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Ernst Jünger and Storms of Steel

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HALLEY'S COMET IS the only known, short-period, naked-eye comet that humans can possibly observe twice in a lifetime. Ernst Jünger witnessed this celestial wonder in 1910 and then in 1986. He marched off to war in 1914 and lived long enough to see Germany reunified, passing on in 1998, a celebrated centenarian. In this chapter I outline the main turning points in Jünger's long life and track his intellectual development. As a young man he was recognized as a leading figure of the nationalist Right in Germany on the basis of his war diaries and journalistic efforts, but his authorial talents were broader and more profound. His importance lies in the evolution from young radical to an acute observer of Germany's cataclysmic rise and fall under National Socialism, and then his role in the Federal Republic of Germany as a sophisticated voice of classical European conservatism, a sage, and critic of technological modernity.

Early life

Jünger was born 1895 in Heidelberg, the oldest of six children, two of whom did not survive infancy. Of his siblings, he was closest to his younger brother Friedrich-Georg, born in 1898. From his father, Ernst Georg, a chemist, he inherited the sharp analytical skills of a scientist, and from his mother, Karoline Lampl, artistic capacities and an eye for natural beauty.[1] He combined both these artistic and scientific capacities in his writing by developing a penchant for the stereoscopic gaze, whereby a

third dimension is added to the normal vision of the left and right eye, a magical and synesthetic quality which he claims takes our understanding deeper into the observable phenomenon. A velvet carnation that emits the fragrance of cinnamon is stereoscopic, for example, because the nose both smells and tastes the qualities of spice simultaneously.[2] One sense organ has to take over the function of another. Jünger may have physically experienced synesthesia, or at least he was able to simulate the ability of having one sense organ take over the function of another in his literary opus.

In his youth Jünger's family moved from place to place, partly in search of a good school for Ernst, who daydreamed too much and got poor grades. In 1913, he struck out for his first genuine adventure. He diverted money given to him to pay for half a year's food at school, boarded a train to Verdun, then to Marseilles, where he lied about his age and joined the French Foreign Legion. His father arranged for his release through the German Foreign Office, instructing the boy to have a photograph taken before leaving.

The First World War

On his return, the young man was promised a trip to Kilimanjaro if he finished school. This plan was interrupted the following year by the guns of August. He finished an emergency high-school degree, volunteered for service, and arrived at the Western Front by December. He quickly earned a reputation as a daring storm trooper. After suffering fourteen battle wounds, he received the Pour le Mérite on September 22, 1918, the highest honor awarded by the Prussian military, rarely given to soldiers of his tender age, or to the infantry, for that matter.

The First World War was the single most defining experience of Jünger's life. He carried a slim notebook with him at all times in battle, sixteen of which he filled with impressions and observations. At the urging of his father, he assembled these notes into a war memoir, titled *In Stahlgewittern*, literally *In Storms of Steel* but better known in English as *Storm of Steel*. This was first self-published in 1920, and then in several heavily revised new editions over the next decade (he even made revisions as late as 1961). The book was influenced by school books of that era, above all Homer and Dante, but also by Nietzsche. Educated German soldiers more often carried *Thus Spake Zarathustra* than the Bible into battle during World War I.[3]

Storm of Steel provided a graphic yet accurate account of the experience of war, which Jünger presented in a heroic and masculine style. By contrast, other war memoirs of that era were often romantic and internally homoerotic, such as *The Wanderer in Two Worlds* by Walter Flex, or pacifist and humanist, like Remarque's best seller from the end of the 1920s, *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Jünger's book and a series of postwar essays such as the "Battle as Inner Experience" (1922) and "Fire and Blood" (1925) transformed the young soldier into a recognized leader of the "New Nationalists," veterans who were intent on bringing their war experiences to bear on the heady politics of the fledgling Weimar Republic. These writers inflated war memories into mythic proportions to justify the enormous loss of life on the battlefields and to create a nationalist and collectively utopian narrative as an alternative to the unpopular republic, which was founded on liberal-democratic principles. Jünger described the experience of battle with astounding clarity, but not without expressionist pathos. In his view, war brings men back into a natural, unchanging order, subject to elementary forces that reveal the primordial violent rhythms of life below the thin veneer of civilization. Some modern critics, such as Klaus Theweleit, have accused Jünger of thus legitimizing the embrace of death and destruction by means of a Fascist literary imagination.[4]

The interwar period

Jünger remained in the *Reichswehr* until 1923 when he left, disillusioned with the empty socializing and alcoholic excesses of his fraternizing officers. He enrolled in the natural sciences in Leipzig for the winter semester of 1923. There he joined the illegal paramilitary *Freikorps* and the legal Veterans' group *Stahlhelm* and began writing for various nationalist newspapers. The years from 1923 to 1927 mark the high point of Jünger's engagement with the young intellectuals whom Armin Mohler later identified as proponents of a "Conservative Revolution" in Germany.[5]

In his 1950 book *The Conservative Revolution in Germany 1918–1932*, Mohler attempted to establish a common identity between many different kinds of writers and thinkers, from fairly obscure and now-forgotten journalists of the Weimar era to highly original thinkers who did not necessarily act or think in concert with one another, such as Carl Schmitt, Martin Heidegger, Julius Evola, Oswald Spengler, Thomas Mann, and Hans Freyer. To add to the somewhat artificial nature of the "revolutionary"

designation, Mohler included "father figures" from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

For Mohler, a common theme that characterized the Conservative Revolution was to pit the "ideas of 1914" against the "ideas of 1789." For Jünger's circle, the "ideas" of the 1914–18 war meant an emancipation from liberal civilization and a return to the organic *Volk* (ethnic) community. The war had signaled the death knell for the nineteenth-century belief in progress. These young firebrands did not accept the old conservative desire to uphold the moral and judicial fundamentals of the state. They wanted instead to establish a charismatic base for politics outside democratic institutions and looked for a figure like Louis Napoleon, whose appeal went beyond warring factions, classes, and parties. A social Darwinian influence allowed them to view world politics as a fight for existence in which a national collective either triumphed or was destroyed.[6] Their critique of parliamentary political systems follows in many ways the path laid out by Carl Schmitt in his seminal 1923 essay "The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy."[7]

Jünger married Gretha von Jeinsen in 1925 and moved to Berlin with their infant son in 1927. He continued to engage in political journalism but moved increasingly away from the fixation on war and nationalism of his Leipzig years. In the new editions of *Storm of Steel,* for example, he removed the opening epigraph "Germany Lives and Germany shall not Perish."[8] His artistic eye shifted to the bustling metropolis whose vitality and energy were on display around the clock. In Berlin he wrote *The Adventurous Heart*, notes written down by "day and night." The first edition, published in 1928, and the second, very different version of 1938 has been called "surrealist," but the approach was only loosely connected with André Breton's famous movement of the same period. Karl-Heinz Bohrer has memorably labeled Jünger's style an "aesthetics of shock," since this book contained a phantasmagoria of scientific and poetic vignettes, a collage of wild associations and ghostly images that recalled the war-inspired art of surrealist and expressionist painters.[9] The method was stereoscopic, a journey into magical sub-realms below everyday existence. A key term Jünger borrowed from the French was *désinvolture*, the casual and innocent observation of reality from a distance (as in Nietzsche's *Unschuld der Werdens*).[10]

As the National Socialists began their final ascent to power after winning 107 seats in the Reichstag in the elections of September 1930, Jünger distanced himself from the Nazi Party while advocating his own, in some

ways more radical, version of the nationalist revolution: authoritarian and ruthless, but not racist. He rejected the Nazi fixation with blood and soil. In 1927 he refused to accept an offer from Hitler of a seat in the Reichstag. When the Nazis published excerpts from *Storm of Steel* without permission, he forbade any further use of his writings.[11] The one expressly anti-Semitic tirade that came from his pen during this period was phrased in cultural terms: the *Gestalt* (form or contours) of Germans and Jews were as separate as "oil and water."[12]

During his last two years in Berlin he published two "proto-Fascist" works, *The Total Mobilization* (*Die totale Mobilmachung*) and *The Worker* (*Der Arbeiter*), both odd mixtures of social analysis, political polemic, and cultural pessimism. These books are often taken as evidence of Jünger's role as a "pathbreaker" for National Socialism, but in fact, the Nazis used the title of the former solely as a powerful slogan, disregarding its contents, and rejected the esoteric metaphysics of the latter. Jünger's vision of a brave new world, set forth in steel-cold prose in *The Worker*, was uncompromising but also too global to be of use to the racially obsessed Nazi ideologues. Even worse, the Nazi ideologues took his ideas as heretical. Thilo von Trotha, a personal assistant to the Nazi chief ideologue Alfred Rosenberg, wrote in the party newspaper, just after *The Worker* appeared in print, that Jünger was "entering the zone of the head shot" since his work lacked any sense of racial biology and sacrificed the nationalist for a planetary perspective.[13]

The Third Reich

The threat from Trotha was not idle. The Gestapo searched Jünger's apartment in early 1933, and Jünger began burning papers and letters from the previous decade. He now entered a period of "inner emigration," remaining in Germany and continuing to publish, but studiously avoiding the language that characterized writers who ingratiated themselves with the new regime. In November 1933 he rejected membership in the Nazi-aligned Prussian Academy of the Arts. In 1934 he published *Leaves and Stones* (*Blätter und Steine*), a collection of his essays on language, travel, and philosophical topics that offered a stark contrast to the daily reality of the Third Reich as Hitler's popularity soared to unprecedented heights.

In 1939 he published *The Marble Cliffs* (*Die Marmorklippen*), which has gone down in the history of the Third Reich as a subtle novel of opposition, but the fact that it received the official imprimatur of the regime

shows how successfully the writer was able to camouflage the tale, wrapped in an allegory. On the surface the fable tells of a peaceful agricultural people living contentedly on the shores of a large bay; they are increasingly threatened by primitive nomads from the hinterland and by the followers of an unscrupulous tyrant named the Head Ranger, whose thugs torture their enemies in a spooky camp called Köppelsbleek. The site is surrounded by the skulls and flayed skins of the victims. At the end of the novel, the Head Ranger conquers and destroys the entire lake area, while the two protagonists, modeled after Ernst himself and his father, Friedrich-Georg Jünger, are forced to flee. Jünger resisted the tendency to view the novel as an allegory about concentration camps and totalitarianism (the Head Ranger had similarities to Goering, who was in fact the "Imperial Forest Ranger" of Nazi Germany), since the fictional tyrant could have represented Stalin, Franco, Hitler, or any dictator of that era. Despite the framing of the story in the gothic horror style, many readers in the 1940s, both in and outside of Germany, interpreted the novel as an aristocratic and conservative critique of National Socialism.

Soon after the war broke out in 1939, Jünger enlisted as a lieutenant and was promoted to captain. His troops were stationed first at the West Wall by the Maginot Line. Then came a lucky break—in April 1941 his regiment was ordered to occupied Paris. The Germans allowed the French to administer the metropolis, under supervision, so Jünger found himself in the enviable position of enjoying the charms of the City of Light in a position of near casual authority. He was even permitted to stroll through the streets and markets in civilian clothing. His official job was to censor the mail, but he was also surreptitiously to write reports for his superiors about internal conflicts between the German Army and the Nazi Party, in particular the SS, the SD, the embassy, and the Gestapo, all of which operated their own surveillance systems in Paris. He found an admirer in the aristocratic General Otto von Stülpnagel, and then a distant cousin of the general, Carl Heinrich von Stülpnagel, who succeeded Otto in February 1942. Through the latter, Jünger came into contact with officers involved in a conspiracy to overthrow Hitler, centered around the legendary General Erwin Rommel.[14] After the failed Stauffenberg plot of July 20, 1944, the SS made a sweep of the military command in Paris, but Jünger had kept enough distance from the plotters to avoid arrest. As Jean Cocteau (who socialized with Jünger in Paris) once wittily observed, under the occupation "some people had dirty hands, some people had clean hands, but Jünger had no hands."[15]

Jünger's eldest son, his namesake Ernst, was killed in November 1944 in the marble cliffs of Cararra, Italy. Ernst Jr. had expressed sentiments hostile to the regime and was denounced and arrested in January 1944. Jünger Sr. received permission to leave Paris in February and met with the authorities in Berlin, displaying his Pour le Mérite insignia ostentatiously across his chest. His son was allowed to return to military service but given a dangerous assignment in the Italian mountains. Jünger was never sure if his son had been shot by the enemy or murdered by the SS.[16] His war diaries of the Second World War are written with cold, emotionless precision, except for the entries about his son's death, which reflected the deep and enduring pain he felt all his life at the loss of his eldest son.

In France, Jünger secretly kept notes that formed the basis for his later published war memoirs *Emanations* (*Strahlungen*). These war diaries offer a unique perspective from "inside the Belly of the Leviathan," as Jünger described his role in the Third Reich. Some critics have accused the writer of posing as a *flâneur* and dandy while others suffered. In one infamous scene, Jünger climbed up to the roof of the Hotel Raphael and, holding a glass of burgundy, observed a night bombing raid on Paris, as "its red towers and spires lay in stupendous beauty, like petals blown over in an act of deadly fertilization."[17] Whatever moral judgment one wishes to make about these aesthetics of violence, the diaries are indispensable as first-hand accounts of Paris under the German occupation and provide sharply observed portraits of Jünger's contemporaries as they struggled with the apocalyptic destruction of Germany and during the first years of its own, later, occupation.

The postwar period

The Paris Diaries from 1941 to early 1944 read like entries in the log of a sinking ship. The sections written after the summer of 1944 project the stark mood of a shipwreck. Messages in a bottle washed up on his shore as he gradually received news about friends, acquaintances, and relatives. Some alive, others barely alive after brutal treatment by the Russians in the eastern zone, others dead by fate or their own hand.

On July 21, 1945, Jünger wrote in his diary, "The Conservative mind aims to conserve, even conserve his enemy, that is part of his natural inclination."[18] This observation, written with bitterness, sums up the attitude of a writer entering a kind of second inner emigration. The British, he notes, share a fundamental misunderstanding of

the German situation since 1918. "Unconditional surrender is the flip side of total war," he notes, by inference comparing Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt to Goebbels.[19] He compares anti-German sentiments to anti-Semitism."[20]

Jünger travels through different dream worlds in these pages, actual dreams, images, and ideas from books, and mental journeys into the past. The trauma of the immediate past preoccupied him. In a series of arresting reflections on Hitler, he observed that he himself, like many in Germany, underestimated the demonic power that lifted the little nationalist drummer to the heights of power and then self-destruction. Hitler was a "moon character," who could reflect back to the German people their fears and desires in a way that the other Weimar politicians were incapable of.[21] It is striking that he goes to great lengths to dissect the personalities of some leading Nazis, in particular Heinrich Himmler and Josef Goebbels, but says relatively little about the Holocaust. When he does, relativizing comparisons are offered, for example between the treatment of German Sudeten refugees to the tragic fate of the Jews in Germany,[22] or examples of persecution from the Old Testament.[23] On the other hand, he develops, around a decade and half before Hannah Arendt made the idea famous, the notion that some leading Nazis were extraordinarily mundane. Himmler was characterized by "penetrating bourgeois characteristics," he observes, and "evil in the modern world shows up in the ordinary actions of a bureaucrat behind a desk."[24]

Politics make up only a fraction of these postwar diaries. Jünger often describes long walks in the moorlands around Kirchhorst, noting the changing seasons, discussing philosophy, quoting passages from esoteric books. He dwells on the daily hardships of the Germans under occupation, the cold winters, the scavenging for food and basic necessities. In the end these are the reflections of a solitary man living in a world from which he feels both alienated and simultaneously deeply attached.

Jünger hoped to make a comeback in the postwar period, despite having been placed on a literary blacklist, and despite his physical remoteness from German cultural life. He had to face a number of obstacles. The reading public, especially youth, hungered for authors who were banned under National Socialism, especially American authors like Hemingway and Thomas Wolfe. Sartre and the French Existentialists were starting their conquest of intellectual life across Western Europe. Jünger had kept another work in his secret vault during the war: a long essay which he hoped would provide a vision for a peaceful postwar Europe that

would put him back on the cultural map. He titled it simply *The Peace* (*Der Friede*).

Jünger viewed his own nationalist writings from the 1920s as his "Old Testament," and works like *The Peace* as part of his new evangelical spirit.[25] They fit together: *The Total Mobilization* was just the flip side of *The Peace*, he wrote to Armin Mohler in 1947.[26] He argued that in the wake of the two disastrous world wars, Europe's future lay in overcoming nationalism through organic unity and integration. These ideas were fairly common after 1945, but Jünger's conservative contribution was first to appeal to a return to Christianity as a solution to Europe's problems, and second, quite contentiously, to relativize the question of war guilt, a topic widely discussed in public in this period by eminent figures such as the philosopher Karl Jaspers, the theologian Martin Niemöller, and the psychologist Carl Jung. Jünger objected to laying blame on any one side or nation. This was an outlier position in the debates about German guilt, and *The Peace* did not play a major role in the public discourse. In the larger context, Jünger's theological turn after 1945 was an outsider position as well, or it could have been viewed as part of the deradicalization of European conservatism,[27] since the radical Right in Europe after the war was trending in an anti-Christian direction.

Jünger held high hopes for a major novel he had been working on in those years. *Heliopolis* is a dystopian work about a power struggle between plebeians and an old aristocracy. In many ways it was a roman à clef about the period of National Socialism as seen from occupied Paris by using obscure designations to refer to historical figures and events. The novel contains many theological diversions, a result of an intense reading of the Bible that Jünger had begun in occupied Paris. The reception of *Heliopolis* was disappointing. Even his friend Carl Schmitt, writing in his diary in 1950, displayed irritation with Jünger's apparent religiosity and his proclivity to mask history with "pseudo-mythological" descriptions.[28]

In 1950 Jünger moved one last time. He was offered an eighteenth-century baroque villa by Freiherr Schenk zu Stauffenberg, a distant relative of the coup plotter against Hitler. The new home was in the small village of Wilflingen in Upper Swabia, a few kilometers from the nearest train station and post office. Jünger became the famous recluse of Wilflingen, where he would live out the many years left in his long life.

In hindsight, Jünger's turn to theology in the late 1940s misled his readers. He could best be described in religious terms as a neopagan, who considered Christianity just one interesting variant of Neoplatonism

(though at the end of his life he did convert from Protestantism, his religion at birth, to Catholicism). A little-read novel from 1953, *Visit to Godenholm* (*Besuch auf Godenholm*), signaled his interest in mind-expanding drugs, esoterica, and mystery religions, which would remained a lifelong passion and made him a cult author in the psychedelic 1960s. The novel was written under the influence of LSD, which Jünger had imbibed under medical supervision with the drug's inventor, Albert Hoffman, in a visit to Bottmingen, Switzerland, in February 1951.[29] Jünger's project was to recover the truths embedded in both past religions and metaphysics, which amounted to a rebuke of the positivist and materialist spirit of the postwar rebuilding period.

The early 1950s saw a series of works from Jünger's pen that expanded on this antimodernist tendency. In 1950 he published an essay called "Over the Line" ("Über die Linie"), dedicated to Martin Heidegger on his sixtieth birthday, in which he echoes Heidegger's concerns about technology. As the economic boom was taking off in Germany, Jünger viewed feverish production by despiritualized workers and the increasing specialization of the human and natural sciences as signs of an ever-diminishing ability to grasp the totality of life as proof of the growing nihilism of the age.[30] In 1951 he published *The Forest Passage* (*Der Waldgang*), which amounts to instructions for passive resistance to the modern condition. The individual walks in a metaphorical forest, taking her own path, to escape domination by the forces of technology, the omnipresent Leviathan state, and the banality of modern culture. Religion, counter-Enlightenment thought, and myth are all put in the service of subverting the corrosive effects of instrumental rationality, which, he claims, undergirds all modern totalitarian forms of government.[31]

Although Jünger could appear as a conservative defender of the West—for example in *The Gordian Knot* (*Der gordische Knoten*) from 1953, which pits the freedom of the West against the despotism of the East,[32] and even supporting a "World State" (the title of another essay from 1960)—his political writing always contained a consistent strain of antidemocratic suspicion. A good example is a little-known essay he wrote in 1956 about the eighteenth-century French writer Rivarol, a defender of the monarchy and a fervent critic of the French Revolution.[33] Jünger identified with Rivarol's rebellion against French society and viewed himself in a similar position of revolt against the imposed laws of the occupying posers in postwar Germany.

On March 29, 1965, Jünger turned seventy. He began a new set of diaries, which he maintained until the last days of his life. He observed the world from a distance, as a naturalist would view insects (he was a respected amateur entomologist). The day after the Berlin Wall fell he casually remarks that he expected Germany to reunify, just not in his lifetime. Nothing more is said about European politics in his diary for the rest of the autumn of 1989, a revolutionary period during which the world held its breath as communism fell in state after state.[34]

In his old age Jünger saw his time increasingly through a posthistorical lens. For the European Right after World War II, thinkers such as Martin Heidegger, Arnold Gehlen, Carl Schmitt, and others, in various versions of the same idea, postulated that the postwar world would be characterized by the decline of Europe as a world power and the rise to dominance of technological systems that would expand to the entire globe.[35] The "end of history" implied that after the demise of European culture, intellectuals could only take stock of what had been handed down.

Jünger captured this mood in his 1949 introduction to the war journals, in which he postulated that the Copernican quest for ordering the cosmos, and the diary as a modern literary form, fall together chronologically. They have in common "the bifurcation of mind from object, the author from the world."[36] The First World War marked the end of history, because it represented the demise of heroic action in a pretechnological sense. The end of history, he once said, can be equated with the end of the aristocratic order.[37]

In his own science fiction novel, *Eumeswil* from 1977, posthistorical themes are omnipresent. The protagonist is a young historian, Michael Venator, who operates computers with databanks full of sources on the history of past civilizations, and through a kind of virtual reality can transport himself back in time. The protagonist projects medieval aristocratic values and Faustian personal perseverance in the face of defeat.

Later reception

In October 1982 the conservative Christian Democratic Party came to power under Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The end of the social democratic era was viewed as a turn (*Wende*) toward soft patriotism and an attempt to gradually emerge from the shadows of the Fascist past, thus replacing the politics of reparation and shame with a larger view of German history and of Germany's place in the world that was not reducible to the twelve years

of Nazi rule. Kohl famously said he had been born with the clemency of a late birth (he was born in 1930). Kohl turned to Jünger as an apposite symbol of this fundamental shift in Germany's view of itself from a conservative perspective.

In that same month of 1982, Jünger was awarded the Goethe Prize, the most prestigious literary award in Germany, by the conservative city administration of Frankfurt am Main. The bestowal of the prize was greeted by howls of protest not just from hostile commentators across Germany but also by street demonstrations in the city of Frankfurt on the day of the ceremony. According to the critics, this award in the name of Germany's most hallowed humanist should not be bestowed on a writer who had "paved the way" for the rise of Fascism in Germany.

A decade later, as Jünger approached his hundredth birthday, this unsympathetic sentiment had shifted toward a more favorable appreciation of an Olympian figure in whom many Germans could take pride. He was also honored with a visit in Wilflingen by Chancellor Kohl and French president François Mitterand on July 20, 1993, the anniversary of the failed Stauffenberg plot against Hitler.[38] Jünger still had many critics, but the German public was prepared, some grudgingly, others enthusiastically, to accept that Ernst Jünger's lifework was pan-European, a century long, and that his talents could be seen as on par, or at least approaching, the likes of the almost universally adored Goethe.

Conclusion

As Jünger's lifework has become historicized, it is clear that his influence on European thought and letters has been considerable. He has come to be regarded as an important contributor to aesthetics with a sharp eye for the disfiguring effects of modern forms of violence in everyday life. He has influenced the thinkers of the New Right in Europe, but in a broader sense, along with Carl Schmitt and Martin Heidegger, his work offers a challenge to technological modernity and Enlightenment belief in progress in general.

Jünger's place in the conservative European pantheon is hard to determine. As a young man he undoubtedly belonged to the generation of radicals who rejected the bourgeois state and welcomed the overthrow of the European order that had been tenuously reestablished after 1918. He both foresaw and welcomed some combination of nationalism and socialism as a revolutionary solution in the 1920s and early 1930s,

but just as clearly he rejected the actual party that carried out the coup in Germany after 1933. In the wake of two disastrous world wars, he predicted that modern technology and the growth of the power of the state would lead to planetary integration on a scale never before seen in human affairs (a phenomenon we today call globalization). In his late posthistorical analysis, he predicted the decline and eventual eclipse of temporal and geographical particularity as European culture melted away to be replaced by a sterile planetary culture and a new cosmopolitan elite lacking specific cultural roots. The result, he feared, would be the rise of demagogues and tyrants who knew how to manipulate modern technology to play to the anxieties of the masses. The only answer for the individual would be to retreat to the security of an autonomous self, to become a forest wanderer, an Anarch, a concept taken up by later thinkers of the radical Right. His life work offers a model for those who accept his cultural pessimism. But considering the decline in faith in politics in our own age, particularly among the young, the rise of petty tyrants and demagogues, and the current revolt against elites across the globe, his vision may also have been prophetic.

Notes

1. A list of important biographies of Jünger is included in the bibliography at the end of this book. I point, in particular to Amos, Kiesel, Nevin, Noack, Martus, Meyer, Mitchell, and Schwilk.
2. Eliah Bures and Elliot Neaman, introduction to *The Adventurous Heart*, by Ernst Jünger (Candor, NY: Telos Press, 2012), xix.
3. Stephen E. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany 1890–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 135.
4. Klaus Theweleit, *Männerphantasien*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Roter Stern, 1977). See in particular vol. 1:57–59. and vol. 2, chap. 3.
5. Armin Mohler and Karlheinz Weissmann, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918–1923* (Graz: Ares Verlag, 2005), 115–117.
6. Elliot Neaman, *A Dubious Past: Ernst Jünger and the Politics of Literature after Nazism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 32–33.
7. Carl Schmitt, *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*, trans. Ellen Kennedy, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985).
8. Helmuth Kiesel, ed., *Stahlgewittern: Historish-kritische Ausgabe* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014).
9. Karl Heinz Bohrer, *Ästhetik des Schreckens: die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk* (Hamburg: Ullstein, 1983).

10. "The Innocence of Becoming" was a title given by the Nazi philosopher Alfred Baumler to a collection of Nietzsche's unpublished works in 1931.
11. Letter to the *Völksicher Beobachter*, June 14, 1934, cited in Heimo Schwilk, *Ernst Jünger: Leben und Werk*, 142.
12. Ernst Jünger, "Über Nationalismus und Judenfrage," *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* 12 (September 1930): 843–845.
13. Thilo von Throta, "Das endlose dialektische Gespräch," *Völkischer Beobachter* (October 22, 1932).
14. Neaman, *Dubious Pas*t, 122–126.
15. Nevin, *Ernst Jünger and Germany*, 169.
16. Helmut Kiesel, *Ernst Junger: Die Biographie* (Munich: Siedler, 2007), 529.
17. Ernst Jünger, *Sämmtliche Werke* 3:270 (May 27, 1944).
18. Jünger, *Sämmtliche Werke* 1:3, 494.
19. Ibid., 493.
20. Ibid., 582.
21. Ibid., 609
22. Ibid., 563.
23. Ibid., 415.
24. Ibid., 455.
25. Both Jünger's Collected Works, ten volumes in 1964 and eighteen in 1978, omitted the nationalist writings from the 1920s and 1930s.
26. Ernst Jünger to Armin Mohler, unpublished letter, February 17, 1947.
27. Jerry Z. Muller, *The Other God That Failed: Hans Freyer and the Deradicalization of German Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988).
28. Gerd Giesler and Martin Tielke, eds., *Glossarium: Aufzeichnungen der Jahre 1947–1951* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot), 280.
29. Elliot Neaman, introduction to *Visit to Godenholm*, by Ernst Jünger, trans. Annabel Moynihan (Stockholm: Edda, 2015), 5–7.
30. Jünger, *Sämmtliche Werke* 7:257–259.
31. Russell A. Berman, introduction to *The Forest Passage*, by Ernst Jünger, trans. Thomas Friese (Candor, NY: Telos, 2013), xiii–xxii.
32. Jünger, *Sämmtliche Werke* 7:375–480.
33. On Jünger and Rivarol, see Neaman, *Dubious Past*, 197–199.
34. Ernst Jünger, *Siebzig Verweht* 4 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995), 382.
35. On the history of *posthistoire* in European thought, see Lutz Niethammer, *Posthistoire: ist die Geschichte zu Ende?* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989).
36. Jünger, *Sämmtliche Werke* 2:10.
37. Jacques le Rider, "Le réalisme magique d'Ernst Jünger," *Le Monde*, August 29, 1982.
38. Rudolf von Thadden, "Schiefe Allianzen: Warum trafen sich Mitterrand und Kohl gerade am 20. Juli mit Ernst Jünger?" *Die Zeit* 6, August 1993. http://www.zeit.de/1993/32/schiefe-allianzen.