

# Table of Contents

## Introduction: Totality and Totalism

|           |   |           |
|-----------|---|-----------|
| <b>1.</b> | <b>Introduction .....</b>   | <b>13</b> |
| <b>2.</b> | <b>The State of Research .....</b>  | <b>17</b> |
| 2.1       | The Uses of Totality .....  | 17        |
| 2.2       | The Concept of Totalitarianism.....   | 24        |
| 2.3       | Carl J. Friedrich: “Total”, “Totalist”, “Totalitarian”.....                   | 30        |
| 2.4       | Totality and the Impact of Religious Terminology .....                        | 35        |
| 2.5       | Eric Voegelin. Gnosticism and Immanentization .....                           | 42        |
| <b>3.</b> | <b>Method and Terminology .....</b>   | <b>47</b> |
| 3.1       | Method .....  | 47        |
| 3.2       | The Limits of Political Religion. Further Terminological Considerations ..... | 51        |
| 3.3       | Empirical Section: The Legion of the Archangel Michael .....                  | 57        |
| 3.4       | Goals and Structure .....   | 58        |

## Part I. Totality and Totalism: Theory and Concepts

|           |   |           |
|-----------|---|-----------|
| <b>4.</b> | <b>The Nature of Totality .....</b>                                     | <b>63</b> |
| 4.1       | Totality and the Individual .....                                       | 63        |
| 4.2       | Totality and Temporality.....   | 66        |
| <b>5.</b> | <b>The Concept of Totalism.....</b>                                     | <b>73</b> |
| 5.1       | Definitions and Perspectives .....                                      | 73        |
| 5.2       | Totality and Ideology .....   | 80        |
| 5.3       | Totality and Ideocracy.....   | 82        |
| 5.4       | The Ideal Development Path of a Totalist Movement .....                 | 87        |
| <b>6.</b> | <b>The Totalist Types: Between Renovative and Utopian Strands .....</b> | <b>93</b> |
| 6.1       | Utopian Totalism: Bolshevism and Fascism.....                           | 95        |
| 6.1.1     | The Red Star.....   | 95        |
| 6.1.2     | The Lictor’s Fases .....  | 101       |
| 6.2       | Renovative Totalism: Mahdism and Islamism.....                          | 105       |
| 6.2.1     | Totality in the Classical Abrahamic World.....                          | 105       |
| 6.2.2     | The Mahdist Resilience. Sayyid Qutb.....                                | 108       |

## **Part II. Telos, Temporality, Totalism. Historical and Intellectual Origins**

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>7. Evolving Perspectives: Eschatology and Utopia.....</b>                         | <b>117</b> |
| 7.1 The Early Utopia .....   | 119        |
| 7.1.1 New Cities and Societies .....   | 119        |
| 7.1.2 The Ideal State and Laconiphilia.....  | 120        |
| 7.2 The Abrahamic Eschaton .....   | 122        |
| 7.2.1 Judaism and Early Christianity .....   | 122        |
| 7.2.2 The Christian Empire: Enemies, Saviours, Katechon .....                        | 124        |
| 7.3 Temporality and Telos .....  | 128        |
| 7.3.1 The Joachimist Theology of History .....                                       | 128        |
| 7.3.2 Early Joachite Patterns: Charismatic Reformers and Epistemarchs.....           | 131        |
| <b>8. From the City of God to the City of Man.....</b>                               | <b>135</b> |
| 8.1 Archetypes, Patterns, Influences .....   | 135        |
| 8.1.1 Transcendent Eschatology, Immanent Progress and the Allure of Joachimism ..... | 135        |
| 8.1.2 Utopia, Eschaton and the Birth of a New Society: The Elect of Tábor .....      | 140        |
| 8.2 Salvation, Substratum, Secularism.....   | 143        |
| 8.2.1 Towards the Modern Political Utopia: Gemistos Plethon.....                     | 143        |
| 8.2.2 Last World Empires, Pure Kingdoms, Utopian Republics.....                      | 146        |
| 8.2.3 Apostles of Post-Christianity .....  | 152        |
| <b>9. Conclusion: Ideology and Political Revolution.....</b>                         | <b>157</b> |
| 9.1 The Soteriological Nature of Revolution and Nationalism.....                     | 157        |
| 9.2 Freedom in the Perfect Age.....  | 162        |

## **Part III. Totalism Transformed: Power, Purity, and Truth from Heterodoxy to Ideocracy**

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>10. Power: Charisma and Authority Structures .....</b>             | <b>169</b> |
| 10.1 Charisma and Totality .....                                      | 170        |
| 10.1.1 The Meaning of Charisma.....                                   | 170        |
| 10.1.2 Sohm and Weber on Charismatic Authority .....                  | 172        |
| 10.2 Charismatic Functions and Types .....                            | 174        |
| 10.3 Charisma and the Totalist Movement: Heterodoxy and Hegemony..... | 181        |
| 10.3.1 Emergence and Chaos .....                                      | 181        |
| 10.3.2 The Charismatic Group: Unity and Exclusion .....               | 185        |
| 10.3.3 Successions and Systems: Routine, Ritual, Mythicization .....  | 187        |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>11. Purity: Virtuous Communities and Impure Enemies .....</b> | <b>191</b> |
| 11.1 The Nature of Purity .....                                  | 191        |
| 11.2 The Impure .....  | 194        |
| 11.3 The Pure .....  | 196        |
| <b>12. Truth and Territory .....</b>                             | <b>199</b> |
| 12.1 Truth in Ideocracy .....                                    | 200        |
| 12.1.1 Truth and Premodern Cosmocratic Authority .....           | 200        |
| 12.1.2 Truth, Untruth and the Modern Totalist Ideocracy .....    | 205        |
| <b>13. The Structures of Ideocracy: Space and Hegemony .....</b> | <b>209</b> |
| 13.1 Political Spaces .....                                      | 209        |
| 13.1.1 Enduring Patterns .....                                   | 209        |
| 13.1.2 Exhibiting Grandeur and Authority .....                   | 211        |
| 13.2 Temporal Space .....  | 213        |
| 13.2.1 Origins and Memory .....                                  | 213        |
| 13.2.2 Space and Future .....                                    | 214        |
| 13.3 Sacred Spaces .....   | 216        |
| <b>14. Ideocracy and Systemic Apotheosis .....</b>               | <b>219</b> |
| 14.1 Legitimacy .....  | 219        |
| 14.2 Ritual .....  | 221        |
| 14.3 Sacrifice and Apotheosis .....                              | 224        |

#### **Part IV. The Legion of the Archangel Michael and the “Hybrid” Totalist Type**

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>15. Historical Background .....</b>  | <b>229</b> |
| 15.1 Introduction .....   | 229        |
| 15.2 Authority and Romanian Political Tradition .....                                   | 235        |
| 15.3 Unstoppable Forces, Immovable Objects: Modernity and the Organic Community ..      | 242        |
| 15.4 Foreignness .....  | 250        |
| <b>16. From Ideals to Actions. The Worldview of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu .....</b>       | <b>253</b> |
| 16.1 Finding a Voice .....  | 253        |
| 16.2 Crossing the Threshold .....   | 258        |
| 16.3 Renovation, Utopia, and Political Assassinations. An Excursus on Imperial Japan... | 263        |

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| <b>17. Totality and the Making of the Legion .....</b>                               | <b>271</b>     |
| 17.1 The Archangel .....   | 272            |
| 17.2 Totality and Peak Experience .....  | 275            |
| 17.3 A Charismatic Epistemarch .....   | 280            |
| <br><b>18. The Legion of the Archangel Michael as a “Hybrid” Totalist Type .....</b> | <br><b>289</b> |
| 18.1 Totality as a Concept in Legionary Writings .....                               | 289            |
| 18.2 Purity and Renewal .....  | 295            |
| 18.3 Purity and Utopia .....   | 301            |
| 18.4 Conclusion: The Legion of the Archangel Michael on the Totalist Spectrum.....   | 305            |
| <br><b>The Perfect Storm: Totality and Relativism</b>                                |                |
| <br><b>19. Conclusion: The Pillars of Totality .....</b>                             | <br><b>311</b> |
| <b>20. Epilogue: Totality and Relativism .....</b>                                   | <b>315</b>     |
| <br><b>Bibliography .....</b>  | <br><b>319</b> |

Totality, Charisma, Authority

The Origins and Transformations of Totalist Movements

Murariu, M.

2017, X, 328 p., Softcover

ISBN: 978-3-658-16321-1