

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: PILLARS OF TRADITION

- 6 ***philosophical and spiritual school***: Traditionalists have included professors, philosophers, even royalty in Europe today. Not all are associated with the radical right. See, for example, Charles Upton, *Dugin Against Dugin: A Traditionalist Critique of the Fourth Political Theory* (Sophia Perennis, 2018). My focus here, as explained in the next sentence, is on those combining Traditionalism and far-right politics.
- 9 ***beyond fascism***: Mark Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). See also Elisabetta Cassini Wolff, “Evola’s Interpretation of Fascism and Moral Responsibility,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 50, no. 4–5 (2016): 478–94.
- 12 ***“the underlying principle”***: Julius Evola, *Metaphysics of War: Battle, Victory, and Death in the World of Tradition*, 3rd ed. (London: Arktos, 2011), 22.

CHAPTER 2: POLLYWOG GONE NATIVE

- 20 ***become a “shellback”***: These details come not from my interview, but from recollections of his fellow sailors. See Mark D. Faram, “Steve Bannon and the National Security Council: What We Can Learn from His Navy Career,” *Navy Times*, February 1, 2017.
- 22 ***many valid paths***: During one of our interviews, Steve struggled to respond when I asked him if he could ever have imagined himself becoming a Sufi: BT: “Could you have ever seen yourself practicing Sufism? Becoming a Sufi?” SB: “You, you, it . . . it, it depends, it depends on where your journey takes you. Are there people, I know people are, that have gone totally to the Vedanta, or gone totally to the— It, it depends on what’s your line of work, where your, where your journey takes you, right? And I don’t, I don’t um, um, before Christ, there was Christianity. Saint Augustine lays it out. Right, it’s, it’s— So look, for me, it’s being a Christian. And I can get very comfortable with that, and in learning from these other great religions,

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the process of understanding transcendence, and not just that, understanding being in the metanoia, and how these other practices help you in the, the, in, um, in perfecting your being, which to me is the journey.”

- 24 **cultural dissidents in white American society:** Thomas A. Tweed, *The American Encounter with Buddhism: 1844–1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). See also Philip Goldberg, *American Veda: From Emerson and the Beatles to Yoga and Meditation—How Indian Spirituality Changed the West* (New York: Harmony Books, 2013).
- 24 **Beat poet Gary Snyder famously wrote:** Gary Snyder, *Earth House Hold: Technical Notes & Queries to Fellow Dharma Revolutionaries* (New York: New Directions Books, 1969), 92.
- 25 **were a problem for leftists:** See Richard Hughes Seager, *Buddhism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

CHAPTER 3: THE JEDI MASTER

- 30 **a sign of phoniness:** David Von Drehle, “Steve Bannon Is a Swiss-Cheese Philosopher,” *Washington Post*, September 12, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/steve-bannon-is-a-swiss-cheese-philosopher/2017/09/12/3a45f43c-97e7-11e7-82e4-f1076f6d6152_story.html.
- 35 **“an adviser who hearkens back to Julius Evola”:** “Steve Bannon at DHI,” Soundcloud (BuzzFeed News), 2014. <https://soundcloud.com/buzzfeednews/steve-bannon-at-dhi>.

CHAPTER 4: KILLING TIME

- 42 **the hidden world of their own psyches:** See Natalya Tamruchi, “Bezumie kak oblast svobody,” *NLO 100* (2009), <http://magazines.russ.ru/nlo/2009/100/ta33-pr.html>.
- 42 **Third Reich uniforms and shout “Sieg Heil!”:** Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow: The Rise of Russia’s New Nationalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 2016.
- 43 **Arctic origin of the Aryans:** See Victor Shnirelman, “Hyperborea: The Arctic Myth of Contemporary Russian Radical Nationalists,” *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 8, no. 2 (2014): 121–38.
- 46 **between a liberal “Atlantic” and an opposing “Eurasia”:** These were ideas he adapted from German philosophers Carl Schmitt and Karl Haushofer, and British political theorist Halford Mackinder.
- 47 **“support isolationist tendencies in American politics”:** Translated in

- John B. Dunlop, "Aleksandr Dugin's Foundations of Geopolitics," *Demokratizatsiya* 12, no. 1 (2004).
- 47 **Dugin as a geopolitical expert:** Ibid. See also Stephen D. Shenfield, *Russian Fascism: Traditions, Tendencies, Movements* (London: Routledge, 2001), 199.
- 49 **a stream of other official meetings:** Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow*. See also Marlène Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008). See also Dugin's private Facebook page.
- 49 **a WikiLeaks release:** "PUTIN VISITS TURKEY: RUSSIA BIDS TO TURN TURKEY FROM WEST; TURKS KEEPING OPTIONS OPEN," WikiLeaks, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04ANKARA6887_a.html.
- 49 **rewrote the introduction:** "PUTIN VISIT TO TURKEY SEPTEMBER 2–3," WikiLeaks, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04ANKARA4887_a.html.
- 50 **a network of individuals:** Marlène Laruelle, "Alexander Dugin and Eurasianism." In ed. Mark Sedgwick, *Key Thinkers of the Radical Right: Behind the New Threat to Liberal Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 155–79.
- 50 **Eurasianist Youth Union members climbed Mount Hoverla:** "Gerbiamo' profesoriaus pasiūlymai: okupuoti Gruziją, padalyti Ukrainą, suvienyti buvusia," *Ekspertai*. <http://www.ekspertai.eu/gerbiamo-profesoriaus-pasiulymai-okupuoti-gruzija-padalinti-ukraina-suvienyti-buvusia-sssr/>.
- 51 **Separatist forces targeted:** Council of the European Union, Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, Brussels, September 30, 2009.
- 51 **"Tanks to Tbilisi!":** "No Compromise—Tanks to Tbilisi!" *Evrazia*, <http://evrazia.org/article.php?id=571#english>.
- 52 **spread throughout Russian media:** Anton Shekhovtsov, "Aleksandr Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism: The New Right à la Russe," *Religion Compass* 3, no. 4 (2009): 697–716.
- 52 **"like hell":** Peter Finn, "A Two-Sided Descent into Full-Scale War," *Washington Post*, August 17, 2008, https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/08/16/AR2008081600502_pf.html.

CHAPTER 5: SOLAR EUROPE

- 57 **Vona made a baffling reversal:** "Vona: Kész vagyok bocsánatot kérni a zsidóságtól és a cigányságtól," *ATV*, <http://www.atv.hu/belfold>

- /20170814-vona-kesz-vagyok-bocsanatot-kerni-a-zsidosagtol-es-a-ciganysagtol.
- 58 ***a hard-core Traditionalist***: He not only established the only Traditionalist church I've ever heard of in his hometown of Debrecen but also published books through a company called Kvintesszencia he founded in 1996. He would eventually publish translations of Dugin's work, too.
- 58 ***the distant past***: Marlène Laruelle et al., *Eurasianism and the European Far Right: Reshaping the Europe–Russia Relationship* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 191; Éva Mikos, "Ablonczy Balázs: Keletrre, magyar! A magyar turanizmus története. Jaffa Kiadó, Budapest, 2016," *Korall-Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat* 18 (2018): 201–206; Emel Akçalı and Umut Korkut, "Geographical Metanarratives in East-Central Europe: Neo-Turanism in Hungary," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 53, no. 5 (2012): 596–614.
- 59 ***unity between Greece and Russia***: Sonia Ephron, "Opinion: The Frightening Popularity of Golden Dawn's Anti-Semitism in Greece," *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 2014, <https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-ol-greece-elections-neo-nazi-golden-dawn-20140522-story.html>.
- 61 ***succeed in altering a society's culture***: The strategy of metapolitics has unlikely roots. It was brought into far-right activism by a Traditionalism-inspired ideological school called the French New Right, or Nouvelle Droite, who in turn adapted the idea from Sardinian neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci, who died in Mussolini's prisons. Gramsci was trying to understand why communist revolution hadn't come to pre-World War II Italy when all the economic conditions for it seemed to be in place. His conclusion? Italy's culture stood in the way. Average people might have been suffering in a system that stole from them the fruits of their labor, but the values they took as common sense dissuaded them from revolting. Here, contrary to what Karl Marx predicted, culture was a more powerful driver of social behavior than economics. See Benjamin Teitelbaum, *Lions of the North: Sounds of the New Nordic Radical Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- 62 ***pull targeted individuals out of the mainstream***: Christopher Wylie, *Mindf*ck: Cambridge Analytica and the Plot to Break America* (New York: Random House, 2019).
- 62 ***an organization called Leave.EU***: Peter Geoghegan, "Brexit Bankroller Arron Banks, Cambridge Analytica and Steve Bannon—Explosive Emails, Reveal Fresh Links," *Open Democracy*, November 17, 2018,

- <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/dark-money-investigations/brexit-bankroller-arron-banks-cambridge-analytica-and-steve-bannon-expl/>.
- 63 **channel money illegally:** Jamie Ross, “It’s Official: The Brexit Campaign Cheated Its Way to Victory,” *Daily Beast*, July 17, 2018, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/its-official-the-brexit-campaign-cheated-its-way-to-victory?ref=author>.
- 63 **key to the victory:** Joshua Green, *Devil’s Bargain* (New York: Penguin, 2017), 207.
- 63 **he would be arrested on sight:** Nick Thorpe, “Far Right Holds Secret Congress in Hungary,” *BBC News*, October 7, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29503378>.
- 64 **schools of this kind:** See, for example, “Lega, al via la Scuola di Formazione Politica. Siri: ‘Unici a puntare sulla competenza,’” *Il Populista*, <http://www.ilpopulista.it/news/27-Ottobre-2017/19903/lega-al-via-la-scuola-di-formazione-politica-siri-unici-a-puntare-sulla-competenza.html>.
- 66 **swing in his approval ratings:** Neil Buckley, “Orban’s Hard Line on Migrants Proves a Ratings Winner at Home,” *Financial Times*, September 20, 2015, <https://www.ft.com/content/248dc176-5f8e-11e5-9846-de406ccb37f2>.
- 66 **Hungarian language’s links to Finnish:** “Unkarin pääministeri: Kielisukulaisuus on tosiaasia,” *Turun Sanomat*, May 13, 2013, <https://www.ts.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/484810/Unkarin+paaministeri+Kielisukulaisuus+on+tosiasia>.
- 66 **buy armored vehicles from Turkey:** “Hungary first in EU to buy Turkish armored vehicle,” *Daily Sabah*, February 9, 2019, <https://www.dailysabah.com/defense/2019/09/02/hungary-first-in-eu-to-buy-turkish-armored-vehicle>.
- 67 **“spiritually sick Europe”:** “Gábor Vona, leader of Jobbik: ‘Hungary Is for Hungarians Until Our Final Breath!’” YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HqlraNaGipo>.
- 69 **the birth of multipolarity:** “Brexit: Europe Is Falling into the Abyss | Alexander Dugin,” *Fourth Revolutionary War*, June 27, 2016, <https://4threvolutionarywar.wordpress.com/2016/06/27/brexit-europe-is-falling-into-the-abyss-alexander-dugin/>. Transcript lightly edited.
- 70 **financial support from Putin’s government:** Anton Shekhovtsov, *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noire* (London: Routledge, 2017).

CHAPTER 6: THE METAPHYSICS OF THE PEASANTRY

- 75 ***Nadia Urbinati recently put it:*** Nadia Urbinati, “Political Theory of Populism,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 111–27.
- 86 ***“racially isolated communities”:*** Jonathan T. Rothwell and Pablo Diego-Rosell, “Explaining Nationalist Political Views: The Case of Donald Trump,” Gallup, November 2, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2822059>.

CHAPTER 7: STRANGLE THE TIGER

- 89 ***marvelously decorated soldiers:*** Evola presented this theory in 1935, in the article “Sulle forme dell’eroismo guerriero” in “Diorama mensile.” *Il Regime Fascista*.
- 90 ***“readjustment”:*** René Guénon, *Crisis of the Modern World*, rev. ed., trans. Marco Pallis et al. (Hillsdale, NY: Sophia Perennis, 2004).
- 91 ***strangle it and thereby find freedom:*** Julius Evola, *Ride the Tiger: A Survival Manual for the Aristocrats of the Soul*, trans. Joscelyn Godwin and Constance Fontana (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2003 [1961]). See also Paul Furlong, “Riding the Tiger: Crisis and Political Strategy in the Thought of Julius Evola,” *Italianist* 31, no. 1 (2011): 25–40; Elisabetta C. Wolff, “Apolitia and Tradition in Julius Evola as Reaction to Nihilism,” *European Review* 22, no. 2 (2014): 258–73.
- 92 ***“a future, formative action”:*** Evola, *Ride the Tiger*, 7.
- 93 ***the Movement:*** While Bannon was transitioning into the White House, on January 9, 2017, a Belgian lawyer named Mischaël Modrikamen founded the Movement. After exiting the White House later that same year, and thanks to intervention and introductions from Nigel Farage, Bannon would assume co-leadership of the Movement. See Nico Hines, “Inside Bannon’s Plan to Hijack Europe for the Far-Right,” *Daily Beast*, July 20, 2018, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/inside-bannons-plan-to-hijack-europe-for-the-far-right>.
- 94 ***Steve wanted to participate:*** Indeed, Marion Maréchal—granddaughter of National Rally founder Jean-Marie Le Pen and niece of party leader Marine Le Pen—was opening the Institute for Social, Economic, and Political Sciences (ISSEP) in Lyon, France, that same year, with an unorthodox curriculum blending training in business, politics, sports, ballroom dancing, and wilderness survival skills. See “Le Pen’s Niece Opens Grad School to Train New Generation of Far-Right Leaders,” *Public Radio International*, January 4, 2019, <https://www.pri.org/stories/2019-01-04/le-pen-s-niece-opens-grad-school-train-new-generation-french-far-right-leaders>.

- 94 ***\$1 million annually***: Jonathan Swan and Erica Pandey, “Exclusive: Steve Bannon’s \$1 Million Deal Linked to a Chinese Billionaire,” *Axios*, October 29, 2019, <https://www.axios.com/steve-bannon-contract-chinese-billionaire-guo-media-fa6bc244-6d7a-4a53-9f03-1296d4fae5aa.html>.
- 94 ***“un-Christian”***: Daniel Burke, “Pope Suggests Trump ‘Is Not Christian,’” *CNN*, February 18, 2016, <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/02/18/politics/pope-francis-trump-christian-wall/>. At this time Bannon was already partnering with anti-pope Cardinal Raymond Burke (though their partnership would eventually implode) on ways to cause scandals and weaken papal powers. For Bannon, this would ultimately include pursuing plans to make a film based on a book by leftist French journalist Frédéric Martel, titled *In the Closet of the Vatican: Power, Homosexuality, Hypocrisy*, with the hopes of dealing a death-blow to a besieged Catholic establishment who in Bannon’s mind embodied a toxic brew of progressivism and sexual evils.
- 95 ***secure Russian funding***: Alberto Nardelli, “Revealed: The Explosive Secret Recording That Shows How Russia Tried to Funnel Millions to the ‘European Trump,’” *BuzzFeed*, July 10, 2019, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/albertonardelli/salvini-russia-oil-deal-secret-recording>.
- 95 ***met with Aleksandr Dugin in 2016***: “Italy, EU and Trump,” *KATEHON*, November 24, 2016, <https://katehon.com/article/italy-eu-and-trump>.
- 95 ***“Russians are white”***: Quoted in John Lukacs, *A History of the Cold War* (New York: Doubleday, 1961), 268.
- 96 ***“a fan of his writing”***: Author James Heiser likely brought Dugin to Bannon’s attention in 2014. After Heiser published a critical book on the Russian thinker, he wrote summary articles for *National Review* and *Breitbart*. Shortly thereafter, in 2014, Bannon asked to interview Heiser on his *Breitbart* radio program. Heiser later told me that Bannon’s statements during their interview suggested he had little knowledge of Dugin at the time. Given the generally uninformed nature of Bannon’s commentary on Evola in the Vatican speech that followed, and given the fact that Bannon later became interested in both Heidegger and Evola, I and others suspect that he learned of Evola and Arktos after having been exposed to Dugin via Heiser. For more on Heiser’s commentary on Dugin, see James D. Heiser, *“The American Empire Should Be Destroyed”: Alexander Dugin and the Perils of Immanentized Eschatology* (Malone, TX: Repristination Press, 2014).

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CHAPTER 8: THE RACE OF THE SPIRIT

- 101 ***the historical extent of the Indo-European languages***: See Stefan Arvidsson, *Aryan Idols: Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science*, trans. Sonia Wichmann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
- 103 ***could live on while bodies die***: This point was made by Evola admirer and white nationalist Tomislav Sunic in “Julius Evola on Race,” *Occidental Observer*, May 1, 2010, <https://www.theoccidentalobserver.net/2010/05/01/sunic-evola-on-race/>.
- 104 ***mysticism into their sense of race***: For more on mysticism, Evola, and conceptions of race in the Third Reich, see Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the Politics of Identity* (New York: NYU Press, 2003).
- 104 ***recommended he be marginalized***: H. T. Hansen, “A Short Introduction to Julius Evola,” in *Revolt Against the Modern World: Politics, Religion, and Social Order in the Kali Yuga* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 1995).

CHAPTER 9: THE MAN AGAINST TIME

- 109 ***“destroy all of today’s establishment”***: “Steve Bannon, Trump’s Top Guy, Told Me He Was ‘A Leninist,’” *Daily Beast*, <https://www.the-dailybeast.com/steve-bannon-trumps-top-guy-told-me-he-was-a-leninist?source=twitter&via=desktop>.
- 110 ***called The Fourth Turning***: William Strauss and Neil Howe, *The Fourth Turning: What the Cycles of History Tell Us About America’s Next Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1997).
- 112 ***private school of their choice***: “Opinion: DeVos: Families Don’t Need DPS Retread,” *Detroit News*, February 22, 2016, <https://www.detroitnews.com/story/opinion/2016/02/22/devos-families-need-dps-retread/80788340/>.
- 113 ***“little safe territory”***: “Dick and Betsy DeVos at The Gathering 2001,” YouTube, February 23, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qJYFPMLuVRE>.
- 113 ***“advocate against the EPA’s activist agenda”***: Scott Detrow, “Scott Pruitt Confirmed to Lead Environmental Protection Agency,” February 17, 2017, <https://www.npr.org/2017/02/17/515802629/scott-pruitt-confirmed-to-lead-environmental-protection-agency>.
- 114 ***cut billions in foreign aid***: Dexter Filkins, “Rex Tillerson at the Breaking Point,” *The New Yorker*, October 6, 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/10/16/rex-tillerson-at-the-breaking-point>.

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- 115 **“would like to get rid of it”**: “Rep. Mick Mulvaney: CFPB ‘Sick, Sad Joke,’” September 10, 2014, YouTube.com.
- 116 **calls palingenesis**: Griffin argues that it is the fundamental distinguishing ideological characteristic of fascism. See Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London: Routledge, 1993).
- 116 **expression of nostalgia**: The phrase could be seen as an example of what the late Harvard scholar Svetlana Boym described as “restorative nostalgia.” See Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2008).
- 116 **“those who came before us”**: He referenced Edmund Burke when making this case.
- 120 **so fast they can’t focus**: See also “Zero Tolerance: Steve Bannon Interview | FRONTLINE,” PBS, 2019, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/interview/steve-bannon-2/>.
- 121 **the influence of Guénon and Evola**: Her explicit references to these Traditionalists appear in her book: Savitri Devi, *Souvenirs et réflexions d’une Aryenne* (N.P.: Éditions Contre le Temps, 1976). Note that these weren’t the only factors making Savitri Devi an exceptional case. She is one of the only women I know to call herself a Traditionalist. Far-right nationalism has long valorized women, often through viewing them as vessels of antique national essence shielded from modernity thanks to their historical underrepresentation in cosmopolitanism, commerce, and formal education. Traditionalism, however, seldom includes such romanticizations. The ideology that, following Evola, theorized the subordination of women and femininity—which dismissed much feminism as a ploy to dissolve identity via the eradication of gender—had few female takers. That is not to say that Devi is the lone Traditionalist woman. During the 1980s an all-women group of Traditionalists formed in Oxford, England, under the name Aristasia. See Mark Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 216–19.
- 121 **“exterminators without ideologies”**: Savitri Devi, *The Lightning and the Sun* (Calcutta: Temple Press, 1958), 41.
- 122 **“Age of Truth”**: *Ibid.*, 48.

CHAPTER 10: ESOTERIC GATHERINGS

- 126 **his acceptance speech**: “Bolsonaro’s Victory Speech with subtitles in English,” YouTube, October 29, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=blyxwdG8dBo>. I have edited this translation of the speech.

- 127 ***He had met with Eduardo Bolsonaro:*** “Steve Bannon Endorses Far-Right Brazilian Presidential Candidate,” Reuters, October 26, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-election-bannon/steve-bannon-endorses-far-right-brazilian-presidential-candidate-idUSKCN1N01S1>.
- 127 ***advising the Bolsonaro election campaign:*** “Brazil: Steve Bannon to Advise Bolsonaro Presidential Campaign,” Telesur, August 15, 2018, <https://www.telesurenglish.net/news/Brazil-Steve-Bannon-to-Advise-Bolsonaro-Presidential-Campaign-20180815-0003.html>.
- 129 ***occultist magazine Planète:*** This magazine was founded by Louis Pauwels, who later collaborated with Alain de Benoist of the French New Right.
- 130 ***the man next to it wearing a horned headdress:*** For his commentary on the symbolism of the dance, see Frithjof Schuon, *The Play of Masks* (Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 1992).
- 131 ***Sun Dance of the Sioux:*** Some Native Americans looked upon Schuon’s use of their clothing and ritual as an embarrassing reminder of their need to safeguard their traditions. See the article by Avis Little Eagle in the *Lakota Times*, July 1992.
- 131 ***circular dbikr dances of the Sufis:*** Hugh B. Urban, “A Dance of Masks: The Esoteric Ethics of Frithjof Schuon,” in eds. G. William Barnard and Jeffrey J. Kripal, *Crossing Boundaries: Essays on the Ethical Status of Mysticism* (New York: Seven Bridges, 2002).
- 132 ***brainwashing, extortion, and abuse:*** For an excellent academic treatment of power dynamics in these and similar settings, see Elizabeth Puttick, “Sexuality, Gender and the Abuse of Power in the Master-Disciple Relationship: The Case of the Rajneesh Movement,” *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 10, no. 1 (1995): 29–40.
- 132 ***they could claim followers:*** Mark Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 133 ***“institutional” qualities:*** I rely on Urban, “A Dance of Masks,” for this information.
- 133 ***“black,” and “yellow” races:*** Frithjof Schuon, *Language of the Self*, trans. Margo Pallis and Macleod Matheson (Madras: Vasanta Press, 1959). It should be noted that a significant portion of Schuon’s followers viewed his as a message of universalism, one reinforcing tolerance and openness rather than any form of hierarchy and sectarianism. In doing so, however, they overlook the thinker’s complexity in general and the presence of contradictory signals in particular. See Gregory A.

- Lipton, “De-Semitizing Ibn ‘Arabi: Aryanism and the Schuonian Discourse of Religious Authenticity,” *Numen* 64, no. 2–3 (2017): 258–93; James S. Cutsinger, “Introduction,” in ed. and trans. James S. Cutsinger, *Splendor of the True: A Frithjof Schuon Reader* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013).
- 135 ***a tip from a friend***: Whom Olavo told me was Greek author-musician Marco Pallis.
- 135 ***Lima, Peru***: One of Lings’s visits to the area is documented by Mateus Soares de Azevedo in “Special Section: Tributes to Dr. Martin Lings (1909–2005),” *Sacred Web* 15 (2005).
- 136 ***a saint of first magnitude***: “Martin Lings speaks of his impressions on first meeting Frithjof Schuon,” YouTube, August 5, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MB1w305x-hw>.
- 136 ***knowledge that has been rejected***: For a discussion of the academic definitions of esotericism, see Michael Bergunder, “What Is Esotericism? Cultural Studies Approaches and the Problems of Definition in Religious Studies,” *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 22, no. 1 (2010): 9–36.
- 137 ***Primordial Gathering***: Some accounts treat the Primordial Gathering and the Sun Dance as the same event, but I have additional indication based on off-the-record conversations with witnesses that these were two separate occurrences.
- 138 ***her celestial prototype***: Frithjof Schuon, *Gnosis, Divine Wisdom* (Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 1957), 54.
- 138 ***be naked like her baby***: Frithjof Schuon, *Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen*. N.p.: n.p. (1974), 295.
- 138 ***to the celestial state***: “Frithjof Schuon’s interest in the Plains Indians,” World Wisdom, <http://www.worldwisdom.com/public/slide-shows/view.aspx?SlideShowID=44&SlideDetailID=403>.
- 138 ***age of the other participants***: Writing about this episode in Frithjof Schuon’s life is exceptionally complicated and ethically fraught. He was accused of child molestation and indicted by an Indiana grand jury in the early 1990s for actions allegedly taken during these rituals. The case was eventually dropped for lack of evidence. Many of Schuon’s followers noted that the most vocal public accuser was a former initiate named Mark Koslow, who held considerable animus toward Schuon over a separate matter and detailed his accusations in a memoir. Some of the same followers have also threatened, by legal means and otherwise, authors and scholars who have written about this history and endorsed the notion of Schuon’s culpability. Mean-

while, the correspondence of ideological and social infrastructure for such encounters to have taken place in the community seems apparent to many commentators, including me. Authors have thus had to face the prospect of either contributing to a false accusation or inadvertently providing cover for the horror of sexual abuse. This footnote is my attempt at a balance.

CHAPTER 11: LET US TRANSCEND MODERNITY

- 143 ***“Unmodern thinkers gathering”***: “Omoderna tänkare samlas i Stockholm,” *Friatider*, July 27, 2012, <https://www.friatider.se/omoderna-tankare-samlas-i-stockholm>.
- 144 ***Center for Conservative Studies***: Information on his curriculum at the time can be found at Aleksandr Dugin, “Biography,” <http://dugin.ru/biography>.
- 144 ***guest on Iranian state media***: Reza HaghghatNehad, “Putin’s Brain, the Darling of Iranian Hardliners,” *Track Persia*, <http://www.trackpersia.com/putins-brain-darling-irans-hardliners/>.
- 144 ***Sergey Naryshkin***: Christoph Laug, “Prominent Right-Wing Figures in Russia,” *Russian Analytical Digest* 135 (August 5, 2013), <https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-security-studies/pdfs/RAD-135-6-9.pdf>.
- 145 ***“All that is anti-liberal is good”***: “Alexander Dugin (Introduction by Mark Sleboda) Identitär Idé 4 / Identitarian Ideas 4,” YouTube, September 14, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7X-o_ndhSVA. Note that I lightly edit Dugin’s English throughout these quotations, as I do in my interview with him.
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