, victory, rule and the aristocratic ethics of loyalty and honor – so in the epoch of the merchants the ideal is called wealth, pure economy (prosperity), science as a tool of technical-industrial exploitation and new profit, until then, with the advent of slavery, the ideal of impersonal dull service to the socialized collective being and the universal proletarian ideal of labor breaks out, accompanied by

the degradation of every higher form of activity to the distorted image of "labor".

In connection with this, another fact can be noted: the devaluation of symbols. Symbols for the age-old idea of "divine kingship" become emblems of demagoguery: the "triumphant sun" of the Aryan prehistory becomes the "sun of the future"; the "red" of the imperial purple and the royal emblems is stolen from the "red flag" of socialism and communism and flutters over the last revolts; even the secret sign of the microcosm, the ruler-man, "epitome of all powers," symbolized in the five-pointed star, becomes emblem of the "almighty beast" of Bolshevik proletarian civilization, side by side with the hammer and sickle. All this is immensely instructive for those who want to grasp the deeper meaning of history. The usurpation grasps on secret ways even the level of the symbols.

Thus it happens today that the symbol of the sun, the red flag and the idea of revolution itself are considered synonymous expressions, when the sun was everywhere the sign of sanctified royalty, from India and Iran to Egypt, Rome and the Incas, to the emperors of our Middle Ages and the kings of France; the flaming color was that of the Roman imperial purple, later of the cardinals, even the color of the Holy Inquisition. The term "revolution" in classical astronomy denoted the movement of the heavenly bodies around the "immovable mover" and thus the hierarchical principle itself, the orderly movement of the various social and spiritual forces in their obedience to the power from above present in the real rulers.

The red always appears in connection with the sun symbolism, for the marking of its fire aspect, thus its masculine and active, purifying and destructive, animating and shining nature side. The cult of the fire (which the ignorance of modern university science wants to misinterpret as a "naturalistic" cult) was, as known,

peculiar to the great Aryan cultures and especially to their patrician-aristocratic rituals.

A "divine" fire, according to the Mazdaistic tradition, accompanied the tribes of the *aryâ*, the "noble ones", and blazed through the lands conquered by them as the "power of glory" – *hvarenô*. Three gradations of this immaterial mystical fire – *flamma non urens*, according to the word of the Latins – formed in their intimate connection with a certain blood the specific "souls" of the three ancient Iranian *pishtras*, the higher castes: *athravas* (warriors), *rathaesthas* and the lords of the cultivated earth: *vâstriyas-fshuyants*. Likewise, according to the tradition of the Aryan Indians, a divine fire – *agni vaisvâreavas* – accompanied the great conquerors, who were called "universal rulers" – *chakravartî* – in an imperial sense.

Here, perhaps, there is also a relationship between such a symbolism of fire and the symbolism of the rotation or revolution of the allegorical wheel around its immovable center in connection with the already touched contrast between the tradition-rooted and the modern meaning of the term revolution. In fact, *chakravartî* literally means "turner of the wheel" – the wheel of the *regnum* – and by this is meant precisely the idea of a sovereign principle of stability and immobility, of an immovable mover around whom every lower activity revolves and who, with his occult and irresistible spiritual power, determines every movement and order of the entities dependent on him according to their proper goal. This "wheel", as the "wheel of the law", appears, according to the same tradition, as the vision of the predestined to rule: in this sense it has also the meaning of a force carrying away everything, of a vortex-wheel, which crushes and rolls over everything hostile, low, barbaric, "demonic": thus resembling the fire, the *agnî vaisvâreasvas* of the conquerors.

To mark the necessity of permanent victory over the lower elements, not only in relation to lower races as opposed to others, but even in relation to the human part of the king himself as opposed to that which makes him essentially king, there has been associated with kingship the symbol of the rising sun, victorious every morning in defiance of the powers of darkness, and the symbol of the consuming and purifying fire. And it is precisely with these symbols of sun and fire, rooted in the most ancient tradition and essentially spiritual, that the fiery symbol of the red color of the royal and imperial purple is ultimately connected: that color usurped by the red banner of Marxist demagoguery.

* * *

Some remarks still about the red as ecclesiastical and as color of the inquisition. It seems necessary to make a more precise distinction in this respect.

Our reflections refer to our imperial Middle Ages, which show a double directed aspiration. On the one hand, there is the Ghibelline preservation of imperial authority, which urges its restoration in that sacred and supernatural meaning that once belonged to the pre-Christian and non-Christian idea of kingship, which in itself even included the priesthood. On the other hand, there is the Guelphic turn of the church, which strives to "romanticize" itself, to overcome its merely devotional character in a superior synthesis, and finally, to a certain extent, even to absorb the royal and imperial function (Guelphic thesis of the "two swords"). It is therefore not surprising if in the one as well as in the other tradition in the state of the

In the past, it was possible to find symbols mixed together and often in abnormal interrelationships, which in reality belong to quite separate and unmistakable spiritual poles, to which in

primeval times the moon symbolism on the one hand and the sun symbolism on the other corresponded (1).

Red, the royal color, therefore appears everywhere in the "militant" and fighting organizations of Catholicism: in the "Society of Jesus" as in the Holy Inquisition. On the other hand, it is absent in the purely priestly institutions. Moreover, if purple is the color of cardinalship, of the "princes of the Church", this does not prevent that not the sunny red, but the moonlike white characterizes the Pope, the supreme head of the Catholic hierarchy.

This circumstance, from our point of view, is all rather than insignificant, for it is one of those which lead to a point which, in our opinion, is essential to an integrally understood aristocratic idea: namely, to the concept of the primacy of the royal spirituality over any spirituality of a feminine-religious and devotional nature (2).

Red is essentially the symbolic color for that, white the symbolic color for this spirituality. In tradition-bound symbolism, red reveals itself to us again and again as the emblem of a higher, masculine, domineering state than that to which white corresponds. Wherever in the historical cultures we encounter a reversal of this relation, it can be concluded without further ado that here a reversal of the normal relations is present, as they are peculiar to the tradition-rooted order in its pure and absolute state: only as a reversal can be evaluated a predominance of the moon (white) over the sun (red), of the feminine over the masculine, of the light (white) over the fire (red), which is nevertheless its generating principle (3).

Thus, in classical antiquity, red was the color of the great or Uranian mysteries, white that of the small, telluric or demetric ones. In Indo-Aryan antiquity, the sun signified the "way of

heaven" or "of the gods" – *devayâna* – while the moon (or the "mother") signified that of the earth and the "ancestors" – *pitr-yâna* – as those not freed from the bonds of rebirth.

An analogous distinction can be demonstrated to some extent even in Christianity, whether in the enigmatic transformation of "water" (white) into "wine" (red) at the wedding of Cana, or in the equally enigmatic promise of a "baptism with fire and spirit" (red) beyond that "with water" (white). Moreover, the same hierarchy of symbols appears, only in far more developed forms, in the ritual knightly investiture, in the colors of the dress of the neophytes. After the bath, the knight puts on a black jacket to signify the dissolution of his lowly nature, then a white dress symbolizing the newfound purity, and finally a third, red dress, symbolizing the supreme masculine power revealed in heroic deeds, in blood sacrifice for the cause of the spirit. This hierarchy of symbols is found even more developed in the aspirations of the so-called *Ars Regia* – the Royal Art – which, as the direct heir of the secret spirituality of the Ghibelline Middle Ages and the preserver of a wisdom linked to the divine solar royalty of Egypt may be considered. The order of the "transformations" appears here in the succession of three symbolic basic colors, which are remarkably identical with the colors of the old German imperial flag: first the black of "mortification" or "initiatic death"; then white, also called light, day, resurrection, symbol of rebirth; finally red, the imperial color, as the highest degree, as completion of the "work", "masculine" and "fiery" fulfillment of the "hero", who after a bath in the "divine water" of the preceding initiatic stage now receives the "power", "crown and scepter", but thus becomes partaker of solar immortality, the symbol of which is the phoenix (*phoenix* stands in Greek in connection with the color red), which resurrects in the red fire (4).

All these considerations reinforce the proof that the red flag as a symbol, for its part, is related to the traditional symbolism of fire and the sun, while today it is waved as a flag by a revolutionary plebs, by the "proletarian", anti-litigious, fatherless, godless masses that have set out to glorify the pariah and proclaim the ahrimanic gospel of the omnipotent, mechanized, materialized collective being.

In ancient times, on the other hand, this color was not only a spiritual symbol, but the mark of a spirituality that went beyond the simply religious. Not only was it an aristocratic and royal symbol, but also that of an internalized nobility and royalty, not just the external and tangible. Supernatural, not just earthly and political. This symbol was and is further at home with us, for though red and white are generally related to the two great poles of spirituality, the one to action, the other to contemplation, yet no other color is more suited than red to symbolize a culture, which, like the old Occident -and a new culture that may already be germinating among us tomorrow – places action and not contemplation as the highest value, as the way to reach, manfully, without servility or pious sentimentalism, from mere "life" to a "more-than-life".

If today new salutary forces of reconstruction are at work against the dark forces of modern social decline, the hour seems to have come to finally break off the top of all usurpations as well. It is time to denounce the falsifications and perversions to which our ancient aristocratic symbols have been subjected with the rise to power of the lowest strata of humanity. Every thing returns to the place marked out for it.

In Italy, symbols that were also peculiar to the oldest Germanic traditions come to life again: the eagle of the legions finds its counterpart in the eagle of Odhin, and the rod-bundled axe in that of the Norse conquerors. Is it a mere coincidence that in

German lands the national movement, in its counter-revolutionary victory and its revaluation of tradition-sanctified values, has reinstated related symbols? The old German flag, now finally brought to light again, corresponds, as already indicated, with its three colors black, white and red in its deeper meaning to the three phases of "solar" completion of the medieval secret traditions. And the banner fluttering victoriously beside it, has

it did not snatch the red from the usurping hands of Marxism to purify it by means of the primordial sign of the sun and the "burning-out flame": the swastika?

1. For the complete clarification of this point we refer to the treatise: "The Underworld of the Christian Middle Ages", which was published in the July and September issue 1933 of the "Europäische Revue" (Berlin).
2. In relation to such primacy, we could mention, for example, the primacy of the "royal religion" of Melchizedek over Abraham. In the Middle Ages, royal figures were often associated with the symbolism of Melchizedek.
3. The reversal of values in question is peculiar to the ancient matriachal and telluric southern cultures; and it was in the struggle against them, against their cults, their moral, governmental, and legal concepts, that the great Aryan cultures, animated by patriarchal and Uranian-solar cults, took firm shape.
4. My book "La Tradizione Ermetica" (Bari, 1931) is dedicated to the presentation and interpretation of such doctrine.

14. On the Metaphysical Justification of the Race Idea

From: Europäische Revue, 1940, pp. 140-144

When one has refuted the numerous objections raised against the idea of race from an intellectualizing point of view, one usually remains which is raised as persistently as its clarification is decisive for this problem. Namely, it may be asked: All right, everything you assert is correct – but what is the ultimate fault of a man for being born into a certain race instead of another? Is he perhaps responsible for the fact that his parents and ancestors are Aryans, Jews, Negroes or Redskins? Is that what he wanted? With your race thoughts you persist in a merely naturalistic point of view. You make a fate out of a merely natural fact, build a system on it and overlook those values where human responsibility can really come into play.

This is, so to speak, the *ultima ratio* of the opponents of the idea of race. We readily admit that this is not a contrived but a serious objection. To take it into consideration is to raise the problem of birth. From a higher, spiritual point of view, the justification of the idea of race cannot be separated from the problem of birth and its solution. It cannot be bypassed in our systematics.

However, it is very difficult to gain clarity and orientation in this question as long as we proceed from the views prevailing in the Occident after the advent of Christianity. This is only logical: race and super-race, Aryanism and ancestral inheritance etc. are concepts which belong to the thought world of pre-Christian Indo-Germanic traditions. In their sphere, therefore, must be sought the solution of the questions which the present-day resumption of those concepts entails. Any consideration based on

later views of the world and life can only provide us with inadequate and often inappropriate points of view.

No wonder, then, that within the framework of the Christian worldview the discussion of the problem of birth, for example, does not get any further. For reasons which are not arbitrary, but cannot be explained here, the church had to reject the idea of preexistence recognized by the previous traditions: the doctrine that the human soul already exists as an independent being before birth. In Christian theology, things are certainly not as simple as this outright rejection might suggest. Nevertheless, it is a fundamental Christian view that every human soul is created as a unique soul by God out of nothing at the moment when it is born into its corresponding body. The question why a human being belongs to this and not to another race thus becomes a theological mystery: "God willed it this way" – and one is usually of the opinion that the divine will is unfathomable. The evangelically emphasized doctrine of predestination only complicates the problem: from all eternity – that is, supra-historically – every human being is predestined in the mind of God to be as he will appear in earthly existence.

The old-Aryan conception is a fundamentally different one, and only it makes it possible to meet the indicated objection. According to this conception the birth is neither a nature-conditioned coincidence nor a God-willed *fatum*. But not only that: faithfulness to one's own nature here no longer means passivity, but the awareness of a deep connection of ourselves with a transcendental and supernatural, so that it is able to have a "redeeming" effect. This suggestion, however, must not lead us to confuse the doctrine in question with the idea of reincarnation. The idea of reincarnation is either an alien conception, closely connected with un-Aryan, essentially mother-right-telluric determined cultural circles, or it is the result of

misunderstandings and distortions of tradition-bound teachings, as they can be observed in certain modern theosophical circles. For the problem to be discussed here only the other doctrine comes into consideration, according to which the human being is the space- and time-conditioned appearance of a principle which was there before birth and conception and which stands with this human appearance in causal relationship.

The area that opens up with it is certainly not easy to explore. The expressions coined for our earthly existence find only a very small applicability in it. For example, since all concepts of time refer only to the human existence, strictly speaking one should not even speak of a pre-existence, and also of causality or causation may be spoken here only in a very special sense. That principle which determines the human appearance is the same "I," and yet it is not the same; it is not the simple, bodily I, although it appears to be mixed or interwoven with it, as it were, and it exists before the life of a certain human being as well as during and beyond this life, because the "before" here is not to be understood temporally. Instead of logical terms, one will therefore better make do with analogies. In essence, every presentation of tradition-bound teachings is symbolic, even if it seems to carry a rational character for the layman. In order to clarify the idea we are concerned with, it is expedient to speak of a double heritage. What temporally does not pass transcendentally to the individual is the inheritance of the parents, of the clan, of the race, of a certain culture, etc., thus approximately what is usually understood by "hereditary mass." But all this is far from exhausting the spiritual reality of the individual, as materialism and historicism teach. The historical-biological inheritance collects and arranges in a living being forces and dispositions which are chosen and taken over only when through them, as it were, a transcendental inheritance can come to analogous expression. Two hereditary masses then meet and flow together,

earthly, historically, scientifically ascertainable the one, transcendently the other, and man becomes in this way from a biological entity to a symbol. The connection of the two components takes place by an event which corresponds in the old-Aryan traditions to different symbols and which cannot be the subject of closer considerations here. Basically it concerns a kind of elective affinity. According to it, for example, it must not be said that one is woman or man because one was born so – by chance or by God's will, but vice versa, that one was born so because one was already "woman" or "man". In the manner of an analogy, in this context, one will speak of a transcendental law.

We can speak of an inclination or an act, which we are able to guess only on the basis of its visible and perceptible consequences for lack of adequate concepts. As it were a horizontal and a vertical line of the earthly and non-earthly hereditary mass intersect. In their intersection, according to the doctrine in question, the birth or the conception of a new being, its embodiment, takes place. What is true of the sexes is, of course, also true of race, caste, ethnicity and the like. Race and caste thus exist in the spirit before they are embodied by human birth and become earthly destiny. The diversity has its origin "above" – what can be recognized by it on earth is only reflection and symbol. As one became on the basis of his very own nature or wanted to be according to his own transcendental decision, so one is.

This is in essence the Indo-Aryan doctrine of karma, which was also known to classical antiquity; for example, Plotinus (III, III, 17) states: "The general plan is one; but it divides itself into unequal parts, so that in the whole there are different places; and the souls, unequal also they, take up their abode in the different places, meeting with their own difference. Thus everything agrees, and the difference corresponds to the inequality of the souls." Expressed in a word, therefore, birth does not determine nature,

but conversely nature determines birth. From this doctrine, in the Aryan Orient, the idea of caste, as the highest elevation of the idea of race, drew its logical and metaphysical justification. The concept of the so-called Dharma is based on it, which may be characterized as follows: "Faced with ourselves, we stand, as it were, before a mathematical equation, of which only one link is given to us; namely, in so far as only the humanly determined appearance and its historical-biological hereditary mass is known to us; which pre-natal correspondence is appropriate to it, of which entity and which will it is the consequence and expression, we cannot directly experience, but only indirectly, inductively and analogically suspect, in that we fathom the "consequence" and grope our way back from it to the cause. From this the last sense of the Apollonian commandment "Know thyself" illuminates, which has the: "Be thyself" as counterpart. From the dark but sure feeling that birth is not an accident, that we are here as we wanted to be, derives the principle of being faithful to one's own nature, acting according to one's own nature, developing and perfecting it. In particular, of course, the Dharma also enjoins faithfulness to one's own blood, one's own caste, one's own race of body and mind, and combating any mixture, distortion and confusion. In this sense, it is said, "By fulfilling one's own nature – the Dharma – whatever it may be, one attains the Divine; whoever instead interchanges one's own nature with that of another condemns himself to hell."

Certainly, many things can be "constructed", to one's own arbitrariness always a certain leeway remains, as far as one restricts oneself to the abstract human individual, which has lost every memory of the "before" and is destined to leave only a shadow behind at the dissolution of its basis, that is the psychic-organic, body-conditioned unity. But every "construction" is worthless from the higher point of view – in the consciousness, therefore, of what the disintegrating organism can take with it into

nothingness (hell, Niflhel, Hades or *pitryana*: that is, "the way of dissolution into the demon of the tribe") if it means a "wanting to be different," if it does not reflect the deeper unity.

This will is the cause of a certain birth and cannot easily be suppressed by a momentary and arbitrary decision made at a certain point of the earthly existence. If, on the other hand, the individual realizes his own nature, he brings his human will, which is transient in itself, into harmony with the corresponding superhuman will, he "remembers", reestablishes a connection with a principle which, being beyond birth, also points beyond death and all temporal conditionality; therefore, according to the ancient Aryan conception, the Dharma is associated with the "Divine". Dharma – intrinsic nature, duty, loyalty, blood, race and caste – is thereby connected with the feeling of having come here from afar, and therefore does not mean limitation, but liberation. If we go back to this tradition-bound world view, the main motives of the race doctrine also receive a transcendental and spiritual confirmation, and the objection which is based on birth as coincidence or fate loses its sense.

At most, the following objections would remain: first, that in life the separation of types does not practically go so far that the Dharma principle could always find confirmation; and second, that it does not provide an explanation for why certain human types appear to be split and burdened with deep contradictions, so that not everyone can represent "his own type" and does not always feel "at home" with himself. To overcome these last difficulties, a few words may be added.

Here, too, we want to start from the thought that everything appearing means the reflection of something existing elsewhere. People are unequal not only as racial types, but also insofar as not all are equally uniform and "from one cast". There are hysterics, displaced people, people who do not know what they actually

want. These cases are to be explained partly from the already indicated arbitrariness, which leads to the "hell" according to old-Aryan opinion, partly however from the assumption of corresponding prenatal conditions. Beside the central, being-determining will to the embodiment also other, weaker forces can have participated. The central will is of course the decisive one, and to it correspond in the human-earthly appearance the features which seem more than all others fateful and immovable, i.e. everything which is connected with the physical and biological race and the material and natural condition. As for the other, weaker forces, forces, therefore, which could not be decisive in this respect, they are, as it were, carried away; their field of expression can only be the psychic, the emotional, the arbitrary, the ideal – a field which, in principle, is not so clearly and so firmly determined as that of the physical and racial.

The cases where, so to speak, the "race of the soul" and the "inner calling" do not coincide with the race of the blood, are to be explained metaphysically from these connections. The more those weaker forces deviate from the main direction, the more contradictory will be the corresponding phenomena: consequently and symbolically, people will stand before us in whom the physical is not in harmony with the mental, the spiritual with the physical or mental, the vocation with the race, the individual with the clannish, and so on.

In such cases the Aryan Dharma principle proves even more clearly its active, ethical-creative nature. It contains the demand for "classical" creation. The various diverging and conflicting elements of these naturally fluctuating phenomena are to be subjected to a single brazen law, on the basis of a supreme decision which must not fail before the serious case. The glorification of the "romantic," "tragic," "torn," and "Faustian" soul is then considered ridiculous and a symptom of a morbid culture. Tranquility, style, clarity, rule, discipline, power and

Olympic spirit are to be points of reference for every way of life in the Aryan sense.

If, however, in the world of causes and metaphysical meanings, the existence of unequally uniform beings and callings is to be assumed, then it must also be considered that not every culture and every age present the same possibilities of expression and embodiment to the different "races of the spirit". As we have already seen, two hereditary masses must always be taken into consideration; the earthly-historical hereditary mass forms an entity which includes in itself both the biological and the spiritual disposition, a tradition and occasionally also a caste, a place determined by time and space, and so on. Now there are cultures where all this is "in order": where life normally takes place in the highest unity and organic connectedness of all these elements of the "horizontal" hereditary mass. Other cultures, on the other hand, have embraced individualism, anarchy, destruction of all difference and limitation conditioned by race, blood, caste, tradition and ethnicity. From what has already been said with regard to "elective affinity" it is clear that the cultures of the first type are those which, by offering the appropriate conditions and means of expression, will attract unified beings and pure, determined forces and promote them to the sense-conditioned appearance. The cultures of the second, that is, of the chaotic type, on the other hand, for the same reason, become a "geometrical place" or meeting-place on earth for every – if this word is permitted – "transcendental hysteric." If, nevertheless, normal beings, uniform in themselves, should be born in these cultures, they will hardly find themselves in their place in them, and will be condemned to waste unheard-of forces in resisting the contrasts between the psychic and the physical, race and character, inner dignity, rank, etc., contrasts which are peculiar to these cultures and make them the natural home for the appearance of torn and confused forces in human form. We need

not emphasize the importance which these last considerations, though certainly not so familiar to the ordinary way of thinking of modern man, possess for race thought as for similar doctrines. If a millennial destiny has brought the Occident into conditions where it is difficult to find anything really pure, sheltered, unmixed, bound by tradition, the establishment of new, firm boundaries is a work whose beneficial effects, though not immediately tangible today, will undoubtedly prove themselves in the next generations along the secret paths which link the visible with the invisible, the world with the supra-world.

15. The Age of the Soldierly Ethos

From: The Action, 3/1941

One of the most significant antagonisms, which already came to the fore during the world war of 1914 to 1918, was based on the contrast of views on the relationship between the state and soldiering. In this respect, a rift emerged that was not so much between two different groups of peoples as between two different epochs and cultural views.

The soldierly in the bourgeois age

On the one hand, the idea asserted itself according to which the military, warlike element generally has the subordinate significance of a mere tool. In principle, according to this view, the idea of the "civil bourgeoisie" is the bearer of the state. This bourgeois element conducts politics, and – to use a familiar expression – when politics must be continued by "other means," it avails itself of the armed forces. The soldierly element has no weight or value in either the political or cultural spheres. It is acknowledged that the military element has its own special ethics and values; but it is found absurd and undesirable that these ethics and values should also apply to the whole life of the people.

The conception of which we are speaking here is based on the democratic enlightenment-liberalist conviction according to which "true culture" has nothing to do with the cruel necessity that war is, and that it is rather based on "the progress of art and science" and the "shaping of life according to immortal principles" than on martial virtue. Therefore, in the context of this liberal world, one can hardly speak of true warriorship at all,

but rather only of soldiering in the sense of a refined mercenarism. In fact, the word "soldier" etymologically refers to the multitudes who fought for pay in the service of classes that did not fight themselves. This outdated meaning had more or less soldiering for the liberal and bourgeois-democratic states. The latter made use of it in international relations in cases of emergency in approximately the same sense as they made use of the police within the country.

The soldierly as the foundation of society

Such a view is opposed by the other, according to which the soldierly, the warlike element is most closely connected with the political and ethical. Here, the soldierly values are actually martial values and determining for a general, ethical way of life, valid also outside the purely military concerns and the times of war. It follows from this that the ideas of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois spirit are restricted in the various areas of the state community. On a masculine, active and heroic basis, according to this view, the true culture, like everything on which human greatness and real right of peoples are based. It is hardly necessary to mention that in the World War from 1914 to 1918 the former view was peculiar to the Allies, especially to the Western Powers, while the latter was held mainly by the Central Powers. According to a well-known Masonic slogan, that war was waged as a kind of "crusade of world democracy against Prussian militarism." Liberalism saw in these "imperialist" powers of Central Europe the dark remnants of the Middle Ages at the heart of "advanced" Europe. Behind this view, however, lies the truth to which we pointed at the beginning, saying that the opposition was not only between two groups of peoples, but also between two epochs, although, of course, in terms of evaluation, things were quite

different. What in the democratic-Masonic jargon was called "dark remnants" meant in reality the continuance of values peculiar to the whole tradition-bound, warlike, masculine and Aryan Europe, while the "advanced world" represented and represents nothing else than the world of decay and ethical and spiritual weakness of the Occident. Moreover, we now know very well how "imperialistic" in their own way the hypocritical representatives of that liberalistic world were and are: there prevails over there again today an imperialism of citizens and merchants who want to enjoy undisturbed the advantages of a peace which is to be enforced and preserved not by their own strength but by the use of a mercenary force recruited and paid from all parts of the world.

With the peace treaties and the events of the postwar period, this development becomes more and more evident. The function of the military element was degraded to a kind of international police, or more correctly: not a truly "international" police, but a police organized by a certain group of nations to enforce a certain state of affairs against other nations for their own advantage. This then meant the "defense of peace" and "international law." The decay of the sense of martial pride and honor showed itself thereby among other things, that all less noble means were considered to achieve this goal without even having to use this militia degraded to a police force: sanctions, economic blockade, national boycott, and so on.

Beginning of the reevaluation of values

With the international developments which outwardly led to the bankruptcy of the League of Nations and finally to the present war, inwardly a true reevaluation of all values is under way, not only on the political level, but above all on the ethical and

ideological level. The present struggle is not so much directed against a particular people as against a particular idea, which roughly corresponds to the ideas advocated by the Allies in the previous war. That war was to secure a liberalist huckster imperialism against any disruption. The new war will put an end to this huckster imperialism and lead to a new epoch in which precisely the warlike ethos is destined to serve as the common basis of European cultural developments. In this sense, today's struggle can be seen as a struggle restoring decayed values. It moves a fundamental conception of life and law comes to the fore again, which in the original traditions of the Aryan races – above all the Aryan-Roman and the Nordic-Aryan – was so essential that its extinction or diminution always preceded the collapse of the individual peoples and promoted the transfer of power into the hands of racially and ethically ever lower strata. Precisely because this new development is unstoppable, we must take care that no misunderstandings arise about the meaning which the warlike is to have in the new Europe, similar to those which are deliberately spread by the liberalist opponents through the use of the word "militarism".

It is not a question of turning Europe into a barracks, nor of elevating a savage will to power to the final authority, nor of helping a sinister, tragic and irrationalistic conception of life to triumph. In the first place, it is necessary to account for the fact that the martial values in the actual military sphere are only a special manifestation of a reality which has a comprehensive – not only ethical, but even a metaphysical – meaning. It should only be pointed out that ancient Aryan man was accustomed to conceive of life as an eternal struggle between metaphysical powers, with, on the one hand, the Uranian forces of light and order, and, on the other, the dark and savage ones of chaos and materiality. This fight was to be fought out for the Aryan of the early times both in the inside and in the outside world and to

lead to the victory of the light and the order. The true, just war on the outer plane was considered to be that which formed a correspondence to the struggle to be fought inwardly: it was the struggle against forces and peoples of the outer world which showed the features of the powers which are also to be subjugated and dominated in our inner being until the consummation of a "victorious peace" – *pax triumphalis*.

Warrior ethos as an inner commitment

Thus results a confluence of the true martial ethos with an inner discipline and superiority, which is always evident in various forms in our best traditions. Therefore, only the short-sighted and prejudiced can assume that, by professing a warlike world outlook and by our conviction that the new Europe should shape itself under the sign of the warlike spirit, a wild and chaotic clash of raw forces and unleashed instincts is the only logical consequence. The ideal of the "warrior" includes not only the development of strength and physical courage, but also the calm, controlled and conscious shaping of the inner being and personality. The sense of distance and order, the ability to subordinate one's own individual and passionate element to the idea, to place the deed and the goal above one's own person, a sense of dignity without vanity, are as essential traits of true warrior spirit as those which relate to actual combat. This attitude goes so far in many cases among Nordic people that from a higher standpoint combat is regarded less for its immediate material results than as the proving of such virtues as are desirable as elements of a special style not only within a certain class specifically devoted to the profession of arms, but throughout the nation and even beyond the limits of a single people.

Decision inward – war outward

This last fact is to be emphasized especially with regard to the struggle for the new Europe and its culture. The realization of the relation between the inner struggle and the right war, as it is proper to the Aryan, tradition-bound conception just mentioned, moreover, preempts the unclear romanticism of a merely tragic, irrationalistic worldview and overcomes a certain rigidity, bare of light, which some subordinate aspects of the merely soldierly show. According to the higher conception, which appears again today among the representatives of the most valid and tested forces, the martial discipline, like the fight and the victory, is connected with a certain transfiguration and the participation in a real spirituality. In this way, a new concept of peace is being formed, which has little to do with the materialistic and bourgeois-democratic conception of a tensionless, sated comfort: we will gradually regain an understanding for a peace which does not mean the release of the spiritual tension born of struggle and martial asceticism, but the calm and powerful completion of the same.

Basically, one recognizes the antithesis between two irreconcilable concepts of "culture". It is not "militaristic materialism" on one side and "love of culture" and interest in "spiritual values" on the other. It is rather a certain, essentially Aryan Nordic conception of spiritual values, which opposes the intellectualist, liberalist and bourgeois conception of the same. It is useless to make a secret of the fact that in a war-determined culture the so-called "world of art and science" is given a somewhat different kind of recognition than in the preceding period of liberalism and the bourgeoisie. This world has its importance and high rank, but it is not the absolute essential. Rather, the essential is based in a certain inner style, in a certain form of soul and character, in a simplicity,

truthfulness, clarity and hardness, in a conception of the world that is experienced directly, without grand gestures and without sentimentality, with joy in acting, commanding and obeying, in overcoming oneself and in defeating the enemies of this idea. These characteristics will be the basis for a new cultural community between peoples, facilitating understanding even beyond many natural differences. That the world of pacifist intellectuals considers all this unspiritual, if not downright barbaric, is trivial. This world, in which the struggle, as the father of all things, is restored to its rightful place within the powers of life, possesses a depth and seriousness from which the "culture of the bourgeois world" appears like a realm of shadows, like an entity without life and power. In subsequent times, when the organic formation of the new European man of Nordic character will have become a reality, the flowering and maturing of a less vain, but strong and deep culture will begin and will form the new style in new works.

Foundations of European Understanding

Today it is very important to be clear about all this, so that in laying the foundations for the future understanding of the European peoples one does not continue to insist on outdated and abstract concepts. Only from the forces which, steeled by the ordeal of struggle, are legitimized to decide on the freedom, greatness and mission of nations, can the question of a true understanding, cooperation and cultural community in Europe be raised. And as these forces distance themselves from the sterile, intellectualistic and liberalistic culture, so also any abstract law, any theoretical, anonymous regulation of the relations between people and states is far from them. Here another fundamental contribution of the martial spirit to the shaping and meaning of a

new Europe comes to light. This spirit advocates direct, clear, sincere relations based on loyalty and honor. It has a sure instinct for the levels of dignity, which it knows well how to distinguish: it rejects what is impersonal and unkind. In a warlike culture, every true order is based on these elements, not on paragraphs and general principles. And these are actually the elements by which the forces awakened by the experience of battle and consecrated by victory can be shaped into unity.

Thus, in a certain sense, it is precisely the kind of martial organization appropriate to the best times of Roman-Germanic feudalism that perhaps gives us a glimpse of what is appropriate for the order of the new Europe that is being fought for today. It is necessary to learn anew, in the relations not only between men but also between peoples, the ability to obey, which does not humiliate but elevates, to command and to lead, which obliges to responsibility and real superiority. In the place of an abstract, international right encompassing all peoples, a new organic right of the European nations, based on these direct, masculine relationships, should take its place. *Suum cuique* – to each his own. This Aryan, Roman and Nordic principle determines the true concept of justice also on the international level and is closely related to the martial world view. Everyone should have the precise feeling for his natural and species-appropriate place in a well-ordered structure. Everybody should be proud of this place and fill it to the best, but the inner moment of the warrior, the breeding, is also of special weight.

For the realization of a new European order many conditions will be set; but undoubtedly that martial discipline which only creates the ability to look at reality, putting aside every private ambition and irrational affect. To it belongs the contempt of the "comfortable life", as far as it corresponds to the materialistic concept of the well-being life. Decisive for the leadership

selection will be the style of simplicity, boldness and conscious strength in the common striving to give shape to the new world in all areas of life.

16. Empire and Imperium as Elements of the New European Order

From: Europäische Revue, XVIII, 2/1942

Whoever wished to determine the probable essential results which the revolutionary events of the present war will produce, and which seem to be brought about by the immanent violence of things and events rather than by any particular preconceived determination of men, would come to the recognition of something like the following:

1. The concept of political sovereignty, peculiar to the immediately preceding period, has come into crisis and must be thoroughly revised. The division of the earth's surface into atomized, completely independent state territories determined by rigid territorial boundaries is opposed by the idea of a division of the earth into spaces comprising different ethnic groups and special political units on the basis of real and organic relationships.

2. In connection with this, the earlier, namely formalistic and positivistic conception of "international law" of the Western type also becomes obsolete. In place of abstract principles which, with absolute indifference to the various possibilities and the different power and dignity of peoples, claim to have equal validity for every state, there is the idea of a new structured "supranational" law. The term "supranational," however, is not to be understood in a vague universalistic sense, but in an organic sense, that is, in close relation to certain conceptions which will underlie each of the new spaces encompassing several nations. (See Carl Schmitt: *Völkerrechtliche Großraumordnung mit Interventionsverbot*

für raumfremde Mächte – Ein Beitrag zum Reichsbegriff im Völkerrecht, Berlin 1941. BS)

3. With regard to such supranational entities, today the term "large spaces" or "living spaces" has become common, a term which, however, does not seem to us to be quite appropriate, because it emphasizes predominantly the merely material moment of the question. We believe that the present war is not destined to lead merely to a changing of the guard in the system of European "imperialisms" and material dominations. The higher and truly revolutionary significance of this war will hardly be felt by those who do not recognize in it the endeavor to overcome "imperialism" as a purely materialistic idea of domination, in order to make the basis of the right to "living spaces" the higher rank which some peoples – our peoples – can claim over the plutocratically or collectivistically inclined nations – a demand which corresponds to the genuine idea of empire which, according to traditionbound views, has always been based on a spiritual fact and a higher right of domination.

4. As things stand in Europe today in terms of real politics, only the phase of gradual formation of "imperial compositions" around the peoples of the Axis can be noted from this development. The fundamental problem of the new order to be established by our victory will therefore be that of the transition from such "imperial compositions" to "imperial wholes" or imperial organisms.

5. In such a problem three moments have to be taken into account: the moment of mutual economic complementation of peoples – which would solve the

question related to habitats (habitats in the proper, material sense); the folk and racial moment; and finally the moment of cultural unity.

6. That basically the last element is the decisive one already results from the fact that there can be no talk of a true organism where a living unity is missing. Such a unity, however, cannot arise from an economic-administrative or formal-legal system; it would also be problematic on the level of the merely national in the natural sense, because on this level one must always reckon with the violence of particularistically determined affects of the individual peoples. Only on the spiritual level and in real cultural unity should one look for that reaction which would be capable of turning imperial compositions into real imperial wholes in the new imperial spaces, which as such would be able to offer sufficient guarantee for the permanence of the new order.

When speaking of culture in connection with the tasks of the new order, one should begin by thoroughly revising that concept of culture which has become predominant in more recent times – and especially since the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. There is a culture which, on the one hand, is based on humanistic art and profane science, and, on the other hand, is inseparable from rationalism and mechanism, and to which the technical and social achievements attach the delusion of an undisputed superiority. This culture has no face, it is basically international, anonymous and inorganic, therefore it is unable to somehow create the conditions for a hierarchical and well-organized order of peoples.

In contrast to this concept of culture, the heroic, aristocratic, traditional and even "sacral" values should be emphasized: they should be relied on mainly in the construction of the new

empires of the peoples. The present situation is unfavorable in this respect, precisely because the advent and general spread of the other culture -internationalist, humanist and mechanist – has weakened and dispersed the values mentioned. To gather them again in new centers of crystallization, which in their turn would have to serve as soul and bonding agent for new supranational entities – this is a task about whose difficulties we must be clear. Thus it would be daring to refer today in Europe to an idea which would already be complete, alive and predominant enough to be able to serve without further ado as the basis of the higher work of construction already indicated. Rather, what is needed is an action of mutual complementation as well as of revival and mutual strengthening. We are already approaching the idea of a new European culture – a new "Europe-thought": the elements of this idea are not yet fully determined, if we disregard only the political and social side.

Since the revolutionary European action has its origin in the powers of the Axis, it is natural that the primary and essential core of a European culture must also be based on the possibilities and the spiritual heritage of the two powers of the Axis. As a first task, therefore, presupposed by every further development and every further approach of peoples, we should consider the closer determination of the form in which, within the framework of a new idea of Europe, the Roman (since for us "Fascist-Italian" and "Roman" are synonymous) and the German elements can complement each other. History seems to offer a parallel in this respect: in fact, it seems to announce a conjuncture similar to the one from which the last true type of European imperial culture – the medieval one – arose, which was essentially determined precisely by the symbiosis of the Roman and the Germanic element. But in which function and in which sense can these elements work in the future culture of the "imperial" spaces?

The nature of their former effectiveness in the medieval world is in broad outline known to everyone. The Nordic-Germanic element worked mainly in the feudal culture and in the corresponding ethics, while the Roman element, although appearing at that time already in a questionable connection with the Christian faith, offered supra-temporal and transcendental clues for a not merely national type of political order of peoples.

Having pointed out this point, we should review the specific political ideas peculiar to Germany and Italy today, in order to clarify those of their aspects which may be included as premises of the new type of culture. This side of the question can, of course, only be touched upon here.

In National Socialism, the slogan "One People, One Reich, One Leader" played a special role. The events of recent times, however, as well as the tasks which are announced for the future, seem to lead beyond this in a certain sense. The German slogan alluded to was indeed determined by a special international situation: the unity of all members of a single people in a single Reich under a single Führer could be a valuable ideological tool as long as parts of the German people still lived outside the political boundaries of the Reich determined by the Paris Dictates. With regard to the task of the European future, however, it is a different matter, if not the opposite: it is a matter of seeing how to legitimize the authority and influence that an empire will exert on different peoples to be included in a single imperial space.

This question leads us to examine another formula in which some authors would like to see a basic difference between fascism and National Socialism. We mean the idea of the people's community and the legitimation of the state and the leadership by the people. Fascism, on the other hand, is inclined to conceive of the people and the nation as something abstract, as long as the formative, superordinate function of the state and the leadership is

disregarded. The state, of course, does not become a legal function in this context.

It is rather understood as the authoritarian organ of an elite or an order in which, more than in any other part, the "people" appears in a real, living, gestalt-like and self-aware way. As organically and almost inseparably connected the state and the people, the leadership and the nation are according to the fascist conception, there is nevertheless with us the endeavor to grant the leadership a certain independence and its own consecration. However, the fascist and the national socialist ideology meet again in the idea of the order or the order-state. The validity that the National Socialist formula possesses within the empire of a single people remains undisputed. But at the moment when a concept of political leadership and authority is in question, which is to be regarded as the central point of reference for an area which is no longer merely national but supranational and imperial, we believe that a certain enhancement of the earlier National Socialist formula, conditioned by the European situation already indicated, would have to be sought. An authority legitimizing itself exclusively through a certain people will never be able to be considered as much more than mere force beyond the borders of this people. Things would be somewhat different, however, if one put a certain distance between the people and that power which, as a state and elite, shapes and leads it, as it were, from above. One can then imagine a development through which this superior supporting power is increased and purified to such an extent that it is able to be recognized in a natural way also beyond the borders of that people within which it originally asserted and realized itself.

Incidentally, such a supranational meaning of the idea of empire can already be found in the earlier German tradition. The emphasis on a more particularistic interpretation of it was only due to accidental circumstances, which, however, are now

obsolete, so that nothing stands in the way of a suitable resumption of the earlier thought. Even recently, Steding effectively emphasized the special importance of that thought in the upheaval of the times and towards the "diseases of European culture". In the idea of empire in question, however, the revived Roman element has in turn had the same effect as the Germanic one, and it is in this context that the role which the Roman can also play in the new idea of Europe is to be understood. We are aware of the biases that are nurtured in certain circles against the Roman. However, they are mostly based on one-sided alignments. For example, true Roman law is confused with a law that should rather be called Napoleonic law, marred by a universalism and an abstract normativism that meant only decay in the organic structure of the former Roman "imperial space." It is equally erroneous to equate Romanism and the Catholic Church par excellence. One must certainly admit that Romanism in connection with Catholicism was effective in shaping the imperial medieval culture. However, one should be clear about what Catholicism was at that time. The true Roman law was not "universalistic" in the modern, rationalistic and Enlightenment-Masonic sense, but it was the form of a well-determined imperial space or empire, which had as its basis an equally well-determined cultural and human ideal. Medieval Catholicism also referred to *Christianitas* that identified itself primarily with the community of Aryan European nations.

This community was conceived as an organic and militant unit, and in it far greater recognition was given to the ethics of honor and loyalty than to the virtues of renunciation and universal humanitarian fraternization. The role played at that time by anti-Jewish thought is also well known.

If we keep to this phase of Catholicism, manly in its way, we can recognize in it some values which are not necessarily in conflict

with the Aryan-Roman and the Aryan-Germanic ideal. It should not be forgotten that for many European peoples Catholicism means a tradition of many centuries which cannot be thrown overboard overnight without destructive consequences. In this respect, a moderate rectification and selection can lead to the true, common goal rather than an outright rejection. A phrase of Mussolini's, which aroused annoyance in many circles at the time, is: "Without Rome, perhaps Christianity would have remained in the state of one of the many sects swarming in Palestine." In these words a hint is given also for the Catholic countries -namely, to find again in Catholicism and to emphasize what it contains in spite of everything Aryan and genuinely Roman, and thus to meet those symbols and ideals which other European peoples can draw directly from their Aryan traditions without the detour via Catholicism and Christianity. In any case, it is crucial to realize that a point of reference will also be necessary for the new order, similar to that which precisely the Roman – in spite of the Catholic compromise – represented in the shaping of the European culture of the Middle Ages. While "imperialism" means a system of power in which one part imposes itself on the other parts which it exploits and administers, the idea of the empire or kingdom, on the other hand, means the leadership and the higher justice of the *unum, quod non est pars* (that one which is not a part).

We would now like to point out briefly the role which, in our opinion, the Germanic component would have to play, in interaction with the actually Roman one, in the shaping of the spiritual centers of the new imperial spaces and of the corresponding empires. We said that in the Middle Ages this component came to the fore mainly in the culture of life. Today it can have a double effect in an analogous way: administratively, in the sense of a partial decentralization and division or graduation of the individual political-territorial sovereignties; spiritually and

ethically, in the determination of clear and personalized relations of dependence among the subordinates and of a genuine sense of responsibility in the leading elements. For this, it is enough to understand the formula "leader and followers", so common today, in its deeper, more original sense. In fact, we can hardly imagine the structure of the new imperial organisms other than on the basis of a kind of fiefdom system with a central sovereign right *and* a series of partial sovereignties – *imperium eminens et ius singulare*. It may be emphasized, by the way, that the already adopted formula of "protectorates" basically reflects the same idea: the feudal bond resulted from the subordination and loyalty – *fides* – from one side, to which the "protection" by the other part corresponded. The same idea is expressed in the relations of the new kingdoms of Croatia and Montenegro towards the Italian monarchy. However, this principle can acquire a positive, creative value only under the condition of a new, more normal state, in which the calm, clear and dignified sense of nationalities will take the place of the bitterness, virulence and intolerance of nationalisms. In this state, it will be understood again that, both with regard to a people and to a class or individual, there is a subordination which is not an occasion for humiliation or degradation, but for pride, because it enables participation in a higher culture and mission, and obliges the superior to the inferior.

But since we are dealing with relations between European peoples, the expressions "superior" and "inferior" are by no means to be taken in the absolute literal sense. In this respect, there is the possibility of bringing the racial moment to bear, with the aim of approximating as much as possible the substance contained in each imperial space, so that the division is based more on gradations of varying intensity than on rigid differences of quality.

To address this problem thoroughly, one must recognize its inseparability from that of intra-racial selection. Here only the following may be emphasized. Whoever speaks of race today, by which he means more or less explicitly the common type prevailing in a given nation (and this is the case wherever expressions such as "German" or "Italian" or "Slavic" race, etc., are used), cannot refer to primary racial elements in the pure state, but to *völkisch*, more or less permanent compositions. In these compositions several races are given in various distributions, and it would be difficult to name a European people in which, to a certain extent, one of the European primary races distinguished by scientific racial science would not be represented. The demand that in the determination of imperial spaces the racial moment should also be taken into account should therefore be correctly understood. The decisive factor in this relation cannot be the factual percentage in which a certain race is present in a certain people, but the determination of the race which plays or has to play the leading role in this people and which gives its imprint to the whole. One is thus in a world of potentialities, of dynamic relations, of spiritual influences. The fundamental condition for a truly organic organization of the imperial spaces will, in any case, lie in the special emphasis and leading function of those racial and spiritual elements which, within the peoples included in the individual greater space, are kindred to those which are represented to a higher degree in the actual imperial nations. If the two poles of the "axis" are also to be those of the two larger European empires, then this substance, which is destined, so to speak, to serve as a binding agent on the basis of consanguinity, would have to be referred to the Roman-Aryan element and, on the other hand, to the Nordic-Germanic element, whereby the two elements are again to be regarded as differentiations of a common original tribe.

We have already considered the meaning and specific content of these two expressions elsewhere. Here it should only be mentioned that we now reject any further use of expressions that were very popular at the time, such as "Latin peoples", "Latin brotherhood" and related ones – Mussolini himself spoke of "bastard brotherhoods" in this context, and it is significant that by official decree in Italy it was arranged that in certain texts for the young the

Replace the expression "Latin" with "Roman". Indeed, "Latin" is a suspect expression which, if it means anything, refers to a whitewash covering a mingled racial substance weakened and undermined by processes of spiritual and political decay. The real culture-creating force of our origins is not "Latin," but simply Roman or Aryan-Roman: just as this force is simply Nordic or Nordic-Germanic for the peoples of the northern cultural circle. This at least as far as the aspects of culture come into question which alone interest us and which alone we can regard as a firm basis for European reconstruction and the new order.

Now we would have to consider the latent dispositions of the various European peoples with regard to their possible leaning toward one or the other of the two poles already mentioned. Such an examination, however, in the present, still dynamic and stormy state of affairs, would be premature. Many developments are still in full swing. One can speak of a trial by fire of vocations as well as of the various state entities, which has not yet been completed. It is as if fate had willed that the European renewal should take place not from within, but thanks to the cracks and fissures caused by the violence of things and weapons, and in the process of a tragic upheaval, so that only in the future will we see whether deep-seated powers have indeed taken the place of superficial ones, and what in each case these powers are.

This tremendous event will have a really positive outcome only if, in one way or another, those powers retain something of the formative force which already brought the medieval community of Aryan nations into being. This is true for all modern Western peoples, not excluding those who did not experience the Roman-Germanic Middle Ages, among whom, for instance, the Slavic component is predominant and who are or were under the sign of the Greek-Orthodox faith. In fact, according to some of its views, this faith has the possibility of overcoming certain dichotomies between spirituality and politics more easily than other Western denominations. The resumption of the ecumenical idea of this faith offers the basis for an organic ideal of national life as a unity of kinship and religion, of the living, the dead and the law of God – an ideal which in many respects coincides with that which the spiritual vanguard of our revolutions also strives for and which even has many features in common with the tradition of the third people of the Three-Power Pact – Japan.

Thus, apart from Romania, which is now in our front, Slavic and Greek Orthodox peoples could also be organically included in the future imperial spaces of the Axis. The condition for this would be even the return to the innermost core of their own traditions, the rejection of the Slavic mask of Bolshevik madness or the hypocritical, outwardly democratically determined but inwardly purely imperialist ideology with which our opponents have deceived so many nations. In the new hierarchical, Germanic and Roman idea of Europe, these peoples would also find the true focus of their better aspirations as well as the basis for an orderly and harmonious development of their potentialities – under the sign and protection of a higher culture which knows how to respect and protect them.

Cf. C. Steding, "Das Reich und die Krankheit der europäischen Kultur", 2nd edition, Hamburg 1938, p. XV.: "In our occidental world the Roman state was the most statelike of all states and had realized, as

it were, in ideal-typical purity, the idea of a Nordic state: so it can already not be surprising if it is felt to be exemplary: even by men who think something of themselves, like the Germans of the Middle Ages... A single glance at the faces of our ancestors, as far as we possess paintings and pictorial works, should show that the 'Roman' alienation at least did not go badly with them and that they looked far more manly, denser, self-confident and healthier than our contemporaries who come to negate a good part of our German past." Walter Frank adds (*ibid.*): "Thus in Christoph Steding the inheritance of the Saxon rebels of Widukind met with the inheritance of that imperial tradition, formed on the model of Rome, but drawing from the own, state-founding power of the Germanic tribes, which with the great Charles, iron and bloody as all world-historical events, forced the fragmented world of the Germanic tribes together into the first unity."

17. Europe and the Organic Idea

From: Nation Europe, 6/1951

The idea of Europe is gaining ground today among most responsible minds on our continent. However, one is seldom clear about a point of fundamental importance: whether this thought stems from the need to defend oneself against the threatening pressure of non-European powers and interests, or whether one aims higher, whether one strives for an *organic* unity that has a positive content and its own law. Should the European unity have only a real political meaning or should it have above all a spiritual basis?

Most federalist solutions belong to the first alternative and can only have the accidental character of a union of forces which – since they lack any inner bond – fall apart again when circumstances change. However, the opposite solution – the organic one – is connected with preconditions that are difficult to fulfill. We will consider it here in brief.

First of all, it should be noted that the expression "nation of Europe" may have a meaning as a myth, but from the point of view of a strictly systematic thinking it is not flawless. The concept of nation belongs in essence more to the naturalistic than to the actually political level and presupposes the irrevocable peculiarity of a certain ethnos, language, history. All these peculiarities cannot and must not be merged into a single mixed entity, Europe. Nor should we be deceived by the more or less standardized traits of the European way of life. These traits are more in the sign of civilization than of a culture; they cannot be called European so much as modern, and they are now to be found almost everywhere in the world. European unity can only be of a higher order than that which defines the concept of

nation. It can only have the form of an "organism made up of organisms"; at its head and center should reign the spiritual reality and the superior sovereignty of the *unum quod non est pars* – to use this Dantean expression.

Organic unity is inconceivable without a principle of permanence. It is now to be considered how this constancy can be secured for European unity. It is obvious that no consistency can be found in a whole if it is not already present in the parts. The precondition to European unity is therefore what we would like to call the organic integration of the individual nations. The European structure would lack any true solidity if, on the one hand, it were based on a kind of international parliament, if, on the other hand, it were to include political systems which, as is the case with the democratic-representative system, can in no way guarantee continuity of direction and leadership, because they are permanently and alternately determined from below.

The historical observation confirms this connection. The dissolution of the European medieval ecumenism began at that moment, in which the nation-states – France being the first, through the legists of Philip the Fair -denounced the superior authority of the Empire and claimed a new right, each king being "emperor" in his splintered nation that had become absolute. But it has been rightly pointed out that this usurpation called another one after itself by a kind of historical nemesis: within the sovereign nation-states, detached from the Empire, individuals in their turn declared themselves sovereign, independent and "free", denouncing any higher idea of authority and asserting the atomistic and individualistic principle underlying the "democratic" systems.

Organic reconstruction therefore presupposes a twofold process of integration: national integration through the recognition of a principle of supra-individual authority as the basis for the organic

and corporative shaping of the political and social forces within each individual nation; supranational integration through the recognition of a principle of authority which should rise no less above the individual national units than that above the individual members of a given state. If these conditions are not fulfilled, one remains on the level of the shapeless, the accidental, the unstable. Then one can hardly speak of a unity in the higher, organic sense. But here one comes to the most delicate point of the whole problem. Already because of its superior nature this authority cannot have a purely political character – which already excludes any solution in the sense of Bonapartism or a badly understood Caesarism. What then can be the essential, inner basis of the new order?

Such a basis should be differentiated, because it has to give European unity a face of its own, because it should provide the guarantee that it is precisely Europe – the "nation of Europe" – as a holistic organism, distinct from and opposed to other, non-European ones.

The assumption that this basis can be purely cultural is, in our opinion, illusory if culture is understood in the common, intellectualistic and modern sense. Is it possible to speak today of a culture of its own in the European sense? It would be daring to answer affirmatively, and the reason for this lies in the neutralization (as Christoph Steding put it) of modern culture. This culture has made itself independent of any political idea, it is "private" and at the same time cosmopolitan in tendency, it is directionless, anti-architectural, subjectivist and even in its "positive" and scientific forms faceless and just neutralized. Only in the perverse sense of leveling "totalitarianism" was there an attempt here and there in the Occident to assert the idea of an absolute, political-cultural unity in contrast to this. In any case, it is to be regarded as a sure sign of a frivolous and diletantish thinking, if one pretends today that something can be won for

the true, manly European unity by understandings and conferences of more or less egotistical intellectuals and literati.

Strictly speaking, the soul of a supranational confederation should be religiously determined, but not abstractly, but with connection to an exact, positive and normative spiritual authority. Even from the profound processes completed in Europe, the secularization of general life aside, there is no such center on our continent today. Catholicism is only the faith of some European nations. Already in the post-Napoleonic period, under conditions incomparably more favorable than those of today, the Holy Alliance, through which the very idea of the masculine, tradition-bound unity of the European states was manifested, was holy only in name; it lacked a truly religious consecration and a superior universal idea. If we should now speak not of Catholicism, but only of Christianity, this would mean an all too indefinite and vacillating basis, not exclusively European and hardly usable for European culture alone. Moreover, the compatibility of pure Christianity with a "metaphysics of empire" is questionable; this has already been shown to us by the medieval dispute between the two powers – if understood in its deeper reasons, appreciated by me elsewhere.

People like to speak of European tradition; unfortunately, however, this is little more than a phrase. For a long time now, the Occident has not known what tradition means in a higher, organic and metaphysical sense; since the time of the Renaissance, Occidental spirit and anti-traditional spirit have become almost synonymous. Tradition in the integral sense is a category belonging to an almost lost time, to those epochs when a single formative force rooted in the metaphysical showed itself in customs, in cult, in law, in myth, in art, in worldview, that is, in every special field of existence. No one will dare to claim that today there is a European tradition in this sense, which alone is decisive for our question.

So we have to start from the unpleasant conclusion that today we are in a world of ruins and that for the time being we have to be content with substitute solutions, trying at least not to lose level, not to be distracted by the heresies of the "West" and the "East". To reject the federalist-parliamentary and "social" conceptions of European unity, to assert the organizational-qualitative idea within the framework of a hierarchical and functional system – this would be the first positive step! Accordingly, the principle of authority should be recognized in its forms and stages appropriate to the various territories and countries. The supranational European unity should be *heroically* determined for the time being, even if it is neither war nor defense. When, at least in some elites, unbroken men will again be capable of action and thought, free from material ties, from the narrowness of particularistic interests and nationalistic hubris, then a fluidity and a tension will be brought into being which can act creatively. For it has happened in other times, too, that behind such elementary conditions a new principle has revealed itself, through which in an invisible and powerful way the higher consecration was given to a great political organism, the supranational idea of authority received a legitimation and a new epoch began. Then really from the ruins would arise not so much the nation of Europe as the empire of Europe, averting a threatening danger of the final decomposition and enslavement of our peoples.

18. Bearers of the Europe Myth

From: Nation Europe, 1952

In an article published in the June 1951 issue of this magazine, I pointed out the difficulty of European unification which arises when this question is considered from the spiritual and organic point of view and not only from the accidental, time-conditioned point of view of protection against external dangers in the political and economic field. This difficulty stems mainly from the fact that the word "Europe" does not correspond at present to a unified, real tradition which prevails beyond the differences of our continent. We have also pointed out that "European culture" has long since ceased to be something which, on the one hand, firmly unites us, and, on the other, really separates us from the other peoples, since the same type of culture has now transplanted itself almost everywhere. Therefore, we must first start from Europe as a "myth", an idea which should first be given the power to awaken and order what is still useful in a disunited world, in a world of ruins. Even if the problem is understood in this sense, it is not easy to solve, because one has to determine the point of attack for this idea, so to speak its spiritual "place", as well as its main carriers. Everyone should understand that the energy of elites must be reckoned with in this process.

In the aforementioned article we said that a unity in the spirit of what has always been considered the unadulterated European tradition can be realized only through the "tops" and not from below. The European unity will not be a mixed social mass unit, but a hierarchical and organic structure as a result of the harmonious working and thinking of national centers, which, however, in every other respect should preserve their own character and a far-reaching spiritual and political autonomy. The

basic obstacle encountered in proceeding in this direction lies in the fragmentation of modern culture. The normal condition in a higher sense, as already demanded by Plato and later not infrequently realized in history, according to which the bearers of political power and those of spiritual values belong to one and the same state would be the best prerequisite for European understanding through elites and "centers"; but this prerequisite is not given today, neither in Europe nor elsewhere. Therefore, we must work in two areas, which are separated in the present European nations, in the hope that under special circumstances they will be able to merge into unity: on the one hand, the understanding between political leaders, on the other hand, the coming together of spiritual people on a higher, not only political and national level. As far as the first task is concerned, we must emphasize what we have already stressed earlier: One cannot think of any permanence of the whole, in our case of the eventual European unity, if this permanence is not already secured in the members. Democratic-parliamentary systems, however, do not fulfill this condition; they lack the continuing permanence of the political will, and they exclude the creative "center". In the political sphere, therefore, one should start with a national order and a corresponding vertical structure begin, which sufficient scope for different solutions, according to the peculiarities of the different peoples. For this, not a few overcomes will be necessary, because of the climate currently prevailing in the European spaces, which are more or less influenced by non-European ideologies or ideologies coming from a Europe in waiting.

But there is no other way to get serious about it. Now, as far as the intellectual elites are concerned, the first thing to do is to take a stand against any "intellectualism". One is very much mistaken if one thinks that something valuable for our task can be gained by mobilization and understanding of intellectuals, writers and professors from the different nations. No – the impulses should

be quite different, reach into quite different strata, and touch quite different bearers of the new European myth. Everything that generally belongs to the bourgeois culture with its individualism, liberalism and humanism and its hostility to the political-masculine and the political-organic should be eliminated, since it is not up to the harshness and original unconditionality of our time.

Which forces could then be considered as elements of the new intellectual front beyond national fragmentation? In our opinion, forces would have to be addressed which, for quite opposite reasons, are outside of bourgeois culture and intellectualism: on the one hand, all those who are somehow – by inner commandment, blood or tradition – still bearers of the old values which were ideologically and politically determining before the bourgeois revolution and culture of the third estate; on the other hand, the representatives of a generation which has been brought existentially beyond yesterday's culture and worldview by the trials, nihilism and tragedy of recent years and for whom there is no return. Two extremes that should merge and complement each other. For the first group, people from old European families could be considered; admittedly, not only the name they bear, but the value of their personality must apply. This double condition is seldom fulfilled; but there are exceptions, and often it is only a question of the revival and animation of a covered heritage. Conservatism in the bad sense is not meant by this demand; it is certainly a matter of "preservation" (*conservatio*); but a preservation not of the dead or time-conditioned, but of the living – of values, laws and modes of feeling which are not merely conditioned by particular expressions of the past, but come to the fore as character and attitude. As contradictory as this statement may seem, the reference to that which is bound to tradition only acts as an obstacle and a reprehensible inertia when one refers to

that which has passed away and not to that which is truly original.

The truly original, on the other hand, has an inexhaustibly renewing and revolutionary power; this is already announced by the old word: *Usu vetera ab imo novant* – The old forces renew themselves from the original ground. This is the reason why the meeting and the understanding is possible between the few who, due to their blood heritage, have not broken the threads of the old European tradition, but have stood firm, and the men of a new generation, which has been formed mainly by the purification of the war. One has often spoken of it as of the "burnt generation" (*la generazione bruciata*). Among them, the distrust of the myths, the slogans and the ideologies of yesterday and – even more! – of today, and this is equally true for many who fought on the other side of the front in the torn Europe of 1914-1945. Where the process has not found its conclusion in a moral collapse, where inwardly one has stood firm, one finds a new seriousness, a new love for the unconditional and essential, beyond that style elements, which are the same in the different nations of Europe and repeat almost the same kind of man in different variations. This man is characterized by an unobtrusive, simple and slag-free heroic attitude, especially where he has gained form through the struggle on lost ground and among the ruins – spiritual even more than material ruins – of the post-war period. From these men bridges can be built over what separates us, to the formation of a supranational unity of heroic type – the only one that can lead out over the egoisms, the limitations and the machinations of the small, fearful European daily politics. It is therefore these new forces that should be won over by exerting on them appropriate orienting influences – more by example than by teaching – and by placing before them the myth of Europe as a point of reference for a loyalty – *fides!* – of a higher order, which is able to subordinate, wherever necessary,

everything that belongs to the particularistic, crudely realistic, materialistic and chauvinistic level.

All this will not be possible if there is not a complementary contact between the two columns, i.e. the remaining representatives of the tradition-bound Europe and the new forces that have gone through the fire, where the first element has to give the direction, the other the moving pure force. I believe that only in this way can the resurrection of Europe, as far as it is still possible, be prepared. But where such a development takes hold in the various peoples of Europe, it will certainly result in a change of atmosphere which will gradually have an effect also in the political and state spheres. The "centers" of which we have spoken will gradually take shape and appear as the only bearers of unbroken will in our peoples. Even before the 1939-1945 World War, we believed that action in this sense was possible; it should have been the first to bring into being a kind of Order as the expression of a new Europe, at the same time bound by tradition. This aspiration was even unofficially promoted by a great European power. Today the task is infinitely more difficult.

But we recognize two promoting factors: on the one hand, the pure strength of those who, despite everything, still remain upright and have the zero point of the former values behind them; on the other hand, the acceleration of the historical process, which will soon lead to insight as to which way still remains open, if everything is not to perish in our country. The Europe which only knows how to debate and play with the ideologies of a condemned past must be opposed by the union of centers of spiritual resistance, a heroic supranational solidarity – until the moment when it can also have a political effect in the formation of an organic-hierarchical unity.

19. About the Mystery of Decay

From: Deutsches Volkstum, issue 11, 1938

Those who today have come to reject the rationalistic myth of "progress" and the conception of history as an uninterrupted positive development of mankind are gradually led back to the world view which was peculiar to all great tradition-bound cultures and had as its center the memory of a process of decay, of the slow darkening or collapse of a higher previous world. If this new and old conception is fathomed, then we come across various problems, above all the question of *the mystery of decay*.

In its immediate forms this question is certainly not new. Before the splendid remains of cultures, of which sometimes not even the name has come down to us, but which seem to have conveyed even in matter something of the greatness and power of the supernatural, there is scarcely a man who has not asked himself the question of the death of culture and felt the inadequacy of the reasons usually adduced to explain it.

To Count De Gobineau we owe, as is well known, the best outline of this problem as well as a masterly criticism of the most important hypotheses concerning it. His solution, too, based on the idea of race and racial purity, certainly has much that is correct in it, only it must be supplemented by some considerations referring to a higher order. In many cases a culture has perished even with the purity of the corresponding race, which is particularly clear in the case of certain tribes which are subject to a fateful slow extinction, although they have remained racially within themselves as if they were islands. An example closer to us is the case of the Swedes and Dutch. These peoples are today in about the same racial condition as they were two centuries ago: but little of their heroic spirit and racial

consciousness of that time can be found among them today. Other great cultures seem to have maintained themselves only in a mummy state: they have been dead inside for a long time, therefore the slightest push is capable of ruining them. This is the case, for example, with ancient Peru, that vast sunny empire destroyed by a few adventurers from the worst of the European rabble.

If we look at the mystery of decay precisely from the point of view of tradition-boundness, its complete solution becomes even more difficult. It is the division of all cultures into two main types: on the one hand, the tradition-based cultures, whose principle is common and unchanging despite the most diverse manifestations. In these cultures metaphysical, supra-individual forces and works form the axis and the highest point of reference for the hierarchical order, for the formation and justification of all that is only human, temporal, subject to becoming and "history". – On the other hand, there is the modern culture, which is precisely the anti-tradition, and which exhausts itself in a construction from purely human and earthly conditions and in the total development of all that is.

The world is not able to live a life that is completely detached from the supra-world. From their point of view, all history is decay, because it shows us the general decline of former cultures of traditional type and the determined and violent advent of a new general morality of modern type.

A twofold question arises here. First. How has this process been possible at all? The whole evolution theory is based on a logical nonsense: it is impossible that the higher springs from the lower and the more from the less. But doesn't one come across a similar difficulty with the resolution of the involution theory? How is it at all possible that the higher decays? If we could content ourselves with mere similes, it would be easy to dismiss this

question. The healthy can become ill. The virtuous can become vicious. According to a law of nature, which is taken "for granted" by all, every living being, after birth, development and strength, experiences old age, effeminacy, decomposition. And so on. This, however, means to state and not to explain: even if it is admitted that such parables do indeed fit the question under discussion.

Second. It is a matter of explaining not only the possibility of decay within a certain cultural world, but also the possibility of decay passing from one cultural cycle to other peoples and taking them with it. We have to explain, for example, not only how the old occidental reality has perished, but also how it has been possible that modern culture has been able to dominate almost the whole world and has had the power to divert so many peoples from any other type of culture and to assert itself even in places where states of traditional character seemed to live: we need only remember the Aryan Orient.

In this respect, it is not enough to say that this was a purely material and economic conquest. For two reasons this consideration seems very superficial. First of all, in the long run, a materially conquered country is also subject to influences of a higher nature, according to the cultural type of its conquerors. We can indeed observe that the European conquest almost everywhere the germs of Europeanization,

i.e. the modern, rationalistic, anti-traditional and individualistic way of thinking. Secondly, the tradition-bound conception of culture and state is hierarchical, not dualistic. Its bearers could never, without the greatest reservation, sign the "Give to the emperor..." and the "My kingdom is not of this world." Tradition is for us the victorious and creative presence in the world of that which is "not of this world", i.e. of the spirit, but conceived as a power stronger than any merely material and human power.

This is a basic idea of the genuine tradition-based view of life, which does not allow us to speak with disregard of "only material" conquests. The material conquest, on the contrary, presents itself as a sign, if not of a spiritual victory, at least of a spiritual weakening or a kind of spiritual "retreat" in the cultures that have been defeated and have lost their independence. Wherever the spirit, conceived as a stronger force, would have been really present, there it would not have lacked the more or less invisible means to resist any technical and material superiority of its opponents.

But this did not happen. Consequently, it must be thought that behind the traditional facade of every people that could be defeated by the modern world, there was already decay. Occident would be then the culture where an already general crisis took the most acute form. The decay – if we may so express ourselves – became a precipitation in it, and by organizing itself, it more or less easily carried away other peoples in which the involution was not yet so advanced, but the tradition had already lost its primal power, so that these peoples could no longer protect themselves from an action from the outside.

With these considerations, the second aspect of our problem is brought back to the first: namely, it is mainly a question of clarifying the meaning and the possibility of decay without reference to external circumstances. For this purpose, we will have to realize that it is a mistake to suppose that the hierarchy of the traditional world is built on a tyranny of the higher classes. This is a modern conception, completely foreign to the tradition-based way of thinking. The tradition-based doctrine has indeed conceived the spiritual action as an "action without action"; it has spoken of the "immovable mover"; it has everywhere used the symbolism of the "pole", the unchanging axis around which every ordered movement takes place (elsewhere we have shown that this is the meaning of the swastika, the "Arctic cross"); it has always

emphasized the "Olympian" of spirituality and of true rulership, as well as its way of acting directly, not by force, but by "being there" over the inferiors; it has finally also used the simile of the "magnet", wherein, as we shall see immediately, lies the key of our question.

Only in today's time it is possible to think that the true bearers of the spirit, i.e. the tradition, run after the people in order to grab them and to put everyone in his place – in short, that they "act" and have any personal interest to establish and maintain those hierarchical relations by virtue of which they will also visibly appear as the rulers. This would be ridiculous and nonsensical. Rather, *recognition on the part of the subordinate* is the true basis of any hierarchy based on tradition. It is not the superior who needs the inferior, but vice versa. The essence of hierarchy is that in certain people something lives as reality which in the others is only in the state of an ideal, a premonition, an unclear aspiration. That is why the latter are fatefully attracted to the former, and their subordination means not so much subordination to something alien as to their true "I." Therein lies, in the world of tradition, the secret of every sacrifice, of every heroism, of every loyalty, and, on the other hand, of a prestige, an authority, and a quiet power of which the most armed tyrant will never be able to assure himself.

With these considerations we have come very close to solving the problem not only of decay but also of the possibility of any overthrow. Do we perhaps not hear repeated ad nauseam that the success of any overthrow proves the weakness and degeneracy of the previous rulers? Such a view is very one-sided. This would probably be the case if they were, as it were, tied wild dogs that suddenly broke out: in this, of course, would be the proof that the hands that hold the noose, have become lame or weak. Things are quite different within the framework of the spiritual

hierarchy, of which we have clarified the true basis above. This hierarchy decays and can be really overthrown in one single case: when the individual decays, when he uses his fundamental freedom to deny the spirit, to detach his life from any higher point of reference and to be "only for himself". Then the contacts are fatefully loosened, the metaphysical tension, to which the tradition-bound organism owed its unity, subsides, each force wavers in its trajectory and finally frees itself. The peaks, of course, continue to exist, in the heights, pure and inviolable; the rest, however, which hung on them, becomes, as it were, an avalanche, a mass which has lost its equilibrium and plunges down, with a movement at first unperceived, afterwards more rapid, to the depth and leveling of the valley. This is the secret of every decay and overthrow. The European has first killed the hierarchy *in himself* by eradicating his own inner possibilities, to which corresponds the basis of the order which he will destroy afterwards externally.

If the Christian mythology traces back the fall of the primeval man and the "revolt of the angels" itself to the freedom of will, then it comes to approximately the same meaning. It is about the terrible inherent ability of man to use freedom to spiritually destroy and reject all that could secure him a supernatural dignity. This is a metaphysical decision: the current that circulates in history in the various forms of the anti-traditional, subversive, individualistic and humanistic spirit – in short, the "modern" spirit – forms only its phenomenology. This decision is the only positive and determining cause in the mystery of the decay, the destruction of tradition.

If this is understood, then we could perhaps also understand the sense of those traditions, in which the speech of mysterious rulers is, who "always" exist and have never died (transition to the Kyffhäuser idea!). Such rulers can be found again only by

perfecting oneself spiritually and awakening in oneself qualities like a metal which suddenly *feels* the "magnet", discovers the magnet and irresistibly orientates and moves according to it. For the time being we must confine ourselves to this suggestion. A complete interpretation of such traditions coming to us from the most ancient Aryanism would lead too far. On another occasion, perhaps, we will return to the mystery of the reconstruction, to the "magic" capable of returning the collapsed mass to the unchanging peaks that have remained solitary and invisible in the heights.

20. The Essence of Initiatic Knowledge

From: Magic as the Science of the Ego, Volume 1

Whoever turns to initiatic teachings must be aware of one fundamental point above all: namely, that the question of knowledge as well as its meaning presents itself in a completely different way than in the most diverse areas of today's common culture.

From the initiatic point of view, "to recognize" does not mean to "think" the recognized object, but to *be* it. Thus, one does not actually recognize a thing until one *realizes* it, and that in turn means when consciousness transforms into it. Thus cognition becomes synonymous with *experience*, and the initiatic method proves to be purely experimental. By certainty here we generally understand only that which shows itself to me through immediate and personal experience. In ordinary life every sensation, every feeling and every immediate perception (a pain, a wish, a light) has such a character. To speak here of "true" or "false" has no sense, because the thing is at the same time the cognition of the thing, and this under the sign of an absolute and lived "*It is so*", which needs no intellectual recognition at all. There are neither degrees nor degrees of approximation nor probabilities in such knowledge: Either one has it or one does not have it.

For the ordinary human being, however, such cognition remains limited to the material realm of perception, which has only a limited, incidental and accidental character. What man usually understands by knowledge is then also something else: It is a system of concepts, relations and hypotheses, which has no more experience character, but abstract character. As far as the immediate fact of experience is concerned, i.e. that which is

directly present in one's own consciousness, one tends rather to take it merely as a simple "appearance" and to put something assumed *behind it*, which is then only supposed to have the character of the true and objective reality. For science this can be the

"Matter" can be or also the different play of the atoms and ether vibrations, for the philosophers the "thing in itself" or another of their ideas. For the religion again it is some divine figure.

In general, this results in the following situation: one builds up a knowledge – the profane knowledge – which does not go beyond the purely sensually perceptible experience and which is granted a certain degree of objectivity only when it exceeds that which has only the status of a personal and living obviousness, of a purely individual vision or of a sense content realized by the individual consciousness. So there seems to be the contradiction, according to which that which is pure experience, in that it has a limited and mere "appearance character" does not count as "knowledge" and, on the other hand, that which is considered to be "knowledge", as such is not experience.

The initiatic path goes beyond this contradiction and shows a thoroughly different direction in which the criterion of immediate experience is never abolished. If for the ordinary man immediate experience and sensually perceptible experience are completely one, the initiatic teaching asserts the existence of several immediate forms of experience, among which sensual perception is only one specific one. These forms always correspond to a certain other way of perceiving reality and can also merge into each other, tending to form a hierarchy of constantly higher modes of perception which possess an ever-increasing degree of absoluteness. According to this view, then, there is no world of "appearances" and no absolute behind it: "appearance" is simply that which characterizes a certain degree

of experience and a certain ego state, and "absolute" is that which corresponds to another degree of experience and another ego state, which takes the place of the former through a prior corresponding transformation. As for the standard of absoluteness, it can be approximated thus: It results from the degree of *active identification*, that is, from the degree to which the I is woven into and one with its experience and wherein the object of that experience becomes clear to the I as *meaning content*. And in correspondence of these degrees the ladder rises from "sign" to "sign", from "name" to "name", until it reaches a state of perfect super-rational spiritual vision, in which the object in the I and the I in the object is completely actualized and realized.

This means, in relation to what is recognized, a state of power and at the same time of absolute self-evidence: a state after the attainment of which all pondering and conjecture seem superfluous and all discussion pointless. Hence the well-known saying that one did not go to the ancient masters to "learn," but to "attain," by means of a deep impression, a sacred experience (Synesios, Dion. 48).

As a result, the initiatic teaching considers it more negative than positive when the mind tends to digress to the interpretation or solution of this or that philosophical problem and build up any theories or take special interest in one or another view of profane science. All this is useless and leads to nothing. The real problem has only *practical*, operational character. What are the means to obtain the transformation of myself and the perfection of my experience? That is what must be asked. And that is why, in the Occident, initiation is not so much connected with the idea of a process of cognition as with that of an art (*Ars Regia*, the royal art) and a work (the Great Work or *opus magicum*, the magical work) or a symbolic construction (the construction of the

"temple"), while in the Far East the concept of the Absolute merges with the idea of a path to the single expression *Tao*.

This also makes clear that those more or less theosophical "spiritual science," which today stuffs the heads of its followers with all kinds of speculations and phantasties about the origin of the world as well as about otherworldly beings and realms, etc., apart from anything else, must lead to an attitude that is already wrong from the beginning. Reasonable from the initiatic point of view is only the experimental, practical attitude, which testifies to a deliberate mind and a silent, invisible action under the sign of the golden hermetic saying *Post laborem scientia* (after work the knowledge). Yes, we are even afraid of having to say quite clearly that in all other things in which today's "educated" man believes he has superiority and must uphold the right to his own opinion, the situation is not much better. Education in the modern profane sense is neither a necessary condition nor a preferential starting point for spiritual realization. On the contrary: a person who is not interested in the trivialities of the

"Education", the "psychology" and the manifold aesthetic and literary infections has been spared, but instead shows an open, balanced and brave mind, is better suited for the higher knowledge than any scientist, professor, writer or other "critical spirit" of our days. Therefore, those who *are* really something in the initiatic realm are recognizable by their extreme restraint in theorizing and discussing. So if they recognize in you a sincere aspiration, they will only say: Here is the problem, and here are the means. Move forward.

Another consequence of the initiatic concept of knowledge is the principle of *difference*, of inequality. This, too, is in marked contrast to the ideas that guide modern profane knowledge. In fact, the entire modern "education" (with science in the first place) is dominated by a democratic, leveling and uniformistic

tendency. For them, only what is basically accessible to all is considered an "achievement." Thus, a truth is a truth for them only if all can recognize it, provided they have a certain degree of scholastic prior education. At the most, they have to take the trouble to complete certain studies, which, however, leave them as people completely as they are. This may go well as long as it is a matter of conceptual and abstract knowledge that can be put into the head like an object into a sack. But when it is a question of an inner experience, perhaps even an experience based on an essential transformation of the substance of consciousness, clear boundaries must be drawn. The cognitions obtained in this way cannot be attainable by all, nor can they be communicated to all without degradation and profanation. Each stage simply has different realizations, and depending on how far initiation in its various degrees has shaped human nature, the correspondingly graded realizations come to it. Therefore, they cannot be truly understood at all, i.e. be *realized*, unless one is on the same level as them and occupies the same step in a hierarchy that is strictly objective and being.

Apart from those occultist or theosophist messages, which are either way mere aberrations of the imagination, all other messages and explanations of a merely theoretical nature must therefore also prove useless when it comes to actual initiatic and esoteric knowledge.

To cut "theory" down to size is the most unfortunate thing one can do. Here, if at all, it is the allusion, the symbol, that can help to light up flashes of insight. But if it does not result in the beginning of a *movement from within*, even that is worthless. Thus, the nature of initiatic knowledge itself enforces discernment. For those for whom ordinary life and the sensually perceptible experience are the beginning and the end of everything and everyone, the common basis for that knowledge,

which is *realization* according to its innermost essence, is naturally missing. All this would have to be recognized with the naturally resulting consequences in perfect clarity: either to give up at all or to accept other standards for this truth and knowledge than they have come to predominance in modern education and thinking. The path of initiation is the path that establishes the essential differences between human beings and, against the concept of equality and the uniformism of knowledge, brings back the principle of *suum quique* – to each his own – to prestige: to each his own, that is, that knowledge, that truth and that freedom, as they correspond to what the respective human being is.

An objection that might come from someone who is only accustomed to being in the midst of tangible things and "concrete" thought processes nevertheless deserves to be considered a little more closely. He will argue that the transcendental states and experiences discussed – assuming that they are attainable at all – are exhausted in mere mysticism, never moving beyond the "subjective" sphere. Furthermore, a cognition that only knows the criterion of experience and identification is more or less a mere sensation and offers no glimmer of an explanation or understanding and thus cannot do justice to things, indeed, basically does not even explain what is going on in ourselves.

Only two points should be clarified here. First: If one speaks initiatically of "identification," it is, as already mentioned, an *active* identification, which must not be confused with a loss of self or a sinking. It is not a sub-intellectual and emotionally charged state, but a state of super-rational, being-centered clarity. This is the difference between the mystical and initiatic spheres. And this is a very essential difference, even if it is not immediately and crystal clear for those who see only a long black night where

neither things nor abstract concepts are at stake, in which for them all cats are gray.

The second point concerns the concept of "explaining" itself, and here the conversation, if one wanted to go to the bottom, would lead very far. One would have to begin to return the objection by pointing out that none of the profane branches of knowledge has ever given any real explanation or will give one in the future. Who understands by "explain", for example, to prove the logical impossibility of the opposite, would have to show where, outside the abstract area of formal logic and mathematics (where the rational necessity exhausts itself in the simple coherence with previously agreed premises), he is actually able to explain something. We think here of the concrete, physically perceptible reality – here there is absolutely nothing that is, just because its opposite would be logically impossible, nothing where one could not always ask: *Why exactly so and not differently?*

Ancient traditional science, to which initiatic knowledge belongs, has taken a different path in its innermost essence: that of knowledge of the *actual* causes of effects, namely the *forces* to which they owe their manifestation.

This amounts to an identification with the causes within the framework of a "magical" state. Only such a state can introduce into the absolute cause of an appearance, only it can explain it in the higher sense, because in it the appearance is collected and it is *seen in* its origin.

From this, however, it follows as an important consequence that on the initiatic path the attainment of knowledge runs parallel with attainment of power, since active identification with a cause in principle also confers power over that cause. Once one has understood that initiatic knowledge, initiatic realization actually mean identification and realization, one will not find it surprising

that in some traditional texts, after explaining the types and names of the deities, one adds that the one who "knows" these names thereby also acquires one or another power or force. Likewise, one will not be surprised to hear frequent talk of a "secret" which, learned or transmitted, is the key to power. Only fools will believe that this is some formula that could be communicated orally or in writing, if not by telegraph.

Modern mankind believes that the attainment of power also applies to its own science, because by means of technology it makes the generally known material achievements possible; but it deceives itself strongly, because the power given by technology is just as little a real power as the explanations of the profane science are real explanations. The reason for this is the same in the one case as in the other: it lies in the fact that man remains the same, that is, he does not undergo any change in his effective being. For this very reason, the possibilities offered by technology have the same democratic and basically immoral character as the corresponding branches of knowledge: The fact that people are different means nothing to them. They are based on a power that consists only of automatisms, a power that belongs to everyone and yet at the same time to no one, that is not *value*, *that is not justice*, and that can make a person more powerful without at the same time also making him superior.

But this is possible only because in the world of technology one does not and cannot speak of a true *deed*, that is, of a doing that proceeds directly from the I and asserts itself in the realm of true causes. Being absolutely mechanistic and inorganic, that is, without relation to the center of essence of the I, the world of technology represents, on the contrary, the exact opposite of the character of true power, which, created from superiority, is a sign of superiority: spiritual, indispensable, untransferable. And it must be admitted that man, with all his knowledge of external

appearances and in the midst of his innumerable diabolical machines, is more miserable and lost than ever before, and spiritually much more of a barbarian than those peoples of the past whom he presumes to stamp with that title. He is himself always more subject to circumstances than he is to them, and therefore he is subject to reactions in a play of irrational forces which make the mirage of his power, exclusively material and extending over material things, all too fleeting. He is as far from the path of self-realization as no man of any other culture before him: because a devilishly to be called illusory substitute of knowledge and power has taken the place of true knowledge and true power in him.

This true power, let us repeat, is in the initiatic realm a *justice*, the proof of a dignity, the natural and indispensable outflow of a perfected life, and is bestowed according to the stages of such perfection. Just as in this realm the knowledge attained beyond all uncertainty and haziness of sensually perceptible phenomena does not refer to formulas and abstract principles of explanation, but to real entities grasped by immediate spiritual perception, so also the ideal image of power is that of an act which does not proceed under the constraint of the laws of nature, but acts above them, not in the midst of *phenomena*, but in the midst of *causes for phenomena*, and acts with the irresistibility and right of Him who stands higher: Higher, because he has actually freed himself from human conditionality and attained the initiatic awakening, which is in truth a reawakening.

The SS, Guardians and "Knights" of the Swastika Revolution.

One of the most interesting, significant and perhaps least known creations of the N.S. Revolution is the so-called Korps of the SS. SS is the abbreviation of Schutzstaffel, it is the "Black Corps" for the protection of the Third Reich. If the army – the Reichswehr – is the organ of external defense of the state, the SS is the organ of internal defense. In this peculiar organization individual traits of ancient form of order are found in a synthesis together with a political, a biological and heroic elite, a "bodyguard" of the leader, a "secret state police" in the higher sense and finally a group destined to put into practice and defend the basic ideas of the N.S. world view in a straight way. They are two hundred thousand men, united by an inviolable oath of loyalty and honor, and who, according to the values of their own leader, Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, feel themselves to be a fighting order of National Socialism. Their aspirations turn to the original: they want to form a unity in which the resumed connection with the primeval forces of the primordial race and with the myths of the great Nordic primordial beginnings is transformed into the principle of a new indomitable

life is transformed, and here the new meaning of the blood is to enter into a mysterious connection with the ancestor and the deceased and to make the individual overcome his individualistic feeling in order to insert him into the continuity of the tribe and into a stream of life that opens up to new future paths. The sacred signs of Germanic pre-Christian antiquity are evoked again: the "runes" are often used to designate particular divisions of the "Black Corps." The custom introduced in Germany to designate the most diverse formations with their initials (K.d.F., H.J.,

B.d.H., S.A. etc.) has led to a particularly meaningful application in the abbreviation of the Schutzstaffel SS: due to the similarity of the two letters with the sign of the so-called "Runes of Victory" – Siegrunen – one has easily come to replace the former by the latter. So now it is the "Siegrunen" of the Nordic antiquity, the zig-zag signs, which are used at every opportunity, on the SS uniforms, in letters of summons etc.. And with it one of the cases has materialized, in which the modern man steps to conjure up elementary things, about the scope of which he only darkly accounts, and which are no longer "views" and "theories" and "sorts", but powers, forces and certain primordial beginnings. These zig-zags of the siegrunes, now worn on all the uniforms of the SS, are the same ones represented in the ancient Egyptian symbol by the image of the scepter, which have the meaning of the terrible solar power that sanctifies, deifies and makes invincible the kings. They also appear as the destructive force in the symbol of celestial power, which was especially applied by the Olympian deities of the Aryan race in their continuing struggle against dark titanic and telluric forces. This is also the sense that recurs today in the first still unclear views; thus sees e.g. Himmler in fight against Bolshevism only an episode of the continued and almost metaphysical struggle, in which the forces of the Aryan humanity clash with those of the subhumanity, and the SS, as the bearer of the "Siegrunen", now also assumes the meaning of the anti-Bolshevik fighting organization, and is – according to the words of SS-Gruppenführer R. Heydrich, one of the other leaders of the "Black Corps" – is aware of the tasks corresponding to the struggle, which are directed not only against the visible, but also against the hidden enemy.

If we briefly touch on the development of the SS, we can say that its first beginnings were in the so-called Stabswache, created by Nationalism in March 1933, which was then followed by Hitler's "Stosstrupp", consisting of selected and militarily trained

elements who placed themselves only at the unconditional, personal disposal of the Führer. After the semi-military party organizations were banned and the corps could no longer appear externally, the real and today existing SS was created in the summer of 1923 by Julius Schreck, Hitler's confidant; at the same time the present black uniform with the silver skull on the cap was introduced. When Heinrich Himmler on

When the SS took command of this corps on January 6, 1929, it numbered 270 men; but already from that time on it developed an effective clout, not only outwardly but also inwardly against disaffected or doubtful elements of the party. At the time of the seizure of power, the "Black Corps" already numbered one hundred thousand men; its power, authority and prerogatives increased more and more and received their final sanction in 1934. The SS was the body that Hitler essentially used in the measures taken on June 30, 1934 and in the liquidation of the dissolution tendencies which emanated from Ernst Röhm and von Schleicher. On the basis of the loyalty and the merits of the SS, which had proved on this occasion that it was subordinated to the S.A. (Sturm-Abteilungen in brauner Uniform) in the brown uniform, (Röhm was one of its main leaders), it was designated only as an independent organization, and it was also transferred to the full extent of the service of the "Secret State Police" or GSP. Its leader Himmler has the official title of "Reichsführer SS und Chefs der Deutschen Polizei". Thus, the SS has become the most powerful organization of the party, in direct consultation with Hitler. It is, it may be said, the backbone of the movement, the organ which supervises it in all its parts and stands up for its security. As far as Germany in general is concerned, its second great foundation consists in the army, in the Reichswehr, which, as is well known, does not exhaust itself in the simple military element, but which also has its own tradition, its own ideal, direct relation to the nobility, especially the Prussian. It is not too bold

an assertion to say that the way in which relations between the SS and the Reichswehr continue to develop will have a decisive value for Germany's future. As for the other N.S. organizations, such as "Labor Front" or S.A., however important their tasks may be in political view and in the dynamics of the political decisive forces for the new Germany, they will always be in second, subordinate line. 1(1)

(1) We note that with the so-called "Ordensburgen", which have recently been expanded, also within the framework of the "Labor Front" the attempt has broken through to create an "elite" and, so to speak, a "school" for those who will later have to fulfill political and general leadership tasks. However, this does not yet give rise to anything resembling an organic corps like the SS. – About the "Ordensburgen" reports an Aufs. in the July issue d. Rassegna Italiens (XVI.)

Heinrich Himmler is credited with the intellectual shaping of the SS, the specification of its tasks, the establishment of the principles and regulations governing it. The basic idea here is the creation of a new "elite", a new nobility. When asked who in the old states was ready to sacrifice everything to defend, support and protect his prince, Himmler easily came to the conclusion that such a task always belonged to the nobility, an elite that was recognized by the prince and his tradition precisely as "noble". This nobility, as the guarantor of the principle of suzerainty, sank in the critical period of the post-war by the dangers of capitalism and by siding with the liberalism of the XIX century, showing itself incapable of remaining equal to its tasks.

The healthiest elements remained in the army, but as such they were excluded from the political struggle altogether, because the army is given tasks of external defense, which, if not insignificant, are independent in relation to the political form of its nation. It was therefore necessary to pass to the idea of an elite which would be closely connected with the specific-political idea of the new

state, that is, an elite which would have value at the same time politically and warlike, and which would be considered as the new guarantor of the meaning and permanence of the political national and revolutionary fortified order. This is the ideal development of the SS as the "revolutionary elite of the Third Reich".

Their formation and organization have been led by considerations of a biological-racial, ethical and spiritual nature.

As far as the first point is concerned, Himmler starts from the premise that his people are to culture in the higher sense and to invincible resistance against their own enemies.

The people are able to live in the North insofar as they have a sufficient amount of Nordic blood flowing in their veins. If such blood, starting from the prince down to the peasant, seeps away, the people will fall into decay. Thus, for the construction of the new state and its elite, the selection and the nature of the Nordic elements will play an essential role. In the storm troops of the SS, the selection in question is enjoyed according to two reasons.

The first degree is mainly biological. All those persons are admitted to the SS who are certainly of Aryan origin and who approach the pure Nordic type in figure, proportions and facial features. It is assumed, of course, that through the mixtures possible in all peoples, traits and modes of feeling of another race may appear in a physically Nordic type, but it has also been observed that Nordic characteristics are more likely to be found in a body of Nordic type than elsewhere. In a further selection, cross-checks are to be made in this respect. Here we want to emphasize that the Nordic racial in the SS is not limited to the individual, but extends in consideration to his family and origin. An SS man is not allowed to marry whom he wants. According to a law enacted by Himmler in 1931, a body that is considered for this purpose must determine that the woman he chooses offers

sufficient guarantees of the likelihood of an origin corresponding to his type and race. On this basis, the SS considers itself a "clan order," and it is on this anti-individualist basis, tied to blood, that it seeks to develop. Already in the ability to submit to this law when marrying, one shows a first proof of higher order, and thus one confirms one's willingness to abandon the purely personal moment of feeling and of passion to the requirements of a supra-individualistic form of order.

The second degree of selection has as its prerequisite the principle of adaptability according to the words of Hitler: "If I demand a heroic deed, the heroic gest will answer to it. If, on the other hand, I promise many advantages, the commercial spirit will answer this call". If moral qualities are demanded, which one attributes mainly to the Nordic race, one hopes already for an inner discipline as the spontaneous selection of the second degree. As materials are controlled according to the measure of the loading test, it is put the one who wants to belong to the SS in special situations in which his racial qualities are to prove.

If we consider the ethical essence of the SS only in this way, we arrive, according to Himmler, at the following main characteristics. The first and most fundamental of all is loyalty. "Everything," says Himmler, "can be forgiven, except treason." Hitler himself occasionally gave the events of June 30, 1934, to the SS as a slogan: "SS man, your honor is loyalty," in apparent relation at the norm of old German law: "All honor comes from loyalty." By this is meant every kind of loyalty: loyalty, and above all respect for the Führer and the race, loyalty to comrades and to the rules of decency, honorableness and chivalry. And Himmler adds: "One sins against loyalty and honor not only when one violates one's own honor or that of another, but also when one mocks things that are sacred to others, or when one does not manfully stand up for the absent, the weak and the unprotected.

In a law passed on November 9, 1935, Himmler for the SS asserted not only the right, but the duty to duel, if required by the circumstances.

After loyalty and honor comes obedience, which must be unconditional and unlimited. It is said that after the Prussian officer has taken his oath of allegiance, he no longer has what is his. This tradition has been taken up by the SS. In the name of the Fuehrer and the N.S. Weltanschauung one must be ready for everything, also for sacrificing one's own pride, the external and everything that can be dear and valuable to us personally. One must be able to refrain from an action, even if everything in us rebels against it and urges us to intervene, just as one must be able to act on a single sign, even if one feels an aversion to it, which seems to us incomprehensible. Himmler considers this quality of unconditional obedience as fundamental not only for ourselves, but also to balance the accentuated sense of ego and the emerging desire for freedom of the Nordic German man, qualities that have often been the cause of much unhappiness for him.

Other qualities required of the SS man are love of truth, the ability to adhere unbendingly to what has been decided with the greatest deliberation, absolute rectitude, and as a foundation, of course, combative spirit(1). In his speech held in Magdeburg on June 12, 1937, on the occasion of the meeting of the German nobility, Himmler said that these virtues correspond to as many tests to which the SS subjected

(1) Characteristic sayings of Himmler: "What is possible in Japan that a gold coin can lie on the ground without being picked up, must also be valid with us". Or also: "One can forbid an SS man alcohol. If he promises this and then does not keep it, there is nothing left for him but the pistol". If he refuses to promise, he is expelled.

and which complete the selection process. After one and a half years of probation, a member of the SS formation becomes the

one who has taken his SS oath to the Führer and has completed his military and labor service without any problems; he then receives the honorary dagger of the SS. It is interesting to note that by a law of November 9, 1936, it was decreed that every SS group leader must vouch under oath: 1.) that no applicant will be accepted if he cannot meet the appropriate requirements, even if it is a son or a relative, 2.) that in each year one quarter of the new elements will not come from families or circles of the SS. This is to avoid that the SS is formed into a kind of hereditary caste, in which other standards than those of the actual qualification prevail; moreover, one tries to attract the best elements in the right proportion to the SS, wherever they may come from, also in order to avoid that they form other groups that detach themselves from the central elite, as it is said to have happened, according to Himmler, e.g. in ancient Rome, where the best blood at the given moment was outside the Senate.

From what has been said about the characteristic qualities of the SS-man, it is clear that there is a tendency to go beyond the old plan, proper to a simply political corps, and to strive for that which is proper to an "order", in the ancient sense. It is quite clearly recognized that without the presupposition of a religiosity and a purely spiritual point of view, the invoked values of loyalty, honor, truth, etc., would become empty formulas and a unity belonging to a sworn order would be impossible. Therein lies the third point of view of the SS, the purely spiritual one.

In a booklet entitled: "Fifty questions and answers for the SS man", after the formulas of the solemn oath of allegiance and obedience has been considered, asked, "Do you, then, believe in a God?" – The answer to this is, "Yes, I believe in a higher God, and consider him presumptuous, stupid, and not fitting to us who does not believe." But here this generic confession of loyalty, which becomes uncertain enough by respecting any religious conviction that does not mix with politics, is less interesting than

the tendency to resurrect a precise form of spirituality tied to the Nordic tradition, but in the sense of Indo-European, in order to give the SS also the character of a "Stosstruppe der Weltanschauung" – weltanschaulicher Stosstrupp (Heydrich). We have pointed out the principle that the "return to the origins" has a significant part in the behavior of the SS. This tendency becomes tangible in the so-called "Ahnenerbe", a word that has more or less the meaning of "inheritance of the ancestors" and represents a particular cultural form of the SS(1). The noblest work of this organization is that of reestablishing contact between the old traditions and the more conscious elite of the new Germany; it proceeds from the premise that what emerges unconsciously as instinct from the depths of the soul is exposed to continuing dangers and cannot attain true realization unless it is supported by conscious spiritual power and clear vision (Walther Wüst). It is therefore advisable to investigate "the spirit and deeds of Nordic Indo-Germanism" and to give "a living form to the results of this investigation" and to transmit them to the German people.

(1) The chairman of the "Ahnenerbe" is SS-Sturmführer Prof. Walther Wüst. The organization issues various publications, and its official organ is the monthly magazine "Germania", headed by Dr. J.O.Plassmann.

And in this respect also, at least programmatically, the methods of "rigid science" and rationalism will be strongly opposed, any, "naturalistic" interpretation of ancient religions will regain, in myth and symbol "objectivity" and "rigid science" will be able to be a cover for the hidden work of paralyzing and destructive forces (Heydrich). The matter is typical and most interesting. The leaders of the SS, who have to fulfill the most difficult and important political functions, to control the Geheime Deutsche Staatspolizei, and who constitute the bodyguard of the Führer and of National Socialism, are at the same time people who are

vividly interested in the world of symbols and primordial myths, and they are people with whom one can discuss supersensible problems and spiritual traditions of origins. This is a fact that we have noticed personally and repeatedly, and it has not made us happy when we think of the level of many Italian circles, of that certain culture in our country on which the revolution of the Blackshirts has not had any influence, that culture which, even when it comes to our most sacred things, like the ancient Roman world, sticks to its always the same, positivistically ignorant knowledge, and which, wrapped in academic pretentiousness, belongs to the "enlightened" and rationalistic world of the past century.

However, if we want to avoid any partiality, we must nevertheless state that, as far as this spiritual attitude of the SS comes into consideration, we cannot always say the same thing about the principles that would be truly worthy of this name, although lively interest and a reasonable sensitivity are undeniable. For the reconstruction of the old traditional world, wrong mental points have been assumed all too often, through which the meaning of many thoughts was distorted and their scope limited, especially by a certain elite to draw political benefit considerations from them, as well as by the particularism of a certain racial-national attitude.

These observations are equally valid with regard to the various attempts of the new Germany to complete the N.S. worldview with its traditional and symbolic content of a higher order. But they must not lead to a hasty participation, because it is not easy to orient oneself in such a course of events, because one cannot destroy overnight the pernicious effects of an erroneous way of thinking and a false culture, which the occidental man has adopted for centuries. However, if the SS, which is not a group of intellectuals but a corps already firmly organized in the sense of an order supervising one of the most powerful renewing

European movements, will succeed in creating from its own ranks an elite capable indeed of realizing, with full awareness of the principles, the aspiration of returning to the origin, the significance of such a realization would be something very special. At the first stage of such a completion, we would indeed encounter forms of a spirituality and a civilization like that of the Ghibelline Middle Ages with its orders of chivalry, representing a synthesis between the Nordic-Germanic and the Roman elements.

The second stage would lead us to the general original Indo-European spirituality and its solar traditions, which is equal to the origin of all that can hold for us the value of a civilization in the higher sense, in our age, which can be for us the subject of history. From this it is easy to emphasize that an elite which would actually be capable of a realization of the kind would have a value not only for its own nation, but also for all other Aryan peoples who are fighting against the same enemy and account for the fact that this struggle cannot be decided until it is completed by an idea, by symbols and professions of order, which are basically metaphysical in themselves. While the Jewish-Communist press endeavors to portray the SS as a type of the GPU, we are inclined to think of the "Black Corps" as the guard of the swastika revolution, of the connoisseurs of the "Siegrunen", the "Runenblitz" and the skull symbolizing the oath of loyalty unto death, as the oath of an order in the higher sense of tradition; as a spiritual solidarity which could become supranational; we think of unity which could include tested and equally attuned groups of different nations, all renewing within themselves the great heroic and metaphysical views of Aryan and Nordic spirituality, and thus forming the front necessary for us when, as today and as in the near future, there is danger of the decisive struggle breaking out against the tide of dark forces bound to the symbols of the various internationals.