

Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen (Oslo) über:

# The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

---

## Anti-Semitism in Norwegian Anthroposophy

### Abstract

This article is an investigation, from the perspective of the history of ideas, of the view that central Norwegian anthroposophists took of Jews and Judaism from the interwar period to the period shortly after the Second World War. A central element of the investigation is the demonstration that Norwegian anthroposophists had an anti-Semitic understanding of Judaism and that they considered Judaism as the negative counterpart to Germanentum and Deutschtum. An introductory contextualizing section of this paper gives an account of Rudolf Steiner's definition of Judaism and of the decisive influence he had on the Norwegian anthroposophists. Steiner's view of Jews is defined as assimilationist anti-Semitism. Secondly, there will be a description of the principal characteristics of the Norwegian Germanentum and anti-Semitism in this period.<sup>1</sup>

### Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel untersucht aus ideengeschichtlicher Perspektive die Sichtweise, die norwegische Anthroposophen in der Zeit zwischen den Weltkriegen bis kurz nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg auf Juden und das Judentum hatten. Ein zentraler Punkt dieser Untersuchung ist zu zeigen, dass norwegische Anthroposophen eine antisemitische Auffassung vom Judentum hatten und Judentum als negatives Gegenstück zum Germanentum oder Deutschtum verstanden. Im einführenden Abschnitt zur Kontextualisierung wird neben Rudolf Steiners Definition von Judentum der große Einfluss geschildert, den er auf die norwegischen Anthroposophen hatte. Steiners Sicht auf Juden wird als assimilationistischer Antisemitismus definiert. Zweitens werden die grundlegenden Züge des norwegischen Germanentums und Antisemitismus dieser Zeit beschrieben.

---

Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen is Professor of History of Ideas at the Department of Philosophy, Classics, History of Art and Ideas at the University of Oslo. His main areas of research are religious mysticism, esotericism, and recent Norwegian history of ideas.

---

<sup>1</sup> This article was translated by Brian McNeil.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

Rudolf Steiner's racial theories have attracted attention in recent years both in public debate and in the academic world. Taking his starting point in the theosophist racial doctrine and in contemporary theories of evolution, especially Ernst Haeckel's theory of development, Steiner elaborated a comprehensive theory in which various races and cultural epochs were given their places in a hierarchy and were understood within a developmental perspective. In the present era the relevance of the races is shrinking and they will indeed disappear at some date in a distant future. But until that happened, the white race would be the leading race. Equally important is his understanding of the cultural epochs and the historical tasks that he meant were given to different ethnic groups. In this regard, he attached a special importance to the Teutonic ethnic groups and, with his German national orientation, Steiner idealized first and foremost the Central European or German culture and national genius.

Judaism is a minor, but central theme in Steiner's racial theory and his understanding of Christianity. At one period, at the end of the nineteenth century, Steiner criticized the biologically and ideologically based anti-Semitism of the time, but he himself asserted that there was no justification for the existence of Judaism and Jewish culture in the modern world. For Rudolf Steiner, Judaism was the negative counterpart to *Germanentum* and *Deutschtum*. This understanding of Jews and of Judaism was to have serious consequences in the anthroposophical movement.

Thanks to his articles »Anthroposophische Rassentheorie. Der Geist auf dem Weg durch die Rassengeschichte« (2001) and »Rudolf Steiners Rassenlehre. Plädoyer über die Regeln der Deutung von Steiners Werk zu reden« (2009), Helmut Zander has come to play a central role in the academic discussion of the racism in Rudolf Steiner's thinking. His epochal work *Anthroposophie in Deutschland* (2007) is also important in this context. The most comprehensive investigation of the various phases in Steiner's racial doctrine is, however, Ansgar Martins' *Rassismus und Geschichtsmetaphysik. Esoterischer Darwinismus und Freiheitsphilosophie bei Rudolf Steiner* (2012). Peter Staudenmaier too has cast a spotlight on Steiner's racial doctrine in several contexts, for example, in »Anthroposophical Spiritual Racism«, »Race and Redemption: Racial and Ethnic Evolution in Rudolf Steiner's Anthroposophy« (2008), and in *Between Occultism and Nazism. Anthroposophy and the Politics of Race in the Fascist Era* (2014).<sup>2</sup>

Georg Otto Schmied's »Die Anthroposophie und Rassenlehre Rudolf Steiners zwischen Universalismus, Eurozentrik und Germanophilie« (1995) and the chapter »Germany's Savior« in Staudenmaier's *Between Occultism and Nazism* are also important for analysis of the various stages in Steiner's Germanism.

---

<sup>2</sup> For an introduction to Steiner's racial theory, cf. Schmid 1995 and Bierl 2005. Cf. also Husmann 2010. Staudenmaier (2014) is primarily a ground-breaking study of the relationship between anthroposophy and Fascism, but it is also essential for a definition of Steiner's racism. The most thorough discussion of Steiner and racism from an anthroposophical perspective is van Baarda et al. 2000. The former head of the archive in the Goetheanum has also discussed this subject; Werner 2011. The most polemical and problematic of the apologies for Steiner is Bader and Ravagli (2002).

The most thorough investigation of Steiner's view of Judaism is Staudenmaier's »Rudolf Steiner and the Jewish Question« (2005). He has also made important contributions to the study of anti-Semitism in the anthroposophical movement after Steiner's death. In *Between Occultism and Nazism*, he has demonstrated the existence of strong anti-Semitic attitudes in the anthroposophical movement in Germany and Switzerland. His presentation of the anti-Semitism in the Italian anthroposophical milieu between the Wars is particularly important. This was an anti-Semitism that, unlike the anti-Semitism in the German anthroposophical milieu, was extreme and excluded the Jews. In his book *Hans Büchenbacher. Erinnerungen 1933–1949* (2014), Ansgar Martins has made valuable contributions to the investigation of the anti-Semitic attitudes among anthroposophists in Germany and Switzerland in the interwar period.<sup>3</sup>

The following investigation is carried out from the perspective of the history of ideas. It is a text-analytical and contextualizing study of the ideas about Jews and Judaism among Norwegian anthroposophists in the interwar period and in the years after the Second World War. It is to be understood as a contribution to research into anti-Semitism in the anthroposophical movement.

In an introductory contextualizing section, I give an account of the principal characteristics in the Germanism and anti-Semitism in the Norwegian public arena in the first half of the twentieth century, and of Rudolf Steiner's influence on Norwegian anthroposophists. The central question in the investigation is, however, how a number of central figures among Norwegian anthroposophists understood Jews and Judaism.

In what follows, »anti-Semitism« is applied as a central operational concept. In the wide-reaching discussions of what anti-Semitism is, it has been customary to draw a distinction between the anti-Judaism that has followed Christianity from late antiquity onwards and the biologically and ideologically defined anti-Semitism that developed from the nineteenth century onwards. Recently, however, it has become usual to use »anti-Semitism« in a wider sense and to let this term cover both anti-Judaism and biological, ideological anti-Semitism.

One finds a frequently used definition of anti-Semitism in the American sociologist Helen Fein, who understands it as »a persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs towards Jews as a collective manifested in individuals as attitudes, and in culture as myth, ideology, folklore and imagery, and in actions – social or legal discrimination, political mobilization against the Jews, and collective or state violence – which results in and/or is designed to distance, displace, or destroy Jews as Jews.«<sup>4</sup>

Wolfgang Benz, one of the most prominent German researchers into anti-Semitism, applies this term in a correspondingly widened sense. He has emphasized four different forms that can be expressed either jointly or individually, at various periods and in various contexts. The first two are the traditional anti-Judaism and the

---

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Ekehard W. Stegemann, [http://www.akdh.ch/ps/ps\\_60Ref-Stegemann.html](http://www.akdh.ch/ps/ps_60Ref-Stegemann.html) (4 Sept. 2014). A historically inaccurate and strongly apologetic account of Steiner's view of the Jews is given by Bader, Leist, and Ravagli 2001. For a serious discussion, from an anthroposophical standpoint, of Steiner's relationship to Jews and Judaism, cf. Sonnenberg 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Fein 1987, p. 67.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

biological anti-Semitism. The third is what he calls secondary anti-Semitism, which arises after the Second World War in the form of accusations that Jews had exploited the nations that had persecuted them. He identifies the fourth form in the anti-Semitism that can find expression in an otherwise justified political critique of Zionism. Benz also points to the anti-Semitism that has developed in the Islamic world.<sup>5</sup>

In Norway, one finds a corresponding use of the term »anti-Semitism« in the account of the history of anti-Semitism in *Jødehat* (2005), edited by Trond Berg Eriksen, Håkon Harket, and Einhart Lorenz.

\*\*\*

When Steiner became a theosophist, his view of Jews and Judaism developed in connection with a spiritualistic understood biology, a metaphysical theory of historical evolution and his Christology. The Jewish blood was according to Steiner different from other peoples' blood and the Jewish culture and religion were now understood as a preparation for Christ's incarnation and as a superfluous, negative hostile force after the incarnation. Since Christianity or what he called the »Christ impulse« was linked to the development of individuality, universality, and what was understood as a higher consciousness, the Teutons, and especially German culture, took on a special position in this development. The main difference is here between Christianity and Judaism, but since he regarded the Teutonic, German soul as a leading representative of Christian universality and Judaism as an egoistic, collectivist tribal culture, the dichotomy *Germanentum* – *Judentum* became important.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, Steiner's solution to the Jewish problem was that the Jews had to be assimilated into Central European culture.<sup>7</sup>

There are various forms of assimilation; Steiner's concept was radical, in the sense that he believed that Judaism had to be overcome and to disappear. It must cease to exist.<sup>8</sup>

Rudolf Steiner's description of Judaism and Jewish culture after the incarnation of Christ is anti-Semitic both in the sense of a general negative evaluation and according to Helen Fein's and Wolfgang Benz' definitions. Steiner's position however was liberal in the sense that he did not advocate discriminating actions against Jews. He represented a moderate position in comparison to extreme positions that linked Jews and Judaism to a fixed biological »nature« with no possibilities of development, and that argued against mixing the races and for

---

<sup>5</sup> Benz 2004, pp. 234–241.

<sup>6</sup> On the ambiguous relationship between the universally human element or universality and »Teutonic-ness« or »Germanic-ness«, see especially Schmid 1955; Bierl 2005, ch. 4; Martins 2012, pp. 101–107 and Staudenmaier 2014, ch. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Steiner uses the expression »the German ethnic soul« (*Völkseele*) synonymously with »the ethnic soul that prevails in Central Europe«. Steiner GA 64/1959, 135.

<sup>8</sup> Steiner GA 32/2004, p. 152 and Steiner GA 353/1988, p. 201.

exclusion. And since he made absolute assimilation an ideal – the solution to the »problem« – his position must be understood as an assimilationistic anti-Semitism.<sup>9</sup>

In the early phase of anthroposophy, some Jews were adherents of Steiner's ideas. They were not numerous, but some of them gained a measure of influence.<sup>10</sup> These may have been Christian Jews who were wholly assimilated, as well as Jews who attempted in various ways to mediate between Steiner's view of the Jews and Judaism.<sup>11</sup> After Steiner's death, his anti-Semitism was developed further within the broad hegemonic part of the movement. In the 1930s, we see a radicalization in anthroposophical milieu of Steiner's ideas about *Germanentum*, *Deushtum*, and *Judentum*. This must be understood as a response to, and in connection with, the dramatic development of anti-Semitism in other contexts in Germany. It is also natural to see a link between this development and Steiner's prediction that Christ would manifest himself in the period between 1930 and 1940 in a dimension he called the ethereal sphere, although this was an aspect of Steiner's occultism that not everyone chose to emphasize. Examples of anthroposophists with an anti-Semitic attitude, where Judaism was seen as the negative counterpart to the Teutonic element, are Ludwig Thieben, Friedrich Rittelmeyer, Ludwig Paul, August Pauli, Richard Karutz, Ernst Uehli, and Kurt Piper.<sup>12</sup> As Peter Staudenmaier has pointed out, one finds a similar, although more extreme anti-Semitism among Italian anthroposophists.

In Norway too, anthroposophists took up Jews and Judaism as a subject in the 1920s and 1930s. There was a generally negative evaluation of the formation of Jewish identity and Jewish culture, and a number of the anti-Semitic stereotypes of the period were handed on without encountering any objections. The decisive factor for most of the anthroposophists was a philosophy of history that understood Judaism as a culture and a religion that had no *raison d'être* in the modern world. Norwegian anthroposophists did not advocate isolation or persecution, but in a culture with an ever stronger and cruder anti-Semitism, they helped to intensify the antagonism to »the Jew« as the threatening »other« in Norway.

As for most anthroposophists, Rudolf Steiner was their authority. This means that the view they took of Jewish culture and history was determined in a decisive manner by the basic ideas we find in Steiner. Besides this, anti-Semitism and an idealized Germanism were highly visible currents in the Norwegian culture of that period.

The fear and the attention with which the Jews were met in Norway in the period between the Wars can give the impression that there was a large-scale immigration to Norway and that many Jews lived in the country. In reality, however, there have never been many Jews resident in Norway. The country was closed to Jews for several

---

<sup>9</sup> Staudenmaier 2005, pp. 128f., Martins 2014, pp. 406f.

<sup>10</sup> One does not know the exact number of persons in the movement with a Jewish background. Zander 2007, p. 375, hints at »some« Jews, while Staudenmaier 2014, p. 182, speaks of »a small number«. However, Martins 2014, p. 379, thinks that there may have been more than these scholars suggest.

<sup>11</sup> Martins 2014, pp. 367–426. For further examples, cf. Staudenmaier 2014, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Martins 2014, pp. 376ff.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

centuries. When Norway got its own constitution in 1814, it also got the so-called »Jewish paragraph« (§2): »The Evangelical-Lutheran religion remains the public religion of the state. The residents who profess this religion are obliged to bring up their children in it. Jesuits and orders of monks are not to be tolerated. Jews are still excluded from entrance to the kingdom.«<sup>13</sup> The regulation about Jews in this paragraph was not abolished until 1851.

anti-Semitism flourished in the 1920s, not least because the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were translated into Norwegian in 1920, and the idea of a wide-ranging Jewish conspiracy began to circulate widely.<sup>14</sup> Although only about one thousand Jews lived in the country, influential newspapers such as *Nationen* and *Aftenposten* issued stern warnings against Jewish immigration.<sup>15</sup> Equally important was the strong anti-Semitism within the Norwegian farmer movement in these years.<sup>16</sup>

### The Teutons

Germanism, or the Teutonic ideology, was an important part of the construction of German identity in the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> But it looked beyond the strictly national dimension: a shared ancestry meant that various ethnic groups were understood as parts of a larger Germanic fellowship. One central question in the mythologization of the Teutons was: »Who belonged to the German peoples?« Most people had little doubt that this concept included the Scandinavian countries.

One encounters Germanism in Norway in the national romantic ideas of the professor of history P.A. Munch in the mid-nineteenth century, and not least in the Pan-Germanism of the author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson in the 1870s – a Germanism that he linked to ethnic ideas. For Bjørnson, it was a question of »the Germanic tribal feeling« and of the Teutons' great task in the world.<sup>18</sup>

One finds another trajectory in the college (*folkehøyskole*) movement that was inspired by Nikolai F.S. Grundtvig, a movement with some links to anthroposophy.<sup>19</sup> One of the most prominent representatives of this

---

<sup>13</sup> »Den evangelisk-lutterske Religion forbliver Statens offentlige Religion. De Indvaanere, der bekjende sig til den, ere forpliktede til at opdrage sine Børn i samme. Jesuitter og munkeordener, maae ikke taales, Jøder ere fremdeles udelukkede fra Adgang til Riget.« 1814 Constitution. <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Stortinget-og-demokratiet/Lover-og-instrukser/Grunnloven-fra-1814/> (21 Sept. 2015). For a thorough discussion of the background in the history of ideas to the »Jewish paragraph,« cf. Harket 2014.

<sup>14</sup> *Den nye verdenskeiser* 1920. On the history of the *Protocols* in Norway, cf. Thing 2014.

<sup>15</sup> For a survey of the anti-Semitism in Norway in the interwar years, cf. Emberland 2005.

<sup>16</sup> Emberland & Braut Simonsen 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Janson 2014, von See 1970, Gollwitzer 1971. Cf. also Emberland & Sem Fure (eds.) 2009 and the articles in Henningsen et al. 1997.

<sup>18</sup> »den germanniske Stammefølelse«, Bjørnson 1912, p. 371. Cf. Sørensen 2009, pp. 61–81.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the chapter »Frå Bruun til Steiner« in Sørbø 2009.

movement, Christopher Bruun, was convinced that the Teutonic ethnic group possessed the greatest and best strengths of the human race, and was called to have a »ruling position in the history of the world.«<sup>20</sup>

One finds a similar Germanism in an article written by the anthroposophist and college lecturer Olaf Funderud in 1930:

The Teutons are a branch of the great Aryan or Indo-European ethnic group. We can date the beginning of the epoch to which we belong to the year 1250, or to the end of the age of the Crusades. At that time, the Teutons had come so far in their mental development that they could assume the leadership. Until that time, this branch of the great ethnic tree had been held back, while other peoples further to the East had already for many millennia formed states with a high culture, and had been the leaders of the course of development of the human race on earth.<sup>21</sup>

Important sections of both German and Norwegian Germanism attributed a special status to the peoples of Northern Europe. It was they who had preserved in the most genuine manner the link to the old Teutonic culture. In keeping with this, Norse mythology was exalted ideologically to become the pantheon that was closest to the Teutonic ancestors.<sup>22</sup> As one scholar has observed, »[t]he cultural, and especially the mythological flaw in this construction was papered over by borrowing elements from those who were identified as near relations in Northern Europe, namely, the Scandinavians.«<sup>23</sup>

A number of texts from the Scandinavian golden age were published in Germany. Eighteen volumes of the *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek* appeared between 1876 and 1929. Arthur Bonus' three-volume work *Isländerbuch* was published in 1907, and the twenty-four volumes of his *Sammlung Thule* appeared between 1911 and 1930. These publications had a clear link to the nationalistic *völkisch* and *Lebensreform* movements, which shared a number of core ideas with anthroposophy.<sup>24</sup>

Thor, Odin, and the other Norse gods became »today's men.« In the *völkisch* movement, this led to a neopaganism that was developed from the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Of central importance in this respect was the neopaganism one finds in Wilhelm Hauer's *Deutsche Glaubensbewegung* that had several admirers in

---

<sup>20</sup> Bruun 1898, p. 27. Unlike traditional anthroposophy, Bruun claimed that »the chosen people of Israel« were the only people to whom the German ethnic group was obliged to grant precedence. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>21</sup> »Germanerne er en gren av den store ariske eller indoeuropeiske folkegruppe. Den tidsepoke vi tilhører kan vi sette fra år 1250 av, eller fra slutten av korstogstiden. Germanerne var ved de tider kommet så langt i sjelelig utvikling at de kunde ta ledelsen. Til den tid var denne gren av det store stamtre holdt tilbake, mens andre folkeslag lengere mot øst allerede i mange årtusener hadde dannet kulturstater og vært ledere for menneskehetens utviklingsgang på jorden.« Funderud 1930, p. 5, cf. also Sørbo 2009, pp. 64f.

<sup>22</sup> Zernack 1997, pp. 143–160, Dusse 2009, pp. 233–244 and Dusse 2013, pp. 73–86.

<sup>23</sup> Irlenbusch-Reynard 2009, p. 83.

<sup>24</sup> Martins 2014, pp. 230–238, Staudenmaier 2014, ch. 2,

<sup>25</sup> Puschner & Vollnhals 2012a, pp. 13–28.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

Norway.<sup>26</sup> But there are also several examples of a Christian Germanism in which the Norse culture was connected with Christianity (which was seen as a genuinely Teutonic religion). Theologians and writers such as Max Beyer, Arthur Bonus, and Julius Bode cultivated a Teutonic or German Christ and regarded individualization, a longing for freedom, and autonomy as Teutonic qualities. And one finds an uncompromising anti-Semitism, not least in Max Beyer.<sup>27</sup>

From 1926 onwards, the *Nordischer Ring* organization played a particularly important role in the development of a biological and cultural idealization of the Scandinavian-Germanic human being. After Hitler took power, it was integrated into the *Nordische Gesellschaft*, which was controlled by Alfred Rosenberg. The most prominent spokesman for the Norse movement was the racial researcher Hans Friedrich Karl Günther, who regarded the Scandinavian race as a leading ruling race.<sup>28</sup> In the 1930s, he became the Nazis' leading racial theorist, and he was a significant influence on Heinrich Himmler's infatuation with all things Germanic and his cult of the Scandinavian race.<sup>29</sup>

The result was a Romantic enthusiasm for Scandinavia that ascribed particularly noble and genuine qualities to the peoples of Northern Europe. The ideas about »the path to the North« and the »land of the North« idealized Scandinavia as the locus of an original innocence that was of decisive importance for the rebirth of the Germans and of the Teutonic ethnic group. This could also find expression in ideas about a political and cultural fellowship among the Teutonic peoples, in which the Scandinavian peoples had an especially important role to play. As Christopher Bruun said at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, »one now« stood at the beginning of a Teutonic renaissance in which the Scandinavian peoples would play an important role; nor did he doubt that »Scandinavia's hour in world history is now striking.«<sup>30</sup>

### Teutonic Anti-Semitism

Germanism was linked in Germany at an early date with a clear anti-Semitism. Rudolf Steiner's great philosophical hero, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, who became an important figure for the Christian Germanists, not least thanks to his *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, was hostile to the Jews.<sup>31</sup> And it was a powerful ingredient in

---

<sup>26</sup> Emberland 2003, ch. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Lächele 2001, pp. 165–183. Cf. also Philipp Thull (ed.) (2014): *Christen im Dritten Reich*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, and the chapter »Völkisches Christentum« in Puschner & Vollnhals (eds.) 2012b.

<sup>28</sup> Emberland & Kott 2012, pp. 59–61.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 77–80. Cf. also Karcher 2012, pp. 55–125.

<sup>30</sup> »nordens verdenshistoriske Time nu slaar.« Bruun 1898, p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> On Fichte's relationship to Germanism and to Judaism, cf. Brumlik 2000, pp. 75–131.



the many *völkisch* groups and publications that warned that the purity of the Teutonic race was being sullied by Jewish influence – an idea that acquired an explosive force in National Socialism in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>32</sup>

Günther's Scandinavian movement played an important role in this context too, since its biological and cultural racial theories justified and cemented the dichotomy between Germanism and Judaism.

In Norway too, Germanism was linked to anti-Semitic ideas. In addition to a general xenophobia and Christian anti-Judaism, one finds a widespread dichotomy in Norwegian anti-Semitism between Germanism and Judaism.

Germanism provided an essential justification of anti-Semitism as early as 1910, in Eivind Saxlund's *Jøder og Gojim*. Saxlund is regarded as the pioneer in Norwegian anti-Semitism. His polemical pamphlet against the Jews went through several editions in the interwar period.<sup>33</sup>

Alfred Mjøen, who had established a racial-biological laboratory in Oslo, supplied a pseudoscientific justification for classifying the races in a hierarchy. He regarded »the blond Teutonic race from Northern Europe« as the basis of the highest cultural achievements and as the leading race and idealized the typical Norwegian.<sup>34</sup> Equally important was the military doctor and racial theorist Halvdan Bryn. Both Mjøen and Bryn belonged to Günther's Nordic movement.<sup>35</sup>

The writer Erling Winsnes (1893–1935) had a particularly important role in the development of a neo-pagan Germanism in the Norwegian radical rightwing milieu.<sup>36</sup> He called Odin »the ancestor of our race.«<sup>37</sup> He posited an antithesis between Norse culture and Germanism, on the one hand, and the Jews and Christianity, on the other.<sup>38</sup>

The first issue of Mikal Sylten's *Nationalt Tidsskrift* appeared in 1916. Its goal was to combat the influence of the Jews in Norway. Sylten subsequently became a member of Quisling's fascist party, the *Nasjonal Samling* (National Unity). The periodical, which had a swastika as its emblem, was published until 1945. A recurrent topic was the antithesis between Teuton/Aryan and Jew. But the largest anti-Semitic publication in the interwar years was *Ragnarok*, with a run of ca. 3,000 between 1934 and 1945.<sup>39</sup>

Vidkun Quisling's »Nordisk Folkereisning« (»Rise of the Nordic People in Norway«), a precursor of his *Nasjonal Samling* party, was set up with the goal of watching over the »distinct racial character« of the people, with

---

<sup>32</sup> Bergmann 1996, p. 461.

<sup>33</sup> Christensen 1998, pp. 89–112.

<sup>34</sup> Mjøen 1914, pp. 138–140.

<sup>35</sup> Emberland & Kott 2012, p. 61.

<sup>36</sup> Emberland 2003, pp. 169–171.

<sup>37</sup> Winsnes 1924, p. 143.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>39</sup> Emberland 2005, p. 417.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

reference to »the great family of peoples in Northern Europe.« The superiority of the Scandinavian race was emphasized, and a »greater Teutonic alliance« between the Teutonic ethnic groups was promoted. One also finds the idealization of Norse mythology, an idea that was linked without hesitation to a veneration of the god-king Saint Olav, who died in 1030. The spirit and Christianity were underlined, as well as the dream that Norway would have a special place in the future Teutonic fellowship.

anti-Semitism was also present from the very beginning, when Quisling set up the Nasjonal Samling in 1933.<sup>40</sup> It became a principal element in the party in 1935, when Quisling claimed that it was the Jews who stood behind both communism and capitalism. Quisling contrasted the spirit or a »spiritual view of life«, Christianity, and the idea of the superiority of the Scandinavian race with the materialism, communism, and liberalistic capitalism of the Jews. And it made good sense to see the great conflict in a mythological perspective. The Midgard Serpent was Jewish capitalism, and the Fenris wolf was Jewish communism.<sup>41</sup> This meant that the great final battle would soon take place:

Thus, in a remarkable way, the idea that is alive in the primal Norse myth of the struggle that permeates the life of the world – between Aryans and Jewish power – is to end in one final tremendous battle, Ragnarök, the darkness of the Aryans, caused by the fact that the Aryans welcomed the Jews into their midst and thereby weakened their own divine power.

But the world of the Aryans perishes, only to be reborn even more gloriously. In the decisive battle, the world snake and the wolf of war, the terrible progeny of the Jews, are slain. That which is old perishes. And a new world moves forward, peopled by a human race that is more vigorous and happier.<sup>42</sup>

### »Incitement to Racial Hatred«

When Rudolf Steiner came to Norway in 1910, it was in order to speak about the world-historical task of the Teutonic-Scandinavian peoples. But his series of lectures contained more than this. He now made a synthesis of his ideas about the national genius, angelic hierarchies, the influences brought to bear by the planets, and the

---

<sup>40</sup> At the beginning there existed different positions within the party regarding the Jews, some were anti-Semitic racists, others were anti-Judaistic Christians, Bruknaap 1976, pp. 9–47.

<sup>41</sup> Quisling 1941a, p. 7.

<sup>42</sup> »Således fullbyrdes på en merkelig måte den i den urnordiske mythos levende forestilling om at den strid som går gjennom verdenslivet mellom arier og jødemakt, skulde ende i en siste uhyre kamp, ragnarokk, ariernes mørke, fremkalt av at arieme optok jødene i sin midte og derved svekket sin gudemakt. Men ariernes verden går kun under for å gjenfødtes herligere. I den avgjørende kamp blir verdensslangen og krigsulven, jødene skrekkelige avkom, felt. Det gamle går under, og en ny verden bryter fram, befolket av en livskraftigere og lykkeligere menneskeslekt.« Quisling 1941b, p. 118. In general, the Nazis employed »Aryans« synonymously with »Teutons«. In the second half of the nineteenth century, it was believed that the original home of the Indo-Europeans lay in northern Germany or Southern Scandinavia. In Germany, it was called the original »Indo-Germanic« home. In Germany, »Aryans« became a designation of those who were thought to have been the first ancestors in Germany's original home. As Tore Janson writes: »Accordingly, the Arians were entirely the same reality as the Teutons, but some millennia earlier.« Janson 2014, p. 40.

historical development within an overarching racial metaphysics. These lectures subsequently attracted considerable attention. In 2007, the lectures and another of Steiner's books were thoroughly examined by the German authorities, and the statement by the »Federal Inspecting Authority for Media that put Young People at Risk« in Bonn concluded that parts of the lectures were an incitement to racial hatred.<sup>43</sup>

With its idealization of the Teutonic ethnic soul and Norse mythology, *Die Mission einzelner Volksseelen im Zusammenhange mit der germanisch-nordischen Mythologie* became a central element in Norwegian theosophists', and later anthroposophists', understanding of Judaism and the Scandinavian-Teutonic culture – and not least of their own task and significance in history.<sup>44</sup>

In these lectures Steiner describes the positive role Judaism had as a culture developing monotheism, but one also finds perhaps the most important occult explanation of why Judaism became a negative force in the development of the world, of why the Jews' blood is different and thicker than the blood of other races.<sup>45</sup> This made it clear that the relationship between Jews and Christians, and as a consequence, between Jews and Teutons was one of antagonism.

In keeping with the popular veneration of Norse culture, Steiner ascribed a special significance to Norse mythology in relation to other mythologies. This was the mythology that was closest to what Steiner understood as Christianity, and he discerned an essential resemblance between Norse mythology and his own »spiritual science«.<sup>46</sup>

In earlier times, according to Steiner, an archangel whom the Scandinavian peoples called Odin was sent to the northern regions in Europe to guide the peoples who lived there. One finds testimonies in Norse mythology about the activity of this spirit. But the decisive point in Steiner's perspective on historical development was that Odin and the other Norse gods were transformed by the spirit of which Saint Olav was the bearer. The central idea here

---

<sup>43</sup> *Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Medien*, Pr. 782/06, Entscheidung Nr. 5505 vom 6.9.2007. The other book that was examined was *Geisteswissenschaftliche Menschenkunde*. It too was viewed as, in part, an incitement to racial hatred (Pr. 783/06, Entscheidung Nr. 5506 from 6 Sept. 2007). Neither of the books was banned, since the publisher promised to furnish the remaining copies and any new editions with critical commentaries. In 2010 one of the leading Norwegian anthroposophists, Frode Barkved, was celebrating the cycle. He also briefly mentioned the examination of the cycle but misrepresented the content in the decision by omitting to say that the *Bundesprüfstelle* held that parts of the lectures were an incitement to racial hatred, and that the presupposition for not banning the text was that the publisher had to bring out a new edition with critical commentaries. Barkved 2010a, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Unlike most of Steiner's other published lectures, the printed text of the cycle on the ethnic soul was authorized by Steiner himself. It is clear that he attached a special importance to this series of lectures. He referred to it twice in a lecture he gave during the First World War: Rudolf Steiner GA 174b/1994, pp.17f. The lectures he held for the Norwegian anthroposophists in 1922 also took up the theme of the ethnic soul from 1910. Steiner GA 209/1982, pp. 13–15.

<sup>45</sup> Steiner GA 121/1982, pp. 104–119.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

is thus that there exists an inner spiritual continuity in the Scandinavian-Teutonic culture, a continuity between the spirit that guided the peoples in Norse times and the spirit that made its entrance with Christianity.

Although the old gods were conquered by Christ, this did not mean that they had disappeared; all that happened was that there was no longer any access to them. It was the task of the Teutonic peoples to open up to them anew, but in a different way from in the past. According to Steiner, it was the Norse god Vidar<sup>47</sup> (in reality, an archangel) who was to lead us forward to the realization and knowledge of Christ:

Since we feel ourselves to be related precisely to the figure of Vidar, whom we now want to grasp in his deeper being, we hope that that which must be the fundamental nerve and the living essence of all that is spiritually scientific, will come into being out of those powers that the archangel of the Teutonic-Scandinavian world can bring to the modern development of time. [...] The greatest contribution to this achievement will have to be made by those from the totality of the Scandinavian-Teutonic peoples who feel in themselves that they possess in themselves the elementary, fresh power of the people.<sup>48</sup>

### Vidar's Flock

This lecture had a decisive and normative role for the Norwegian anthroposophists, who now regarded themselves as Vidar's representatives in the development of the world. In the following year, they founded the Vidar Lodge, which became the Vidar Group in 1913, and the first issue of the anthroposophical periodical *Vidar* appeared in 1915. In the same year, the Vidar Group's publishing house was established, and Vidaråsen, a village for mentally handicapped persons, was founded in 1966.

Steiner returned to Oslo in 1913, to give a series of lectures entitled *Das fünfte Evangelium*. In these he presented himself as the fifth evangelist who, based on in depth research into the occult, could thus tell his listeners what the young Jesus said, thought, and felt. Listeners were for instance told that the 17–18 year old Jesus had said to Maria that Judaism no longer had any value, that it had become illegitimate due to new developments.<sup>49</sup>

Undoubtedly, Steiner's self-representation as the fifth evangelist made a deep impression upon his listeners, and resulted in an increased antagonism towards Judaism.

---

<sup>47</sup> Vidar was a son of Odin and the Jotun woman Grid. He has a central role as avenger in Ragnarök: it is he who avenges Odin and kills the Fenris wolf (in Ragnarök, the Fenris wolf swallows Odin). Snorre relates that Vidar wears a special shoe on one foot, made of all the pieces of leather that are left over when shoes are made. In his fight against the wolf, Vidar thrusts his foot with this shoe down into the jaws of the monster.

<sup>48</sup> Steiner GA 121/1982, p. 19 (all translations of German works are made from the original texts).

<sup>49</sup> Steiner GA 148/1992, p. 80.

## Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen

In 1921, Steiner rewarded Norwegian anthroposophists with yet another declaration of their importance and of the Teutonic Norwegian people. Now he told them that it was of supreme importance for the human race that there were people *in Norway* who identified themselves with what he called true progress.<sup>50</sup>

The Vidar Group learned that Christianity had degenerated in the fourth century, in the sense that the higher spiritual content got smaller and smaller. But it was at that point in time that the Norse gods began to teach the Scandinavian peoples.<sup>51</sup> This meant that the Norwegians had received powers and abilities that could be developed in a special way; and this was decisive for the future of the human race. In these lectures, Steiner emphasized the task that fell to the Norwegians in the spiritual world after death: »And those who have lived their life as Norwegians in the correct manner become after death the inspirers, the teachers for their fellow souls, with regard to the mysteries of nature here on earth.«<sup>52</sup>

In the interwar years, anthroposophy in Norway became particularly oriented toward Norse mythology and the national dimension. In other words, there was a concentration on the Norwegian national genius. Writers such as Ivar Mortensson-Egnund, Olav Aukrust, Ingeborg Møller, and Alf Larsen played a central role here. After the war the national dimension was played down, but Norwegian anthroposophists still believe in the Norse gods as Steiner described them. In 2010 a leading anthroposophist, Frode Barkved, maintained that Vidar is a revitalising body for Christ.<sup>53</sup> Baldr is also a Norse god with a high standing among Norwegian anthroposophists.<sup>54</sup>

Mortensson-Egnund's *chef d'œuvre* was first and foremost his poetic translation of the older *Edda*, but he also translated *Draumkvædet*, a visionary poem from the Middle Ages, and introduced Norwegian folk poetry to a wider audience. He saw this as a literature that expressed a spirit that had been at work in the people from the primal Teutonic times onwards. In *Valund. Spelstykke frå runetidi*, the action is set in ca. 200 of the Common Era. Here, he sought to show that it was Odin who pointed the way that led to the third kingdom. The first kingdom was the Graeco-Roman culture; the second, the Teutonic culture; and the third was a future culture that would liberate man.<sup>55</sup>

Mortensson-Egnund was a member of the Vidar Group, and he published several articles on themes of Norse mythology in the periodical *Vidar*; characteristically, it was he who wrote the article on the divine son Vidar in the first issue. Vidar is the god for that which is to come. When darkness threatens to get the upper hand, when Christianity is disappearing – that is the time when Vidar emerges and slays the wolf. Mortensson-Egnund

---

<sup>50</sup> Steiner GA 209/1982, p. 15.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 56f.

<sup>52</sup> »Und diejenigen, die in der richtigen Weise ihr Norwegerleben durchlebt haben, werden die Anreger, die Lehrenden für ihre Mitseelen nach dem Tode in bezug auf Naturgeheimnisse hier auf der Erde.« Ibid., pp. 63f.

<sup>53</sup> Barkved 2010b, p. 22.

<sup>54</sup> Barkved 2009, pp. 21–29.

<sup>55</sup> Mortensson-Egnund 1920, p. 90. Cf. also Langen 1957, p. 181.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

asserted that although many had fought Vidar's fight, the »great hero« himself had not yet appeared on the scene. He was to unite the old and the new, heaven and earth, the Bible and the *Edda*.

Olav Aukrust too was a member of the Vidar Group, and had a central position in the anthroposophical milieu in the 1920s. He was a pupil and a friend of Mortensson-Egnund, and never wearied of evoking the Teutonic-Norwegian national genius, with references to the *Edda*, to Saint Olav, and to the author Henrik Wergeland. He saw the Norwegian as a particularly vigorous manifestation of the Teutonic: »[T]he Teutonic root went far down into the depths, the Gothic shoot rises up to the sky, the Norse branch is the green of life itself.«<sup>56</sup>

Aukrust would also understand the Teutonic element in racial categories, linking the development of individuality to the Teutonic race: »Without the feeling of the race – no strong individuality; without individuality – no intimate, no high art. This applies to the individual human being, this applies to the individual societal organism, this applies to the people as a whole.«<sup>57</sup>

Although Ivar Mortensson-Egnund and Olav Aukrust attached importance to Germanism and the Norse element, they did not make Judaism the negative counter-culture. There were others who would do that.

### The Norwegian National Genius

The author Ingeborg Møller has a special place in the Norwegian anthroposophical movement. She became a member of the Theosophical Society in 1905. She received esoteric instruction from Steiner and accompanied him on several of his journeys in Norway. She also translated *Draumkvædet* for him.<sup>58</sup>

Møller was a model for many intellectually inclined anthroposophists of the second generation; she was a mythical figure with »supernatural« powers.<sup>59</sup> In the interwar period, she attached especial importance to the cultivation of the Norwegian national genius. This was both a direct and an underlying theme in several articles and novels. She herself explained her passion for the national element as a calling she had received from Rudolf Steiner. Like so many others, she sought his advice about what her task in life ought to be, and Steiner is said to have replied: »Seek in the depth of your own national genius. It is there that you will find the right springs.«<sup>60</sup> For Møller, this was the path to the Norwegian, Teutonic national genius.

---

<sup>56</sup> »Den germanske roti gjeng veldig i djupet, det gotiske spiret ris ende til himils, den norrøne greini er livsens grøn.« Aukrust 1965a, p. 84.

<sup>57</sup> »Uten rasefølelse – ingen sterk individualitet: uten individualitet – ingen intim, høi kunst. Det gjælder det enkelte menneske, det gjælder den enkelte samfundsorganisme, det gjælder hele folkeslag.« Aukrust 1965b, p. 109.

<sup>58</sup> In what follows, I have made use of the biographical information about Norwegian anthroposophists compiled by Christensen and Granly 2011. This is a work written from an anthroposophical point of view.

<sup>59</sup> Rem 2009, p. 195.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Ingeborg Møller. Møller 1961, pp. 1–5. (She quotes these words in German).

## Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen

From 1922 onwards, she was a regular columnist in the Farming Party's principal publication, the newspaper *Nationen*, which printed anti-Semitic articles and caricatures in this period. Ingeborg Møller strongly emphasized the Norse, Norwegian national genius in a number of different contexts. She took a clear position in the vigorous debate about *schechita*, the Jewish ritual slaughter, in the 1920s:

But this ritual slaughter will always disgust the healthy instinct of the Norwegian people.

It is nasty, merciless, un-Teutonic in its deepest root.

From the most distant times, there has always been a good relationship of the heart between the people and the domestic animals here in Norway. This belongs to the very vital principle among us, and it is here that we touch on some of the innermost chords of the ethnic soul.<sup>61</sup>

When the debate on the question of *schechita* was postponed in the Norwegian parliament, Møller had recourse to anti-Semitic conspiracy theories to explain this postponement.<sup>62</sup> She declared that the Jews stood behind Bolshevism in the East and capitalism in the West,<sup>63</sup> and that these were the forces before which the Norwegian politicians were currently capitulating. This was a betrayal both of the Norwegian national genius and of the Norwegian spirit of freedom that had manifested itself in 1814 with the constitution, and in 1905 with independence from Sweden.

A short time ago, these men showed us that they trembled and bowed down before a handful of Jews who had seized power in the East through robbery and murder.

Now we hear that the same men are equally afraid of the moneyed Jews in the West.

This is why they are washing their hands. There was once a man called Pilate. He too washed his hands »out of fear of the Jews.«<sup>64</sup>

In the 1930s, Ingeborg Møller was also a warm admirer of Vidkun Quisling. In 1932, she wrote an article in *Nationen* entitled »Mot« (»Courage«) in which she paid homage to him for his battle of the spirit against materialism and for Teutonic culture. She saw him as one of the heroes of the spirit, in a tradition that went back

---

<sup>61</sup> »Men paa det sunde norske folkeinstinkt vil schächtingen altid virke motbydelig. Den er fæl, ubarmhertig, ugermansk i sin dypeste rot. Fra den fjerneste tid har det altid været et godt hjerteforhold mellem folket og husdyrene her i Norge. Dette hører til selve livselementet hos os, og vi rører her ved nogen av folkesjælens inderste strenger.« Møller 1927, p. 1.

<sup>62</sup> Braut Simonsen 2012, p. 21.

<sup>63</sup> In the article »Opstandelse« (»Resurrection«) in *Romeriket*, she states clearly that it is the Jews who are the revolutionaries in Russia. She writes about »[...] the handful of Semitic usurpers who are ill-treating the true element in the Russian people at present.« Møller 1928, p. 1. In 1934, she published some articles in *Nationen*, once again with the Jews as her theme. Here too, she states clearly that »the Jewish element« must be overcome. She also believes that the Jews have received far too much power in Europe, and that this is a catastrophe for European culture. She does, however, specify that they must be overcome by means of love, not by means of persecution. Møller 1934, p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> »For en kort stund siden viste disse mænd os at de skalv og bøiet sig for en haandfuld jøder, som ved rov og mord har tilranet sig magten i Østen. Nu faar vi høre, at de samme mænd er likesaa rædde for pengejødene i Vesten. Derfor tvætter de sine hænder. Det var engang en mand som het Pilatus; ogsaa han tvættet sine hænder »av frygt for jødene.« Møller 1927, p. 1.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

to Saint Olav.<sup>65</sup> In connection with the foundation of Nasjonal Samling, in 1933, Møller sent him four letters expressing her support and emphasizing his importance for the Norwegian people. However, she criticized the name he had given the party, and wrote that »we« must have a Norwegian name. Her suggestion was »Norrøn samling« (»Norse Unity«).<sup>66</sup> She signed the last letter with the greeting used by the Norwegian National Socialists, »Heil og sælk« (»Health and happiness«).<sup>67</sup>

During the German occupation of Norway, Ingeborg Møller supported neither the occupiers nor the Norwegian Quisling regime. She was put in prison for having distributed a patriotic poem about the king, and she was imprisoned in Grini for six months in 1942 for the illegal possession of a radio. She stopped writing for *Nationen* in 1940 because of the censorship.

### A Prominent Anti-Semite

Ingeborg Møller's friend Marta Steinsvik was a devoted nationalist and anti-Semite from the *Vidar* milieu. She declared herself to be a theosophist in 1894, and joined the Theosophical Society in 1908. In these years, she undertook thorough studies of the writings of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Annie Besant and others, but the theosophist who had the greatest importance for her was Rudolf Steiner.

When Steiner founded St. Olaf, a lodge that aimed to give esoteric instruction to Norwegian theosophists, in 1909, Steinsvik was chosen as one of four »wardens« (*Aufseher*); this was a cultic practice in the Memphis Misraim rites that Steiner had established in Berlin in 1906.<sup>68</sup> When he came to Oslo in 1910 with his lectures on the national genius, she was initiated into the second degree.<sup>69</sup>

Steinsvik, who knew Rudolf Steiner personally, played a central role in the beginnings of the movement in Norway, together with her friends Ingeborg Møller and Helga Geelmuyden. Steiner also seems to have had great confidence in her; according to Steinsvik herself, he wanted them to collaborate: »Come to Germany, and let us work together.«<sup>70</sup>

Marta Steinsvik was profoundly influenced by Norwegian nationalism and by Steiner's ideas about the cosmic Christ. She looked forward to »a *Norwegian* renaissance« when the whole people would be reborn and would appear in its radiant splendor. This would be a modern crusade into the holiest of holies, into the holy land. In her article »Eit adelsfolk« (»A noble people«), she expressed the hope that the spirit of Christ would cleanse the

---

<sup>65</sup> Møller 1932, p. 6. Neither her view of the Jews nor her admiration of Vidkun Quisling is mentioned in Christensen's article on Møller in Christensen & Granly 2011.

<sup>66</sup> Møller 1933a.

<sup>67</sup> Møller 1933b.

<sup>68</sup> Zander 2007 vol. 2, pp. 981–992.

<sup>69</sup> Solbrekken 2012, p. 135.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 147. (She quotes Steiner in German).



## Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen

people so that it could become a »people with the nobility of Christ.«<sup>71</sup> Steinsvik saw freedom and individuality as the basic traits in the Norwegian national genius. She was one of the founders of the anthroposophical movement in Norway, and played a central role in the Vidar Group. Although she parted company with the Group in 1918 and left the Anthroposophical Society because of internal conflicts, she did not abandon anthroposophy. On the contrary, she insisted that she could work more effectively for the »cause« by standing on the outside.<sup>72</sup>

Steinsvik is regarded as one of Norway's most prominent anti-Semitic propagandists in the 1920s. In an interview she gave to *Aftenposten* it was claimed that she had had considerable influence in this regard.<sup>73</sup> In 1922, she went on a lecture tour in which she delivered strong warnings against Jews and Judaism, and defended the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. She praised the constitutional exclusion of Jews and Jesuits from Norway in the past, and expressed the desire to see this reintroduced.<sup>74</sup> However, several years were to pass before Steinsvik's wish was fulfilled, and Quisling's Nasjonal Samling government reintroduced the Jewish paragraph on March 12, 1942.<sup>75</sup>

In 1932, for a short period, Steinsvik was the vice-president in Carl Lies »Norsk folkereising«, an early fascist group in Norway. This group's program advocated a clear racist nationalism and anti-Semitism.<sup>76</sup> 1943, during the German occupation of Norway, Steinsvik explicitly professed her adherence to NS-ideology, an ideology she claimed to have believed in prior to the founding of the NS-party by Quisling. At this time she was considering becoming a member.<sup>77</sup>

### Teutonic Peoples' Gift to the World

Helga Geelmuyden was won over to theosophy by Ingeborg Møller in 1907.<sup>78</sup> When Steiner gave his first lectures in Kristiania in 1909, she became one of his faithful pupils, and was gradually entrusted with central tasks in the movement. Steiner made her the second warden in the Memphis Misraim cult, and gave her responsibility for the esoteric instruction of nearly one hundred Norwegian anthroposophists in 1924. She was the chair of the Vidar Group and the editor of the periodical *Vidar* for several years.<sup>79</sup> In the 1930s, she was responsible for contact with

---

<sup>71</sup> Steinsvik 1910, pp. 80–84; italics in original.

<sup>72</sup> Steinsvik 1918. Steinsvik uses the incorrect term »Vidar Lodge« here, instead of »Vidar Group«.

<sup>73</sup> Steinsvik 1925.

<sup>74</sup> She gives an account of her view of the Jews in interview to *Aftenposten* 6 May 1925. There is also a report of her lecture: »Marta Steinsviks foredrag i Mandal«, in *Nationalt Tidsskrift, Sandheten* nr. 1, 1921, pp. 10–12. Cf. also Solbrekken 2012, pp. 325–341.

<sup>75</sup> Lorenz & Dahl 2005, p. 517.

<sup>76</sup> Solbrekken 2012, p. 333, Norsk Folkereising 1931, Emberland 2015, p. 117, Anker 2014.

<sup>77</sup> Steinsvik 1943.

<sup>78</sup> Helga Geelmuyden also wrote under the name Helga Scheel Geelmuyden. In what follows, I use only the name Helga Geelmuyden.

<sup>79</sup> The Vidar Lodge was founded by Steiner's followers within the Norwegian Theosophical Society in 1911. After the final breach between the theosophists and Rudolf Steiner in 1913/1914, the Vidar Lodge was dissolved and reorganized as the Vidar Group or the Vidar Anthroposophical Working Party.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

the anthroposophical center in Dornach, and she exchanged letters with Marie Steiner for a number of years. She also translated Steiner's writings and held many lectures for the members of the Vidar Group.

As mentioned, the »Jewish problem« became a hot topic in the international anthroposophical movement after Steiner's death. One example is Ludwig Thieben's *Das Rätsel des Judentums* (1931), which had a warm reception.<sup>80</sup> In the large-scale, comprehensive perspectives that Thieben, who himself had a Jewish background, set out, historical evolution – that is to say, the development of what he understood as genuine Christianity – was linked to the Scandinavian and Teutonic peoples.<sup>81</sup> According to Thieben, the »heart« of evolution lay in Central Europe.<sup>82</sup>

One essential presupposition of this theory of evolution was the antithesis between Teuton/Arian and Jew. Unlike the Jew, the Aryan was predisposed for the development of individuality.<sup>83</sup> Unlike Christianity, Judaism is what Thieben calls a »group phenomenon«.<sup>84</sup> Failure to master the negative effects of »the Jewish reality« would lead to the ruin of the West.<sup>85</sup>

Geelmuyden was one of the first to characterize the essence of Judaism as rationalistic this-worldliness and as a power opposed to Teutonic spirituality. In a series of articles on Norse mythology, published in 1918, she contrasted Jewish mythology and culture with the Teutonic. Materialistic science and philosophy are a »continuation of the Jewish element«.<sup>86</sup> This was contrasted with Scandinavian Germanism: »Wherever the Scandinavian mythological consciousness has been at work, there will be a basis for understanding Christianity as a divine-human history«.<sup>87</sup> In the following year, she declared that the Jews were responsible for the entire rationalistic ingredient in Western culture: rationalism was »an unmistakable continuation of Jewish elements«.<sup>88</sup> And like the Jews, the rationalistic philosophers sought to repress the Christ-impulse.<sup>89</sup> In this context, she linked Immanuel Kant's moral doctrine to Judaism. For Geelmuyden, as for Steiner, Kant was the great philosophical opponent: »Through Kant, the man of the law, Judaism is continued in philosophical thinking, and Kantianism

---

<sup>80</sup> It was vigorously defended by anthroposophists in Germany and Switzerland when it was republished by the Perseus Verlag in Basle in 1991: Bierl 2005, pp.136–138; Martins 2014, p. 97; Staudenmaier 2014, p. 171.

<sup>81</sup> Thieben 1991, p. 148, and p. 193.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 202.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 174.

<sup>86</sup> Geelmuyden 1918, p. 117.

<sup>87</sup> »Der vil der, hvor den nordisk mytologiske bevissthet har virket, være jordbund for forstaaelsen av kristendommen som guddommelig-menneskelig historie.« Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>88</sup> Geelmuyden 1919, p. 316.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp. 316f.

wanders round among us even today, as the eternal Jew that it is.«<sup>90</sup> In another text, »Kant und Hegel«, it is Kant himself who is characterized as »the eternal Jew«.<sup>91</sup>

An article from 1925, »Die Schöpfung des Menschen im nordischen Mythos« (»The creation of the human being in the Norse myth«), in the periodical *Die Drei. Monatsschrift für Anthroposophie*, sheds a particularly interesting light on Geelmuyden's view of Judaism and of the Norwegian people's task in the development of the world.<sup>92</sup> Once again, a sharp contrast is posited between Judaism and Teutonic culture. With reference to the Norse and the Jewish creation narratives, she declares that the Jews were linked to that which is earthly, the »physical-material,« where love is lived out as an instinct in the blood and as desire, that is to say, as sexual, this-worldly love where »the woman becomes the temptress.«<sup>93</sup> In the Teutonic, Norse account of creation, on the other hand, she finds the basis of a higher, »ethereal« inner life that could bring about a purer, spiritual love. For Geelmuyden, this meant that the Teutonic inner life, unlike the Jewish inner life, had never lost its connection to the divine. And this was decisively important for the further development of the two cultures.

After the Jews had denied Christ and had been scattered throughout the world, they were »everywhere« the bearers of an intellectualist culture that was characterized by the »atomistic element«, that is to say, by a dissolving, dissecting mentality.<sup>94</sup> She posited a contrast between atomistic intellectualism and the »Scandinavian-Teutonic human being« who was connected to a national genius that was able to bring about a higher spiritual life. This meant the development of wisdom and of a spiritual love that pointed ahead to Christ.

Helga Geelmuyden concludes her article in *Die Drei* by affirming her belief that the Teutonic national genius is the steward of the great and true love. She asks rhetorically whether the knowledge of love as a world power is a gift that the Teutonic peoples could offer to the world.<sup>95</sup> In the article »Baldur und Widar,« one finds yet again the antithesis between Germanism and Judaism. Here there is also an echo of Steiner's idea of the vital freshness of the Scandinavian people:

---

<sup>90</sup> »Gjennem den lovens mand Kant er jødedommen kontinuert i den filosofiske tænkning, og kantianismen vandrer om blant os den dag i dag som den evige jøde den er.« Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>91</sup> Geelmuyden no date a, p. 13.

<sup>92</sup> Geelmuyden 1925. This article is basically a revision and translation into German of an article she had written in *Vidar* some years earlier: »Mennesketilblivelsen i vor nordiske mytologi og hos Henrik Wergeland,« *Vidar* 1918, pp. 270–288. I refer here to the article in *Die Drei*, because it is somewhat more precise and clearer than the article in *Vidar* with regard to the definition of Wergeland's relationship to the Teutonic element.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 628.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 629.

<sup>95</sup> »Is not this a gift that the Teutonic ethnic group can give to the world, this perception of love on various levels as a world power?« Ibid., p. 639 (original German).

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

The Semitic people was, no doubt, able to bring forth the bodiliness in which the Christ could embody himself, but no people could match the Teutonic people in the possession of the fresh, vital powers, drawn from the substance of the people, for the further development of the understanding of Christ.<sup>96</sup>

Given Helga Geelmuyden's position as a teacher of esotericism and as chair in the Vidar Group, one can surely assume that her view of Germanism and Judaism carried great weight in the anthroposophical milieu between the Wars.

### »It is the Jews' own Fault«

Conrad Englert was perhaps the most influential anthroposophist in Norway in the second half of the 1930s. He was originally from Switzerland, but worked in Norway for some years as lecturer, pedagogue, author, and general secretary of the Anthroposophical Society in Norway. His *chef d'œuvre* is a lengthy »spiritual scientific« description of the Swiss Confederation and of Swiss culture, *Vom Mythos zur Idee der Schweiz* (1940). He was particularly important for a group of young anthroposophists of the second generation, who were to become prominent figures in Norwegian public life after the Second World War.

Even loyal anthroposophists describe Englert as a quarrelsome person who had a polarizing effect in the movement. He has been called a »fanatic,« and Terje Christensen, the historian of the movement in Norway, writes about his »fanaticism for the truth.« For Englert, the supreme authority was the pure doctrine and the Anthroposophical Society.<sup>97</sup>

The anthroposophical milieu in Norway was beset by interior conflicts in the second half of the 1930s. Helga Geelmuyden took a clear position in these conflicts, through her strong ties of loyalty to the leadership in the Goetheanum. One of the topics of conflict was the relationship to those who held power in Germany. Leading anthroposophists such as Johannes Hohlenberg and Alf Larsen had criticized Hitler and Nazism. Englert and Geelmuyden reacted strongly to this – both of them in agreement with Marie Steiner in Dornach. In a letter to Marie Steiner, Geelmuyden complained both about Larsen's criticism of the new situation in Germany and about the »hatred of Hitler« that Hohlenberg displayed.<sup>98</sup> Hohlenberg, the strongest critic of Hitler, met particularly strong opposition for this and many other reasons, and at the end of the conflict, he was refused permission to publish texts by Steiner in *Vidar*, the periodical he edited.

The usual explanation of Geelmuyden's and Englert's opposition to the criticism of Hitler has been that the movement was meant to be apolitical, and that one had to bear in mind the difficult situation of the German

---

<sup>96</sup> Geelmuyden no date b, p. 2.

<sup>97</sup> Christensen 2012a and b.

<sup>98</sup> Geelmuyden 1935, »[...] I had already expressed my dissatisfaction to Hohlenberg that he used *Vidar* as a vehicle for his hatred of Hitler [...]«.

anthroposophists.<sup>99</sup> This, however, is an explanation that trivializes the real situation. The historians Peter Staudenmaier and Ansgar Martins have shown that many German anthroposophists tried to accommodate to and to collaborate with the Nazi regime.<sup>100</sup>

Englert's insistence that the movement was to be apolitical is also problematic. While he was editor of *Vidar* for a short period in the 1920s, he published two long articles by Hans von May in praise of Mussolini.<sup>101</sup> During Englert's time as editor, Hans von May was also allowed to publish an article on the Jewish problem seen from an anthroposophical standpoint.<sup>102</sup> With an explicit reference to Steiner's cycle on the national genius, he defines the significance of Judaism in history and that which is typically Jewish. This was legitimate before the incarnation of Christ, but after the incarnation, it is the antithesis of Christianity. Besides this, the Jews are driven by self-interest to a greater degree than other people. Their characteristic traits include membership of their tribe, materialism, the cultivation of ties of blood, isolationism, and egoism. The conclusion is clear, therefore: Judaism is a »foreign body in the progress of culture.«<sup>103</sup>

Like many other leading anthroposophists, Englert saw the Teutonic and German culture as the bearer of development and of the future. Friedrich Rittelmeyer, the first leader of the anthroposophical *Christengemeinschaft*, was an authority in this respect. In 1934, he spoke enthusiastically of Herman Wirth and praised him for having opened up the access to the »old Scandinavian« world of the spirit. In the following year, Wirth became the leader of the SS Ahnenerbe (»Ancestral Heritage«).<sup>104</sup> Rittelmeyer was also glad to see that the fight against the Anglo-Saxon faith in liberalism and internationalism was now being waged in Germany.<sup>105</sup> And he found it positive that the Jewish question had overnight become the central theme of the age. His own contribution was to present this as a spiritual question.<sup>106</sup> In a number of publications, Rittelmeyer put forward the German and Teutonic element as the positive counterpart to Jews and Judaism. The individual Jew could be saved, if he became Teutonic. An »evil spirit« (*Ungeist*) characterized by intellectualism, egoism, and materialism

---

<sup>99</sup> Christensen & Granly 2011, p. 355.

<sup>100</sup> Staudenmaier 2014, chs. 3 and 4, and Martins 2014. Anthroposophists have undertaken a comprehensive investigation of the anthroposophists' relation to National Socialism from 1933 to 1945 (Werner 1999). Werner was the archivist in the Goetheanum, and his account attempts to present the anthroposophists as victims of National Socialism and to argue that only a small group became Nazis. Central aspects of this account need to be revised. Recent source-critical research has shown that the anthroposophists' positive involvement in Nazism (also in Dornach) was further-reaching than was formerly supposed.

<sup>101</sup> von May 1925. According to Christensen 2012a, p. 29, Hans von May was married to Englert's mother in her second marriage.

<sup>102</sup> von May 1926.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>104</sup> Rittelmeyer 1934a, pp. 37f. Wirth joined the National Socialist Party in 1933 and was appointed to a professorship at the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., pp. 22–24.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

was typical of Jews and Judaism.<sup>107</sup> With a flood of references to the Gospel of John, to the German people, German culture, Goethe, Fichte, and Hegel, he maintained that it was the Teutons who would discover what he called the »all-I« (*All-Ich*). He also employed Steiner's theory of the existence of two Jesus-children to link one Jesus-child to the Aryan race, so that Christ's earthly body consists of a Semitic and an Aryan part.<sup>108</sup> This made sense of Christ's fight against his own people.

Although Englert did not go as far as Rittelmeyer, some of the same ideas are clearly present. He too links the development of a free, universal individuality to national genii that are located at one particular stage in the development of world history. He specifies that the national genii are autonomous, individual entities, beings that influence and govern the peoples right down to the innermost details.<sup>109</sup> The Swiss Englert also states very clearly that the Swiss people are completely unique in Europe as »the historical organ for the self-conscious ›human spirit.«<sup>110</sup> He furthermore claimed that the historical evolution of freedom and individuality has moved from East to West and has »now« reached »the regions north of the Alps«, where it takes decisions that have significance for the entire human race.<sup>111</sup> Englert saw the *Blut und Boden* thinking of his age as completely legitimate. But the decisive point in his eyes was that the blood and the soil were spiritualized, that is to say, were turned into an object of reflection.<sup>112</sup>

Like Steiner, Englert ascribed a special significance to Norway and the Scandinavian countries. And like Steiner, he held that it was the Norse god Thor who had formed the historical destiny of the Norwegian people. Unlike Sweden and Denmark, Norway was characterized by a special element of the will that derived from Thor. In other respects, however, he left no doubt that the great trajectory of evolution lay in the Teutonic-German element. The Christ child lies deep in the mind of the German human being; this question touches on the holiest element in *das Germanentum*, »Teutonic-ness«.<sup>113</sup> Like Helga Geelmuyden, Englert affirmed that the fresh Christ-powers were to be found among the Teutons. It is in the depths of »Teutonic-ness« that the future is to be found:

The guiding powers of the human race that have formed the national entities led »Teutonic-ness« upwards to perfection along four paths of initiation, so that the primitive, »egoic,« strong-willed Scandinavian human being, once he had been spiritualized, would attain full growth and be ready to bear fruit as he

---

<sup>107</sup> Rittelmeyer 1934b, p. 293.

<sup>108</sup> Rittelmeyer 1934a, pp. 102–104, cf. Martins 2014, p. 376.

<sup>109</sup> Englert 1940, pp. 790f. Conrad Englert also wrote under the name Conrad Englert-Faye. In what follows, I use only the name Conrad Englert.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 787.

<sup>111</sup> »Der Schwerpunkt der geschichtlichen Ereignisse verschiebt sich, die Zentren der Kulturen werden verlegt. So bewegt sich der Gang der Menschheit, soweit überlieferte Kunde reicht und die zeitübliche Forschung dringt, von Osten nach Westen, aus den Gebieten des inneren Asiens nach den asiatischen Vorländern, von da ins Mittelmeerbecken und zuletzt in die Gegenden nördlich der Alpen, wo auch heute in unserer Gegenwart noch die grossen Entscheidungen für die Menschheit fallen.« Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 828.

<sup>113</sup> Englert 1925, p. 20.

grew towards the one great work of salvation of the luminous child of God under the twinkling Christmas tree.<sup>114</sup>

Englert pursued this line of thought in a number of articles about »German-ness«. The Christ-impulse and the universal were to be found in the German national genius. In short, it all came down to Goethe and German Idealism. It was true that the German people had betrayed its task and had sunk down into a deep spiritual darkness, but a man born in 1861 was to lead the German spirit back up to new heights: Rudolf Steiner.<sup>115</sup>

One finds Englert using the terms »Teutonic« and »Aryan« in other contexts too. In one of the lectures he held in Norway during the occupation, he insisted vigorously that despite »lying propaganda«, Alsace and Lorraine were »completely and utterly Teutonic.«<sup>116</sup> And in a circular letter to the members, he informed them that the »Racial Office« in Berlin had confirmed Rudolf Steiner's Aryan descent.<sup>117</sup>

There is little indication that Englert was particularly interested in the »Jewish problem« of that period. His surviving papers include a number of the texts that take up the Jewish Old Testament history, but none that comments on contemporary events.<sup>118</sup> However, roughly one month before the *Novemberpogrom*, while the persecution of the Jews in Germany steadily got worse, he held a lecture about the Jews and their fate for the Oslo Group, a circle of younger anthroposophists that had been founded in 1936.

Since his manuscript has not yet come to light, it is impossible to make any definitive pronouncement about Englert's position; but a report in the newspaper *Tidens Tegn* on October 20 reveals that Englert followed the traditional anthroposophical schema in his account.<sup>119</sup> His starting point was that one was living in the age of individuality, and that it was illegitimate to think in terms of mass or race.

According to this report, Englert clearly rejected Nazism's racial thinking and collectivism. But it seems to be a main point in his lecture that the Nazis had borrowed their racial thinking from the Jews – this was ancient Jewish teaching. The Jews had »always« asserted that the blood is the kernel of the individual, and had always denied the free, creative individual. This was why they were excluded everywhere. Englert concluded from this that when

---

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>115</sup> Englert no date, p. 7.

<sup>116</sup> Englert 1941–1943, p. 41.

<sup>117</sup> Englert 1940. Cf. also Rem 2009, p. 125. The background to Englert's letter to the members was the attempt by Nazi opponents of occultism to blacken the name of Steiner by claiming that he was a Jew. This led the leadership of the Berlin anthroposophists to request an »Aryan certificate« from *Der Sachverständige für Rasseforschung beim Reichsministerium des Inneren* in 1933; the certificate was issued in October that year. Wagner 1991, p. 75.

<sup>118</sup> Englert's archive is in Dornach, Rudolf Steiner Nachlassverwaltung.

<sup>119</sup> Englert 1938.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

the Jews were persecuted by the Nazis in Germany, robbed of their property and sacked from their jobs, this was the Jews' own fault: »The Jews' fate is provoked by the Jews themselves.«<sup>120</sup>

One must, of course, use a newspaper report with caution, but the points of view are easily recognized; one also finds them in other representatives of anthroposophy. Englert reacted to the Nazis' persecution of the Jews, but his lecture appears, strikingly enough, to have been primarily a settling of accounts not with Nazism, but with Judaism. In this way, it accords with the anti-Semitic discourse of that period. First of all, one finds a simple, stereotypical presentation of Jews and Judaism. Secondly, it is claimed that the Jews are responsible for what is happening to them – an idea that he very likely borrowed from Rudolf Steiner, who explained the fate of the Jews in history as karma, a fate that they had drawn down upon themselves. For, as Steiner says, »We thus realize at this point that where a fate is realized, it is in fact the case that it is truly (to use an oriental expression) karma, an inherent destiny. This destiny of exile came about among the Jews through their own character [...].«<sup>121</sup> And last but not least, Englert claimed that Nazi racism not only matched what was understood as Jewish racism, but was actually taken over from Judaism. One presupposition of this argument is that Judaism and Jewish culture had no *raison d'être* and ought to cease to exist.

On November 26, 1942, five hundred and thirty-two Norwegian Jewish women, children, and men were sent on the transport ship DS Donau to the extermination camps. Only nine men survived. The next year Englert held a lecture where he affirmed that those who represented progress in history were those who were not tied down by »the blood.« In this context, he stated that »the Jews are the race that represents the principle of blood most strongly in the world.«<sup>122</sup>

## The Teachers of the Nazis

Johannes Hohlenberg (1881–1960) was an intellectual and a productive writer. His books about Søren Kierkegaard, *Søren Kierkegaard* (1940) and *Den ensomme vej* (1948), are his best known works. *Den trange port. Når saltet mister sin kraft* (*The narrow gate. When the salt loses its savor*), a collection of essays, appeared in 1948. It consists primarily of the articles he had written in the interwar years.

Hohlenberg was born and grew up in Denmark. He was general secretary in the Danish Anthroposophical Society from 1924 to 1931, and he had close contacts with the Norwegian anthroposophical milieu, which invited him to give lectures. He became editor of *Vidar* in 1924, a position he shared initially with Ingeborg Møller. When she

---

<sup>120</sup> »Jødernes skjebne er fremkaldt av dem selv.« Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> »Und da kommt man schon darauf: Wo ein Schicksal sich erfüllt, da ist es eigentlich so, daß es wirklich, wie wir es mit einem orientalischen Ausdruck nennen, ein Karma, ein inneres Schicksal ist. Dieses Exilgeschick, das hat sich bei den Juden durch den eigenen Charakter so gemacht [...].« Steiner, GA 353/1988, p. 205.

<sup>122</sup> »Jødene er den rase i verden som representerer blodsprinsippet aller sterkest.« Englert 1943, p. 48 and p. 51.



resigned two and a half years later, he edited the periodical, mostly on his own, until 1940.<sup>123</sup> As the editor of *Vidar*, and thanks to his numerous articles, Hohlenberg became a key figure in the anthroposophical movement in Scandinavia. Alf Larsen described him in 1931 as the »[...] driving force in the anthroposophical movement here in Scandinavia today.«<sup>124</sup>

There was a close relationship between Hohlenberg and Larsen on the personal level too. Hohlenberg, whose wife was Norwegian, settled in Norway, and he and his wife moved into a house on Larsen's property in Tjøme in 1939. A breach came in 1940 because of their disagreement about the attitude to be taken towards Nazism. Hohlenberg wanted a direct confrontation, but Larsen wanted to act more cautiously.

In 1928, Hohlenberg held a series of public lectures in Oslo on Norse mythology, *Edda i antroposofiens lys* (»Edda in the light of anthroposophy«), which were based on Steiner's cycle on the national genius. This presentation emphasized above all the Teutonic character of Norse mythology: the Norse gods were Teutonic, and it was the Teutonic peoples who led the way in the development of the world.

For Hohlenberg, the Scandinavian folk-spirit Odin was an archangel who had renounced his own spiritual growth in order to work on the development of the Scandinavian peoples. This would also have a positive significance for Odin himself, since he would be able to ascend higher in the angelic hierarchy.

And if, thanks to spiritual science (that is to say, anthroposophy), the Scandinavians became conscious of their own special spiritual form, and succeeded in transforming it in the correct manner, »[...] it may be that the opposing forces, the hostile powers, the Fenris wolf, will be killed, and a new order of things will emerge.«<sup>125</sup> The one who would slay the wolf would be none other than the divine son Vidar.

Accordingly, Hohlenberg would claim that Vidar lives in all the Teutonic peoples. Germany has had its golden age with philosophers such as Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. Now it is Scandinavia's turn:

The culture that lives in the Scandinavian lands will thereby not only become a national flowering. It will become a spirit that truly sets its mark on human development, that is to say, a bearer of human development in the future, so that in one entire historical period, the torch will stand in the Scandinavian lands and shed its light.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> In 1934, the production of *Vidar* became a collaborative project among anthroposophists in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; each country now had its own editor. This collaboration ceased two years later, and Hohlenberg continued as the sole editor.

<sup>124</sup> »[...] bærende kraft i den antroposofiske bevægelse her i Norden nu.« Larsen 1931, p. 48.

<sup>125</sup>, »[...] vil det kunne skje at motstandsmaktene, de fiendtlige makter, Fenrisulven blir drept og en ny tingenes orden fremkommer.« Hohlenberg 1999, p. 23.

<sup>126</sup> »Derved ville den kultur som lever i de nordiske land ikke bare bli en nasjonal blomstring, men den ville bli en ånd som virkelig kom til å prege menneskeutviklingen, den ville bli en bærer av menneskeutviklingen fremover, slik at i en hel historisk periode ville fakkelen komme til å stå lysende i de nordiske land.« Ibid., p. 99.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

In the articles he wrote in the 1920s and 1930s, Hohlenberg described both the race issue and the »Jewish problem« from an anthroposophical perspective. In the article »Om raceproblemet« (»On the racial problem«) in *Vidar* (1931), his theme was the importance of races in historical evolution. His starting point was an article by Richard Karutz in the anthroposophical periodical *Goetheanum*. According to Hohlenberg, *Vidar* had been interested in Karutz for a long time, and what he had to say was of more than general interest. For Hohlenberg Karutz was a man with the true perspectives on the races.<sup>127</sup>

Karutz was the most prominent anthroposophical racial theorist in Germany after Steiner's death. He was highly respected and had considerable influence in anthroposophical circles. His books received due attention in *Vidar*. In *Rassenfragen* (»Racial questions«, 1934), he maintained that the anthroposophical spiritual science and the worldview of the Third Reich complemented and enhanced each other.<sup>128</sup> It was Karutz who assured the authorities in 1934 that all the teachers at the Waldorf School in Stuttgart shared the new regime's national convictions and faith in the spiritual-cultural mission of the German people.<sup>129</sup> On other occasions too, he expressed his support of the Nazi regime. On racial questions, Karutz referred to Steiner as the authority.<sup>130</sup>

In »Om raceproblemet«, Hohlenberg, like Karutz, dissociated himself from the various contemporary racial theories that had a biological basis. This, however, did not mean that the idea of a structured hierarchy of racial categories was rejected. Hohlenberg's point was that the basis of the races was the spirit. They had a specific function in the spiritual-historical evolution. The decisive factor was the link of both the biological and the spiritual principles to the race. But Hohlenberg, like Steiner, also maintained that the races would cease to exist at some future date.

For Karutz and with him Hohlenberg, it was vital to realize that one had reached a point in the cosmic evolution where eugenics and the attempts to produce the pure race were no longer legitimate. But they also held that the form of racial mixing they envisaged did not apply to all the races of the world. A racial blend with the »colored races« was not desirable, for reasons of spiritual science: it would be too difficult for the individual ego to tackle the differences. »This would in general be the case with crossings between Europeans and colored races.«<sup>131</sup> Hohlenberg also agreed with Karutz that »the colored races will gradually die out, because there will no longer be any souls that need them and that can use them for their own development.«<sup>132</sup> It was the European human being

---

<sup>127</sup> Hohlenberg 1931, p. 29 and p. 34.

<sup>128</sup> *Rassenfragen* was not reviewed in *Vidar*.

<sup>129</sup> Staudenmaier 2013.

<sup>130</sup> According to Martins 2012, p. 138. Karutz developed a racial hatred that differed from the National Socialist ideology only in its esoteric justification.

<sup>131</sup> »Dette vil i almindelighet være tilfældet ved krydsninger mellom Europæere og farvede racer.« Hohlenberg 1931, p. 33.

<sup>132</sup> »De farvede racer vil efterhaanden uddø av den grund at der ikke mer vil findes sjæle som behøver dem og kan bruge dem til deres udvikling.« Ibid., p. 34.

who led the way in the development: »And the true meaning is that the highest link in the human nature, the ego, can unfold itself to the full only in a bodily organism of the European type.«<sup>133</sup>

Hohlenberg rejected a biologically defined anti-Semitism, but this did not mean a rejection of anti-Semitism as such. anti-Semitism was justified because »[...] it is a protest against an obsolete, Old Testament racial consciousness that is limited by blood, with no developmental possibilities.«<sup>134</sup>

His various diatribes against Jews and Judaism were determined by forms of understanding and notions that are among the more original elements in the constellation of anti-Semitic ideas. One idea to which Hohlenberg returned on several occasions was that the great and significant personalities, the geniuses, drained the race of creative energies and the substance of the soul. They used up the strengths of the race, so that there was nothing left for the others. These ideas took on huge dimensions when he used them to explain the curse that lay upon the Jewish people:

And Christ himself is the proof *par excellence*. He used up the substance of his people so completely that it has not overcome the loss even to this very day. What one can call the curse of the Jewish people is precisely a weakening of this kind in the substance of its soul, which finds expression in an unsound relationship to nature, with the consequent lack of artistic creative power. This prevents that inner renewal that lies in the immediate relationship to the hidden intentions in nature, and binds the Jewish soul fast to »the law«. It is here that the secret in the so-called Jewish problem lies. One will never get to the bottom of this, unless one sees it in this context.<sup>135</sup>

The idea that Jews and Judaism were behind Bolshevism and the revolution in Russia circulated among anti-Semitic thinkers after the First World War, and was one of the points in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.<sup>136</sup> The idea that the Jews could also be connected to Nazism was not equally common, but as early as 1934, Hohlenberg could affirm that communists and Nazis were »the true Jews.«<sup>137</sup> He returned to this theme several times in the 1930s before the outbreak of the Second World War, thus contributing to a demonization of Jews and Judaism.

---

<sup>133</sup> »Og den virkelige mening ligger deri, at det højeste ledd i menneskenaturen, jeget, kun kan utfolde sig helt i en legemlig organisme av europæisk type.« Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>134</sup> »[...] den er en protest mot en forældet, blodsbeğrænset, gammeltestamentlig racebevissthet uten utviklingsmuligheter.« Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> »Og Kristus selv er beviset fremfor noget. Han brugte sit folks substans saa fuldstændigt op, at det endnu den dag i dag ikke har forvundet tabet. Det man kalder jødefolkets forbandelse er netop en saadan svækkelse i den sjælelige substans, der giver sig udtryk i et svigtende forhold til naturen og en dermed følgende mangel på kunstnerisk skaberkraft, der hindrer den indre fornyelse der ligger i det umiddelbare forhold til de skjulte intentioner i naturen og binder den jødiske sjæl for fast til »loven«. Her ligger hemmeligheden i det saakaldte jødeproblem, som man aldrig vil kome tilbunds i, hvis man ikke ser det i denne sammenhæng.« Hohlenberg 1937, p. 63.

<sup>136</sup> Pöttger 2013, pp. 449–452.

<sup>137</sup> Hohlenberg 1934, p. 280.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

In his essay »Det ukendte evangelium« (»The unknown gospel«) from 1938, the same year in which Englert delivered his lecture on the Jewish problem, Hohlenberg made a connection between hatred, both in history and at the present day, and Judaism. As he saw it, the communists' and the Nazis' hatred of their enemies was Judaism:

One who hates a human being because he belongs to another nation or another »class« or another race or another political party, is a straggler on the path of culture. This allows us to grasp the extent of the backward step that is taken when National Socialist leaders proclaim that »my neighbor is the one who shares my blood, and if I love him, I must hate his enemies.« This is a step backwards to Judaism, just like the corresponding communist hatred of the »class enemy.«<sup>138</sup>

In »En ny mennesketype« (»A new type of human being«) from 1937, Hohlenberg's aim was not to defend the Jews against the attacks by the Nazis, but to emphasize that the central elements in Nazi ideology had their origin in Judaism and that the Jews were the »teachers« of the Nazis.

But why, then, did the Nazis persecute their models and teachers? According to Hohlenberg, the direct explanation was that the Nazis had »a bad conscience.« Because they »half-consciously« knew that their own ideology was an error in the development of the world, they took vengeance on their teachers.

What is happening in Germany is an attempt to go back to the world of the Old Testament, to the pre-Christian ideals that have found their typical expression Judaism. We find them all again: the purity of the blood, dependence on the earth, the isolated position among the peoples, the unconditional submission of the individual to the law of the tribe, belief in the special mission, the dream of being the chosen people – all these old ideas live anew in Nazi ideology. Even the old »God of hosts«, Jehovah Zebaoth, whose ghost haunted Wilhelmine Germany, turns up in a new disguise as Wotan. Behind the hatred for the Jews lies a half-conscious knowledge of this situation. One takes vengeance on one's teachers for one's own inadequacy and one's bad conscience, although these teachers bear no guilt, and have themselves paid a high price for their failure to understand that their time is past.<sup>139</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> »Den som hader et menneske fordi han tilhører en anden nation eller en anden »klasse« eller en anden race eller et andet politisk parti, er en efterløber på kulturens vej. Man kan deraf maale hvilket tilbageskridt det betyder naar det af nationalsocialistiske førere forkyndes at »min næste er min blodsfælle, og elsker jeg ham maa jeg hade hans fjender«. Det er et tilbageskridt til jødedommen, ganske som det tilsvarende kommunistiske had mod »klassefjenden«.« Hohlenberg 1938, p. 66.

<sup>139</sup> »Det der sker i Tyskland er et forsøg på en tilbagevenden til det gamle testamentets verden, til de førkristelige idealer, som har fået deres typiske udtryk i jødedommen. Man finder dem alle igjen: blodets renhed, afhængigheden af jorden, den isolerede stilling blant folkene, den enkeltes ubetingede underkastelse under stammens lov, troen på den særlige mission, drømmen om at være det udvalgte folk, - alle disse gamle forestillinger lever på ny i den nazistiske ideologi. Selv den gamle hærskaernes gud Jehovah Zebaoth, som spøgede i det wilhelminske Tyskland, dukker op i ny forklædning som Wotan. Bag jødehadet ligger en halvbevidst erkjennelse af dette forhold. Man hævner sin utilstrækkelighed og sin dårlige samvittighed på sine læremestre, som dog er uden skyld og selv har bødet hårdt nok for ikke at have forstået at deres tid er forbi.« Hohlenberg 1937, p. 321.

## Nazism is Judaism's Final Victory

Alf Larsen, Johannes Hohlenberg's friend and close collaborator for several years, was a well-known poet and cultural critic, and a cultural conservative. He became an anthroposophist in 1925, and edited the periodical *Janus* in the 1930s. This was a periodical that from an anthroposophical point of view sought to contribute to the discourse in the public sphere. After the Second World War, he made his mark with a long series of articles in the socially conservative newspaper *Morgenbladet*, presenting anthroposophy and Rudolf Steiner as the only alternative to materialism and to the general chaos of the time. For Larsen Steiner was the absolute authority, and he repeated several times that he had received from Steiner everything he had. In later years, Norwegian anthroposophists have pointed to Larsen as a leading and trendsetting representative of anthroposophy in Norway in the 1930s and as an inspiration and an important agent in the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>140</sup>

Alf Larsen has been praised for his warnings against the totalitarian movements in the interwar years. In 1933, after Quisling had set up his party, he (unlike his friend Ingeborg Møller) warned unequivocally against the »Führer« he saw emerging. One also finds some critical remarks in *Janus* about the Nazis' anti-Semitism. He wrote in 1933: »The persecution of the Jews is a stain on the German people's history, a shame that cannot be washed out [...].«<sup>141</sup> He had not much more than this to say about the persecution of the Jews in those years; and it turned out that a reaction to an extreme anti-Semitism was not incompatible with a clearly assimilationistic anti-Semitism.

However, Larsen's opposition to Nazism and communism was not based on a democratic or politically liberal position. Throughout his life, he had nothing but contempt for democracy. He was open for a dictatorship and was willing to submit to a »Führer«, provided that he represented the correct ideology.<sup>142</sup> It was necessary to warn against Nazism in the same way as against Fascism, communism, socialism, capitalism, liberalism, and parliamentarianism. In fact, most of what could be associated with »modernity« was the object of Larsen's contempt. The bourgeoisie and the proletariat were both attacked; Catholicism was a major enemy, Protestantism was naïve, and the Oxford Movement was a spiritual elementary school. Only Rudolf Steiner and anthroposophy were up to standard.

Like Steiner, Larsen was critical of nationalism, and he could assert that it had to be overcome. This, however, did not prevent him from thinking that the Norwegian and Scandinavian element had a special role to play at this time; here too, he referred to Steiner's cycle on the national genius. There was nothing wrong with the national

---

<sup>140</sup> Schiøtz 2000, p. 115, Schiøtz 2011, p. 3.

<sup>141</sup> »Jødeforfølgelsen er en skamfleck på det tyske folks historie, en uavtvettelig skamfleck [...]« Larsen 1933, p. 270. Other texts in which the persecution by the Nazis is mentioned in passing are: Alf Larsen 1933b, p. 244, Larsen 1938a, p. 291, Larsen 1934, p. 719.

<sup>142</sup> »[...] vi drømmer jo om en ny nationalisme i åndens tegn [...] vi drømmer om at gjøre Norge til et nyt Kristusfolk i ånd og sandhet.« Larsen (Unsigned) 1933, p. 536. Larsen uses here the term »fører« which is the Norwegian word for the German »Führer«.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

element *per se*, but the Norwegian national genius had to become Christian. He saw this as the most important task: »[...] for we dream of a new nationalism under the sign of the spirit [...] we dream of making Norway a new Christ-people in spirit and truth.«<sup>143</sup> The Teutonic-Scandinavian mythology was the vessel in which that which was new was presented. And it is in Steiner that one receives a

[...] conception of what it is that is the special task of the individual ethnic soul in the world context, and not only in the individual period or the individual course of time. Here too, we get a deeper understanding of the fact that *if* there is a special task for the Norwegian people (the Scandinavian peoples) today, this is because special preconditions exist here for a new *form of Christianity*, a form of Christianity that is capable of reconciling that which hitherto has been irreconcilable: the old elementary spirits, the spirits of the languages and the spirits of the peoples, with the new god, with *White Christ* [...].<sup>144</sup>

Despite his warnings against all the ideologies of the period and against the general decay, Larsen could also see positive vital forces in what was happening:

In a remarkably unclear and misty manner, the swastika [*hakekors*] and the Christ-cross [*Kristuskors*], the idea of Olav and the religion of Odin are being mixed together in people's minds, but all this has a deeper meaning [...] to kindle the Christ-light on the Norwegian mountain!<sup>145</sup>

Larsen could also maintain that great things were happening in the new Germany. In his article »Jeg har møtt en engel« (»I have met an angel«, 1935), Larsen wrote about the new element that was pregnant with the future, the signs of »the new day.« He related that »Those who have been in Germany recently talk about the remarkable, bright cheerfulness that, despite everything, rests over people down there since they were captivated by the great idea of the salvation of the fatherland and the restitution of the people.«<sup>146</sup> Larsen had learned from Rudolf Steiner that the dark age, Kali Yuga, had ended in 1899, and that it was especially in the 1930s that new, higher spiritual abilities would develop in human beings, while at the same time Christ would manifest himself in the so-

---

<sup>143</sup> Larsen 1931, p. 49.

<sup>144</sup> »[...] begrep hvad det er som er den enkelte folkesjels spesielle opgave i verdensammenhengen og ikke bare i den enkelte tid eller det enkelte tidsforløp, her får vi også en dypere forståelse av at hvis det norske (de nordiske) folk har noen spesiell opgave i dag, i denne tidsepoke, så er det fordi der her er særskilte betingelser til stede for en ny kristendomsform, en kristendomsform som er istand til å forlike det hittil uforlikelige: de gamle elementarånder, sprogåndene og folkeåndene, med den nye gud, med Hvitekrist [...]« Larsen 1938, p. 120, (Hvitekrist, »White Christ«, was the Viking name for Christ).

<sup>145</sup> »På underlig ukklar og tåket vis blandes nu hakekors og Kristuskors, Olavstanke og Odinsreligion sammen i sinnene, men det har alt sammen en dypere mening [...] å tende Kristuslyset på det norske fjell!« Larsen 1935a, p. 53.

<sup>146</sup> »De som har vært i Tyskland i det siste forteller om den merkverdige lyse munterhet som tross alt hviler over menneskene der nede efter at de blev betatt av den store idé om fedrelandets frelse og folkets opreising.« Larsen 1935a, p. 55. It is likely that he had read the description of a journey to Germany in 1933 by the Swedish professor of literature Fredrik Böök. His account of his stay in Germany speaks of exactly the optimism, devotion, and enthusiasm that Larsen relates. Böök 1933. In the 1930s and 1940s, Böök made his mark as one of Sweden's most prominent admirers of Hitler and pro-Nazis in the public cultural arena.

called »ethereal world«. Steiner mentions 1933, 1935, and 1937 as particularly important years.<sup>147</sup> It is obvious that this is what Larsen now sees in Germany:

The Spirit, the Holy Spirit, is breaking into the earthly sphere like a sudden and incomprehensible light that gives a new meaning to everything and forms new contours of the future before our very eyes [...].

This tremendous joy that is breaking out everywhere, and despite everything, is the world-historical fact that promises that the dark age, Kali Yuga (as the men of old called it), is past, and that a new age is rising over the earth.<sup>148</sup>

In the 1920s and 1930s, Larsen had contacts with some Scandinavian authors who held anti-Semitic attitudes, and it is possible that his view of the Jews can to some extent be explained by their influence. The earliest expression of his own anti-Semitism however came in the article »Kristi gjenkomst« (»The Second Coming of Christ«) in 1935, the same year in which he saw the Holy Spirit breaking into the earthly sphere over Germany. It is therefore tempting to link Larsen's anti-Semitism to the belief that Christ would come back in the 1930s, since the Jews were the living expression of the denial of Christ.

This article is basically a presentation of Rudolf Steiner's Christology, but Larsen takes the opportunity to define what he understood as the essence of Judaism.<sup>149</sup> The decisive point in his eyes was the »spirit« that Judaism represented. It was a »spirit of denial,« which he understood to be Antichrist, and which denied all that was spiritual. The Jewish people »turned their gaze downwards,« concerning themselves exclusively with »this world,« and thereby rejected »everything« that could not be perceived with the bodily senses.<sup>150</sup>

In this context, the traditional anti-Semitic notion that the Jews were aiming at lordship over the world was given a spiritualizing explanation. Larsen sees the Jews' belief in a this-worldly Messiah, a ruler of this world, as linked to ideas about ruling over all other peoples.<sup>151</sup> The Jews represented egoism, whereas Christ represented spirit and universalism.<sup>152</sup>

---

<sup>147</sup> »Im Jahre 1899 ist das Kali Yuga abgelaufen, jetzt haben wir uns in ein neues Zeitalter hineinzuleben. Und was da beginnt, das bereitet langsam die Menschen zu neuen Seelenfähigkeiten vor. Die ersten Anzeichen von diesen neuen Seelenfähigkeiten, die werden sich in vereinzelt Seelen schon verhältnismäßig bald bemerkbar machen. Und sie werden sich deutlicher zeigen in der Mitte der dreißiger Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts, ungefähr in der Zeit zwischen 1930 und 1940. Die Jahre 1933, 1935 und 1937 werden besonders wichtig sein. Da werden sich am Menschen ganz besondere Fähigkeiten als natürliche Anlagen zeigen. In dieser Zeit werden große Veränderungen vor sich gehen und Prophezeiungen der biblischen Urkunden sich erfüllen. [...] Aber in der ätherischen Gestalt wird der Christus wiederkommen in den genannten Zeiten.« Steiner GA 118/1984, pp. 25f.

<sup>148</sup> »Ånden, den Helligånd, bryter inn i jordsfæren som et pludselig og ubegripelig lys som gir alt ny mening og danner nye fremtidskonturer for våre øine. [...] Denne veldige glede som bryter frem overalt, og på tross av alt, det er den verdenshistoriske kjensgjerning som lover at den mørke tid, Kali Yuga som de gamle sa, er forbi og at en ny tid rinner over jorden.« Larsen 1935a, p. 55.

<sup>149</sup> Larsen 1935b.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., pp. 755f.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 756.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

Larsen then made use of this definition of Jews and of Judaism in a comprehensive cultural critique. The powers that cause ruin in the culture of the West have their origin in one particular place:

The Jews have preceded us into materialism and this-worldliness, and we have followed them in all respects – even in their religious ideas. There is nothing in our contemporary ideas that we have not taken over from the Jews, from the worship of mammon and the cult of blood down to the chiliastic dreams of a thousand-year kingdom on earth.<sup>153</sup>

Here one finds a notion of Jews and Judaism that one has seen in other writers in anthroposophical milieus. The special element in Alf Larsen is the idea of the great conspiracy. This is found in Ingeborg Møller (to take one example) only in a rudimentary manner, but it becomes in Larsen a wide-ranging conspiracy theory in which the goal and ambitions of the Jews are total sovereignty over the world. This played a decisive role in the further development of his anti-Semitism.

The Jews' fate under Nazism did not alter Larsen's view of Jews and Judaism. On the contrary, his critique of Nazism went hand in hand with a striking anti-Semitism. In a letter to the publisher Henrik Groth in 1941, he writes that »Nazism is Judaism's greatest – I almost said: ›final‹ – victory in the world.«<sup>154</sup>

After the Second World War, naturally enough, Germanism and the veneration of the Norse gods were mothballed, and anti-Semitism was correspondingly compromised in the public sphere. But Larsen took a different line. He held fast to his anti-Semitism from the interwar years, presumably thanks to his strong ties to the anthroposophical universe of ideas. anti-Semitism also received new fuel through the foundation of the state of Israel, and not least through the benevolent view many people now took of the Jews. Larsen also reacted strongly against what he saw as a prohibition of anti-Semitism.

Although one can see a certain caution in Larsen about stating his anti-Semitism publicly, it was expressed on various occasions until his death in 1967. Larsen regarded the *Jew* Sigmund Freud as the cause of the »cultural rotteness« in the West.<sup>155</sup> He defended and called attention to the cultural critic Harald Nielsen, who was one of Denmark's foremost Anti-Semites and who was particularly active in the fight against Judaism after the War, and he gave financial support to *Den enskilde*, an anti-Semitic periodical that appeared in Sweden from 1945 to 1960 – a periodical that also lavished praise on Hitler. In the article »La dem skrike« (»Let them scream«) from 1960, Larsen made one of his most violent attacks on the critics of anti-Semitism. He poured scorn on the criticism of a

---

<sup>153</sup> »Jødene har gått foran oss inn i materialismen og dennesidigheten, og vi har fulgt dem i alt – også i deres religiøse forestillinger. Der er ingenting i våre nutidige forestillinger som vi ikke har overtatt fra jødene, like fra mammonismen og bloddyrkelsen til de kiliasiske drømmer om et jordisk tusenårsrike.« Ibid., p. 757.

<sup>154</sup> »[...] nazismen er jødedommens største, jeg hadde nær sagt endelige seier i verden.« Larsen 1941.

<sup>155</sup> Larsen 1957, p. 28.



number of anti-Semitic actions, and he identified this as an attempt to blacken the name of Germany. He believed that radicals and Jews stood behind this attempt.<sup>156</sup>

After some time, the »Negro problem« also turned up in Larsen's writings. On the occasion of an Africa Congress in Oslo in 1962, he wrote about »the primitive naïveté« that drove »the blacks.«<sup>157</sup> »Negro music« was apocalyptic, and he was against the principle of »one man, one vote« in South African apartheid.<sup>158</sup>

### Rudolf Steiner's Influence

Between 1953 and 1960, Alf Larsen wrote a large collection of aphorisms and short texts to which he gave the title *Jødeproblemet* (»The Jewish problem«). It was not published during his lifetime, but it was clearly meant to be published at some later date. In various ways the texts take up the theme of the destructive role played by the Jews; it is the most extensive anti-Semitic text that one knows of from any Norwegian writer.

In »Kristi gjenkomst« (1935), Larsen's anti-Semitism was elaborated in connection with Steiner's Christology. In *Jødeproblemet*, one finds other references to Steiner's works, such as the following quotation from his *Philosophie der Freiheit*:

The tribe is a totality, and all the human beings who belong to it bear in themselves the special characteristics that are determined in the essence of the tribe. How the individual is, and how he acts, are determined by the character of the tribe [...]. But the human being liberates himself from these laws of the species [...].<sup>159</sup>

It is here that one finds one of the presuppositions of Alf Larsen's view of the Jews, namely, the simple, abstract schema of a dichotomy between the tribe and the human being, where the tribe is understood as one particular being. Both for Steiner and for Larsen, »the Jew« was defined on the basis of what they held to be the essential characteristics of the Jewish tribe.

One finds numerous references to anthroposophical mythology in this text. One of the central figures in the anthroposophical pantheon is Ahriman, a spiritual being who represents inflexibility, pedantry, rationalism, materialism, etc. Ahriman and Lucifer are the two most important devil figures in anthroposophy. For Larsen, it is obvious that the Jewish religion »is Ahriman's gateway into the development of the human race.«<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup> Larsen 1960, p. 25.

<sup>157</sup> Larsen 1962, p. 3.

<sup>158</sup> Larsen 1961, p. 3 and Larsen 1963, p. 3.

<sup>159</sup> Larsen no date, p. 100. The manuscript in the National Library is unpaginated. The page references in this essay are to a private copy that I have paginated; the pagination corresponds to the sequence in the original manuscript (5 March 2014). Larsen quotes Steiner in German.

<sup>160</sup> »[...] just denne religion er Ahrimans innfallsport i menneskehetsutviklingen.« Ibid., p. 245.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

The fate of the Jews in the diaspora is based in the development of the world.<sup>161</sup> Once again, Larsen has recourse to Steiner's Christology.

It is, of course, only a godless age that can regard it as a matter of indifference whether or not the Jews believe in Christ. By denying Christ, the Jewish people has set itself outside the development of the world, and its diaspora is therefore just as much a matter of course as when an element that refuses to take its place in the totality is cut off, or must wander around as a detached foreign element. Through the denial of the central and all-decisive fact in the history of the world, the mystery of Golgatha, the fate of the Jewish people is decided in time. [added emphasis]<sup>162</sup>

The Jewish people was the chosen people until Christ came. But after the incarnation, it lost its position. In reality, the Jewish people no longer exist, since its mission came to fulfillment through Christ.<sup>163</sup> Now, the Jews are working for Antichrist.<sup>164</sup>

The link between Larsen and Steiner's occultism becomes particularly clear in what he writes about the special quality of Jewish blood. Like Steiner, he ponders the Jews' blood, which is different from that of other people.

The fact is that it is not religion that has primarily constituted the Jewish people: it is blood. Yahweh's religion is a religion of blood. It is tied to the tribe, to the people. As long as the blood bears him, a Jew will be a Jew, whether he is a Talmudist or an atheist. There is not one among a thousand Jews who does not feel this and know it. The tiniest drop of Jewish blood prevents him from completely parting company with his people and being totally absorbed into another people.<sup>165</sup>

One finds the basis of this idea in Steiner's cycle on the national genius, where he claimed that it was the moon god Jehovah, working together with the spirits of Mars, who formed the Jewish race.<sup>166</sup>

The old forces of the blood still hold sway in the colored races, that is to say, in those peoples who have not attained Christianity or a level of individualization that goes beyond the group soul. But it is wholly clear that the blood of the Jews is special: it is »the most viscous of all.«<sup>167</sup> One consequence of the »viscous« blood is that the Jew can »almost never« liberate himself from his blood. Only the »new« Christian human being can do this.

---

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>162</sup> »Det er selsagt kun en gudløs tid der kan betrakte det som likegyldig om jøderne tror på Kristus eller ikke. Ved å fornekte Kristus har jødefolket satt sig utenfor verdensutviklingen, og dets diaspora er derfor en likeså selvfølgelig ting som at et stoff der ikke vil inngå i helheten blir skilt ut eller må drive omkring som et oppløst fremmedelement. Med fornektelsen av den centrale og alt avgjørende verdenshistoriske kjennsgjerning, Golgatamysteriet, er jødefolkets skjebne i tiden avgjort.« Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 270, p. 205f.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>166</sup> Steiner GA 121/1982, p. 106 and pp. 113f.

<sup>167</sup> »[...] jøderne er det folk hvor disse krefter er aller seigst.« Larsen no date, p. 8, cf. also p. 233.

There is a widespread use of generalizations and stereotypes in *Jødeproblemet*. Larsen speaks of »the Jew,« »Judaism,« and »Jewish« as uniform realities. This means that the Jews are not contemplated as individuals, but as examples of a type:

The most typical Jew I have ever known, a simple and uneducated man, was a Jew down to his very bones and was boundlessly proud of being a Jew. His only thought was to cheat. And naturally enough, it was only the Christians he could cheat. He spent two-thirds of his life speculating on how he could get around the law. He spent the other third of his life sitting in a temperance café playing checkers. He ended in Hitler's gas chambers.<sup>168</sup>

### The Jewish Essence

This type of generalization and stereotype was widespread at that time. But with his anchoring in anthroposophy, Larsen went further than most. His comprehensive generalizations are based on an idealistic and ultimately esoteric essentialism, a conviction that there exists a clear Jewish identity and that this identity has an objective foundation. Larsen understands this essence in various ways. He can write about the »essence« of Judaism or about its »character«, and in other passages about its »spirit.«

Accordingly, he does not see the actions of Jews as expressions of individual, conscious decisions. They are determined by an essence that is antecedent to thought and to choices: »That is how it is with the Jew: he acts much more out of his character than out of calculation. His form of consciousness is that he is always present where there is chaos, where one can fish in troubled waters.«<sup>169</sup>

Like Steiner, Larsen thinks in categories of the national genius. He writes about the »spiritual mark of the character« of the Jews and about »the Jewish spirit, or rather, the Jewish essence [...]«<sup>170</sup> This does not mean that he refuses to recognize the significance of biology. His point is that the spiritual has the directive and primary role.

Larsen also employs the concept of »race« a number of times. He is aware that it does not enjoy high status in academic research; but this does not permit us to draw the conclusion that races, in the sense of national characters, do not exist. In this context, he refers to the Nazis' racial theory, which took its starting point in mental qualities:

---

<sup>168</sup> »Den mest typiske jøde jeg har kjendt, en simpel og udannet fyr, men jøde inn til marven og grenseløs stolt av å være det, tenkte ikke på annet enn å bedra. Og det var naturligvis kun de kristne han kunde bedra. Han tilbrakte de to tredjedeler av sitt liv med å spekulere på hvordan han skulde omgå loven, og den ene tredjedel tilbrakte han på en avholdskafé med å spille dam. Han endte i Hitlers gaskammere.« Ibid., p. 292.

<sup>169</sup> »Således med jøden, han handler langt mere av karakter enn av beregning, hans form for bevissthet er at han alltid er tilstede der hvor der er kaos, hvor der kan fiskes i rørt vande.« Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>170</sup> »Den jødiske ånd, eller rettere sagt det jødiske vesen [...]« Ibid., p. 200.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

The Nazis' racial theory, which attaches more importance to the mental qualities, makes much more sense. There is an »Aryan« and a »Jew«, a »Frenchman« and an »Englishman«, despite all mingling of blood and all the measurements of crania. And by the way, the best proof that a national genius or (if one prefers the term) a national character can befriend the most heterogeneous elements is North America.<sup>171</sup>

Here, therefore, one finds the national genius as the central unity and inherent nature that determines the character of a people. At the same time, he insists on the existence of biological signs: »And as far as anthropological racial marks are concerned, the Jew's nose is an irrefutable fact.«<sup>172</sup>

Alf Larsen was both notorious and admired for his rhetoric. In polemical contexts, he cultivated exaggerations and invectives. In *Jødeproblemet*, however, he went further in the use of derogatory characterizations and vulgarities than in any other text he wrote.

Any criticism of anti-Semitism was dismissed by Larsen because »in this idiotic talk, there is a marriage between impertinence and stupidity – and it takes its place at once in the great assembly of idiots who do not even need to be brainwashed.«<sup>173</sup> He speaks of the »Jewish world-madness.«<sup>174</sup> »The Jewish people have become the rat in the human race.«<sup>175</sup> He writes about »the Jews' diabolical behavior in the world.«<sup>176</sup> »The Jew is literally the cancerous growth in the human race: the hardening of the cell tissue, due to the process of materialization, gets the better of the spiritual element.«<sup>177</sup> »Judaism is the most appalling *ptomaine* in the development of the world.«<sup>178</sup> The Jewish people is the craziest of all peoples, it is »the very people of madness, the cancerous knot in the body of humankind.«<sup>179</sup> »The Jews are a terrible abscess [...]«<sup>180</sup> And »Israel is the syphilis of Judaism.«<sup>181</sup>

Larsen could also occasionally dissociate himself from the expression »anti-Semitism.« It was important for him to trivialize »anti-Semitism« in the sense that he was an anti-Semite in the same way that he was opposed to

---

<sup>171</sup> »Der er, da megen mere mening i den nazistiske raceteori, som mere regner med de psykiske egenskaper. Der er en »arier« og en »jøde«, en »franskmann« og en »englender«, tross all blodblandning og alle skallemaal. Det beste bevis på at en folkeånd eller om man vil en nationalkarakter kann innforlive sig i de mest heterogene elementer er forresten Nordamerika.« Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>172</sup> »Forresten, hvad antropologiske racemerker angår så er jødens næse jo en uimotsigelig kjennsgjerning.« Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> »Frekkhet og dumhet parrer sig i dette idiotprat – og det går rett i den stopre forsamling av idioter, som ikke engang behøver å hjernevaskes.« Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>174</sup> »[...] det jødiske verdensvanvidd« Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>175</sup> »Jødefolket er blitt rotten i menneskeheten...« Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>176</sup> »[...] jødernes djevleske fremferd i verden.« Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>177</sup> »Jøden er bokstavelig talt menneskehetens kreftsvulst: cellevevets forhærdning på grund av at materialisasjonsprosessen tar overhånd over det åndelige.« Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>178</sup> »Jødedommen er verdensutviklingens uhyggeligste likgift.« Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>179</sup> »[...] jødefolket [er] utvilsomt det mest vanvittige av alle folk, selve vanviddsfolket, den nationale galskaps kreftknote I menneskehetslegemet.« Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>180</sup> »Jøderne er en forfærdelig byld [...]« Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>181</sup> »Israel er bare jødedommens syfilis.« Ibid., p. 82.

nationalistic Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Englishmen, and so on. One finds the same trivialization in *Jødeproblemet*:

It is utterly fantastic that the Jews succeeded in giving the general opposition between the nations (which, as is well known, has replaced the oppositions between tribes) a specific name, namely, anti-Semitism, which makes it much more odious than if one says (for example) Anti-Germanism or Anti-Slavonic-ism. This is the real chess move that the Jews have made, checkmating all the other nations through propaganda.<sup>182</sup>

In another passage, Larsen says that to be an »anti-Semite« is analogous to being an anti-communist and an anti-Nazi.<sup>183</sup> He refers thus to a form of universalism and depicts this in such a way that his form of anti-Semitism is the same as every criticism of membership in a group, or of nationalism. His »anti-Semitism« is in reality an anti-racism or anti-nationalism.<sup>184</sup> This, of course, is a crude twisting of the facts. First of all, for Larsen, as for Steiner, a hierarchy of races is a matter of course and secondly, he regards the Jews as having a wholly specific and unique character that sets them apart from all other peoples: »It is of a different spirit from the other peoples.«<sup>185</sup> »A Jew is as different from us as Yiddish is from Norwegian, Danish, or Swedish.«<sup>186</sup> This is why the Jews are the object of an attention that is completely different from the attention paid to others.

Given his presuppositions, Larsen has no problems on giving his full support to anti-Semitism: »All Anti-Semites are, of course, right on the main point: the Jew is an alien element among the Christian peoples, and he has always sought to exploit them to his own advantage. This is why his fate befell him.«<sup>187</sup> This is something that »everyone, every honest and thinking person« knows and takes into account:

Ninety-nine per cent of all the European peoples are Anti-Semites in their hearts. Everyone knows that the Jews make a common front against us, that they regard themselves as a people in the people, and work everywhere for their own advantage and to achieve their own purposes. All those who are not ignorant or stupid know that the Jews are a ferment of dissolution among the peoples, that they work to bring about the depravation and destruction of the people who surround them and of the existing culture, in order

---

<sup>182</sup> »Det er noe aldeles fantastisk dette at det er lykkedes jøderne å gi den almindelige motsetning nationerne imellem (der som bekjendt har avløst stamme-motsetningerne) et eget navn: antisemitisme, der gjør det langt mere odiøst enn hvis man f. eks. sier antigermanisme eller antislavisme. Dette er jødernes egentlige sjakktrekk, hvormed de har satt alle andre nationer matt i propagandaen.« Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>184</sup> Schiøtz & Ytrehus 2009, p. 3. The author and anthroposophist Kaj Skagen argues in the same way in his strong defense of Conrad Englert, Skagen 2009, p. 33.

<sup>185</sup> »Det er av en annen ånd enn det øvrige folk.« Larsen no date, p. 7.

<sup>186</sup> »En jøde er likeså forskjellig fra oss andre som jidisi er fra norsk, dansk eller svensk.« Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>187</sup> »Selvfølgelig har alle antisemitter rett i hovedsaken: Jøden er et fremmedelement blandt de kristne folk, og han har alltid forsøkt å utnytte dem til sin egen fordel. Derav hans skjebne.« Ibid., p. 294.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

thereby to promote the cause of Judaism or Jewishness and to bring the Jewish people, the chosen people, to sovereignty over the world.<sup>188</sup>

*Jødeproblemet* contains a number of references to factual prose and to belles-lettres. The greatest authority among the writers of factual prose is Edouard Drumont, the author of the two-volume work *La France Juive* (1896). Drumont was the most prominent and influential anti-Semite in nineteenth-century France. He attacked the Jews' role and position, and urged that they must be excluded from society. In 1892, he founded the newspaper *La Libre Parole*, which became the organ of a virulent anti-Semitism.<sup>189</sup>

In his concrete definition of the Jews' destructive influence, Larsen plays on clichés from the anti-Semitic propaganda. An overarching perspective is the idea of the great conspiracy. An essential part of the Jews' strategy is to dissolve and destroy the cultures in the places where they have settled, in order to promote their own interests, which ultimately consist in becoming rulers of the world: »A Jew does this whether he wills or not. It lies simply in his nature that he must do it, just as it lies in the nature of one animal species that it must spread at the cost of another species.«<sup>190</sup> Egoism and isolationism are other typical qualities. It is not the others who forced the Jews into the ghettos: on the contrary, the isolation is something that the Jews themselves have chosen, and isolationism is an expression of their very being.<sup>191</sup>

Another characteristic aspect of the Jewish being is that it is »persistent«<sup>192</sup> and »aggressive«;<sup>193</sup> it »knows no boundaries.«<sup>194</sup> It is unparalleled in its fanaticism, energy, and unscrupulousness. The Jews employ every means to attain their goals. They cheat in business, and use bribes and threats.<sup>195</sup> They are characteristically mendacious.<sup>196</sup> The Jews' relationship to money is also a recurrent theme. One is told that it was the Jews who introduced the system of money into the world.<sup>197</sup> They also promote materialism.<sup>198</sup> They are rationalists.<sup>199</sup> The

---

<sup>188</sup> »Nittini procent av samtlige europeiske folk er i sitt hjerte antisemitter. Alle mennesker vet at jøderne holder sammen mot oss andre, at de betrakter sig som et folk i foket og overalt arbeider til sin fordel og for sine egne formål. Alle som ikke er uvidende eller dumme vet at jøderne er et oppløsningsferment blant folkene, at de arbeider på de omgivende folks og den bestående kulturs deprivasjon og ødeleggelse for derigjennem å fremme jødedommens eller jødiskhetens sak og bringe jødefolket, det utvalgte folk, til herredømme over verden.« Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>189</sup> Eriksen, Harket & Lorenz 2005, pp. 352ff.

<sup>190</sup> »Dette gjør en jøde enten han vet det eller ei, det ligger simpelthen i hans natur å utbre sig på en annens bekostning.« Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., p. 236, p. 239.

<sup>192</sup> »pågående.« Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>193</sup> »aggressive.« Ibid., p. 241.

<sup>194</sup> »Jøden har aldrig kjendt sin begrensning [...].« Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., p. 41, p. 47.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., p. 59, p. 63.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

Jews' feeling of superiority and their contempt for others are boundless.<sup>200</sup> A maudlin sentimentality is a quality of the Jewish psyche in times of trouble.<sup>201</sup> Vengefulness is another typical quality: »an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth« is Jehovah's law, which the Jews have always practiced.<sup>202</sup> Another characteristic quality is intelligence: the Jew is intelligent, but lacks imagination. This is why the Jews, unlike other civilized peoples, have a low degree of spiritual productivity: »He fell out of the creative element when he fell away from the Truth.«<sup>203</sup>

The lecherous Jew is a recurrent figure in anti-Semitic literature, but from Alf Larsen's perspective, lecherousness seems not to be a part of the Jewish essence. He defines it rather as an epiphenomenon of the degeneration within Judaism. The Jew of old was chaste, but there is nothing more lecherous than a modern Jew.<sup>204</sup> »It is only among the Jews that I have met persons who were so nakedly, so crudely sexual. There must clearly be a link between sexuality and the worship of mammon.«<sup>205</sup> With the anti-Semite Drumont as his evidence, Larsen can affirm that it was the Jews who introduced pornography into France, and he also believes that it is extremely probable that they are responsible for the pornography elsewhere in Europe.<sup>206</sup>

### Jews – the Guiltiest of all People

One central theme in *Jødeproblemet* is the question of responsibility for the persecution of Jews in the course of history. Larsen does not attempt to suppress or explain away the fact that the Jews have been victims of persecutions. But there is a deeper cause for this persecution: »If we are to speak of human guilt, the Jews themselves bear all the guilt in what has happened to them. Indeed, in this regard they are the guiltiest of all peoples.«<sup>207</sup> The basic idea is that when this homeless people settled among others, they were welcomed with trust and patience. But it did not take long for a »wild hatred« to flare up against them, because the Jews failed to observe the respect that honest peoples show in their mutual dealings. They belong to a foreign race that »rides roughshod over a people«, taking over its finances, its literature, its courts of law, and its schools. It is at this point that the honest people discovers that the Jew is an alien, an enemy against whom it must defend itself. In

---

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>202</sup> »øie for øie, tand for tand.« Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>203</sup> »Det skapende element faldt han ut av ved sitt frafall fra Sannheten.« Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

<sup>205</sup> »Jeg har aldri truffet så utilhyllet, så grovt seksuelle personer som blandt jøderne. Der må tydeligvis være en forbindelse mellem seksualitet og mammondyrkelse.« Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>207</sup> »Hvis man skal tale om menneskelig skyld, så er jøderne selv helt og holdent skyld i sin skjebne. Ja, de er i så henseende det mest skyldige av alle folk.« Ibid., p. 178.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

reality, that which the lying Jewish propaganda has turned into persecutions of the Jews is the justified defense of the peoples against the foreigner, the intruder:

The legend about the Jewish people, persecuted for no fault of their own, is the first and greatest piece of lying propaganda in world history, the pattern of all the subsequent agitation that claims that atrocities have been committed. One can say that, just as the Jews were the first to introduce into the world the amoral morality with regard to money, they were also the first to give instruction in the modern false myth, that is to say, the use of a conscious falsehood as a political instrument.<sup>208</sup>

The myth that the Jewish people is a persecuted innocence is the greatest lie in world history. No other people has itself desired and brought about its own fate to a greater degree than the Jewish people. Its essence, its will, and its conduct have been nothing other than a furious defiance of the development of the world, the wildest and maddest reaction [...].<sup>209</sup>

Although Larsen can describe the terrible character of the persecutions of the Jews, he immediately insists that this is a fate in which they themselves bear guilt. He gives the examples of how the Jews exploited their position of power in Mediaeval Spain and contemporary Germany. This was an influence and an exploitation that all »German-thinking« persons were bound to see as wholly negative.<sup>210</sup>

But Larsen can also claim that the persecutions of the Jews are a myth created by the Jews themselves:

The persecutions of the Jews are a myth, created by the Jews to defend and excuse themselves. The peoples have *protected* themselves against the Jews' encroachment. Have the Spaniards, the Frenchmen, the Germans, the Poles, the Rumanians, or the Russians sallied forth to destroy the Jews? They have remained sitting where they sat. It is the others who have broken in among them and whose inconsiderate aggressiveness has made them a plague from which they [i.e., the Spaniards, etc.] must at all costs liberate themselves. It is mere abstract phraseology – in reality, it is utter nonsense – to speak in this context of Christendom and to preach tolerance, love of one's fellow human beings, and so on. The problem is terribly primitive. It is a purely human problem: Which of us is to be here, me or you? I was here first, and then you came!<sup>211</sup>

---

<sup>208</sup> »Legenden om det uskyldig forfulgte jødefolk er verdenshistoriens første og største løgnpropaganda, mønstret for all senere greuelagitation. Man kan si at likesom jøderne var de første der satte den amoralske pengemoral inn i verden, var de også de første som ga anvisning på den moderne falske myte, altså den bevisste løgn som politisk middel.« Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>209</sup> »Myten om at jødefolket er den forfulgte uskyldighet er verdenshistoriens største løgn. Intet folk har i høiere grad selv villet og forvoldt sin skjebne enn det jødiske. Dets vesen, vilje og adferd har været en eneste rasende tross mot verdensutviklingen, den villeste og vanvittigste reaktion [...].« Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>211</sup> »Jødefølgelserne er en myte, skapt av jøderne til forsvar og unskyldning. Folkene har værget sig mot jødernes fremtreden. Har spanierne, har franskmennene, tyskerne, polakkerne, rumenerne, russerne dradd ut for å tilintetgjøre jøderne? De har sittet hvor de satt, det er de andre som er trengt inn iblandt dem og ved sin hensynsløse pågåendhet er blitt en plage som de for enhver pris måtte befri sig for. Det er den rene abstrakte fraseologi, i virkeligheten det rene tøv, i den forbindelse å snakke om kristendom, preke



What Larsen finds most annoying is not the pogroms, but the fact that the Jews have never admitted that the cause lies with them: »Of all the nasty phenomena that accompany the Jewish people on its path as foreigners, this is the nastiest.«<sup>212</sup>

Larsen comes back repeatedly in *Jødeproblemet* to Zionism and the foundation of the state of Israel. His perspective is that Israel was set up for religious reasons, namely, in order that the prophecies about »the new Jerusalem« would be fulfilled and the Jews would be able to establish their lordship over the world. The pogroms and the persecutions were merely a pretext.<sup>213</sup> It would have been better if Palestine had remained in Muslim hands, since the Muslims did not deny Christ, as the Jews do.<sup>214</sup> And he foresees that »the crazy Palestine project« will lead to the extermination of the Jews.<sup>215</sup>

Hatred of modernity was a fundamental driving force in Larsen's critique of civilization. He regarded what he called »world radicalism« as the most destructive ideology in the culture of the West. This was a constellation of ideas that he associated with the age of the Enlightenment, consisting of materialism, the cult of the reason, ideals of tolerance, and humanism (understood as a secular view of the human person and a secular morality). When this idea was coupled to the underlying perspective of his conspiracy theory, the Jews' radicalism was revealed as a weapon in the fight for power in the world.

The Jews' intention, when they revolted against tradition, was to bring the world out into chaos, so that they could seize power and establish world rule. In a commentary on Edouard Drumont, who saw the Jew as a »ferment of rottenness in the peoples,« Larsen writes:

The truth in this is that, when religion and morality are dissolved, when radicalism, humanism, and tolerance spread, an element is formed that is favorable to the Jews, and they hasten on the dissolution, consciously or unconsciously, out of the eternal spirit of destruction that tells them to destroy the world that is hostile to them, as long as it is naïve and healthy.<sup>216</sup>

The radical, revolutionary Jew became a central component of anti-Semitic propaganda after the Russian Revolution; this notion was cultivated in conservative, reactionary circles in Europe. The idea was that the Jews

---

tolerance, menneskekjærlighet osv. Problemet er uhyre primitivt, rent menneskelig: Skal du eller jeg være her? Jeg var her, og du kom!« Ibid., p. 247.

<sup>212</sup> »Blandt alle de uhyggelige fenomener som ledsager jødefolket på dets vei i det fremmede er dette det uhyggeligste.« Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., p. 12, p. 38.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., p. 299.

<sup>216</sup> »Sannheten i det er at når religionen og moralen oppløses, når radikalisme, humanisme og tolerance brer sig, dannes det element som er gunstig for jøderne, og de påskynder oppløsningen, bevisst eller ubevisst ut fra den evige destruksjonens ånd som tilsier dem å tilingetgjøre den verden som er dem fiendtlig så lenge den er naiv og sund.« Ibid., p. 291.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

had a special interest in overthrowing the existing order. Larsen writes: »The Jews are bound to the revolution by their fate.«<sup>217</sup>

Larsen's coupling of Judaism and Bolshevism is, like so much else, based on the idea of the Jew as a collective being, and of Judaism as a religion of the law:

One must not forget that the Jewish people was the first to make *the law* its guideline in every respect. The law as a world-principle is the dream of earthly justice. This is why a direct line runs from Moses to Lenin. Bolshevism is Judaism's triumph. In Bolshevism, it has thrown off all metaphysics, including belief in a God, and has revealed its innermost being.<sup>218</sup>

### Hitler Knew all About the Jews

One particularly interesting theme, of course, is Larsen's treatment of what befell the Jews in Germany and under Nazism. Here too, he speaks clearly. The Jews had elbowed their way forward everywhere in society, but »the German people rose up in justified protest. It felt that not only its own specific quality, but also its existential interests, were under threat.«<sup>219</sup> This is a revision of his earlier view of Nazis' treatment of the Jews.

Larsen returned in various ways to the justification of the persecution of the Jews in Germany. In his idealization of Germany, this was an especially virtuous country, but the Jews had introduced the spirit of irresponsibility and lecherousness into this culture:

The Jews' role here was one of dissolving and breaking down, to a quite different degree than in France, which was already corrupt. (The same is true, by the way, in Denmark and Sweden too, and in Norway also in the form of an »infection«.) It is therefore not strange that the reaction to »the Jew« became so violent precisely in Germany. Here, a relatively healthy popular body was reacting to poison.<sup>220</sup>

In support of his definition of the Jews' deleterious influence and being, he also cites an active Nazi and anti-Semite, namely Giselher Wirsing.<sup>221</sup>

As I have said, Alf Larsen was clear in his criticism of Nazism as a movement and an ideology. But in his intellectual world, Jews and Nazis were two of a kind, although it is true that the Jews were not responsible for Nazism in the same way as they were for communism. A »spiritual scientific« comparison leads him to conclude

---

<sup>217</sup> »Jøderne er skjebnemessig bundet til revolutionen.« Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>218</sup> »Man må ikke glemme at det jødiske folk er det første som i ett og alt gjorde loven til sin rettesnor. Loven som verdenssprinsipp er drømmen om den jødiske rettferdighet. Derfor går der en like linje fra Moses til Lenin. Bolsjevismen er judaismens triumf. I bolsjevismen har den avkastet all metafysikk, også troen på Gud, og har åpenbaret sitt innerste vesen.« Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>219</sup> »Det tyske folk reiste sig i berettiget protest. Det følte ikke bare sin egenart, men også sine eksistensielle interesser truet.« Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

that Nazism is the same as Judaism, since the Jews and the Nazis share their nationalism and their ambitions to rule the world:

The Germans did not succeed in liberating themselves from the Jews before they themselves had become Jews, before the same frenetic nationalism had possessed them and seized them, and they had constituted themselves as the chosen people who were to rule over all others. But then the same thing happened to them as to the Jews: they became the object of a terrible pogrom.<sup>222</sup>

Larsen employed the same perspective in his construction of Jewish racism, and now he held that there was a causal connection between Judaism and the Nazis' racial thinking. According to Larsen, Hitler's racial theories can be traced directly back to Judaism:

It is surely the greatest impertinence that world history has ever seen, when precisely the Jewish people cry out: »No racial discrimination!« Hitler's racial theory was a loan from the racial theory of the Jewish people, and his racial laws were a copy of those of the Old Testament.<sup>223</sup>

The extermination of the Jews during the Second World War was their own fault, in a threefold sense. First of all, the German people was obliged to defend itself against the intruders and their destructive influence. Secondly, the Jews were the origin of the racial theories on which the extermination of the Jews was based. And thirdly, the Nazis had adopted the Jews' mentality. One has already seen the last two ideas in Conrad Englert and Johannes Hohlenberg.

Alf Larsen does not deny that the Jews were persecuted and that many were killed during the War. He can also refer to the »gas chambers« as a fact.<sup>224</sup> But he can also go a long way towards a denial of the Holocaust:

All the other peoples are novices in comparison with the Jews, when it is a question of fanaticism, energy, and unscrupulousness in the struggle to attain their goal. Every means is permitted – aggressiveness, ruthless competition, cheating in business affairs, bribes and threats in political and public affairs, falsification of the numbers in the pogroms (the six million gassed Jews), literary forgeries intended to influence the masses (Anne Frank's diary), faked photomontages (the concentration camps), etc., etc.<sup>225</sup>

---

<sup>222</sup> »Tyskerne klarte ikke å befri sig for jøderne før de selv var blitt jøder, før den samme frenetiske nationalisme hadde besatt (grepet) dem og de hadde konstituert sig som det utvalgte folk der skulde herske over alle andre. Men da gikk dem også som jøderne, de blev gjenstand for en forfærdelig pogrom.« Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>223</sup> »Det er vel den største frekkhet verdenshistorien har sett at nettopp jødefolket skriker: Ingen rasediskriminering! Hitlers raceteori var et lån fra jødefolkets, og hans racelover var kalkert over Det gamle testamentets.« Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>225</sup> »Alle andre folk er noviser ved siden av jøderne, når det gjelder fanatisme, energi og skruppelløshet i kampen for å nå målet. Ethvert middel er tillatt, påtrengighet, hensynsløs konkurranse, bedrag i forretningsaffærer, bestiktelser og trusler i politiske og offentlige affærer, forfalskning av tall i pogromerne, (de 6 millioner forgassede jøder), litterære forfalskninger for å påvirke masserne (Anne Franks dagbok) falske fotomontager (konsentrasjonsleirene) osv., osv.« Ibid., p. 24.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

On the other hand, he can also say »[...] that one feels that one is beginning to understand the ›gas chambers.« Hitler and his people knew about all this.«<sup>226</sup> And he can put this even more clearly:

To understand the ›gas chambers‹, one must know something about the Jews in Poland, Ukraine, and Romania. Hitler and his people knew everything about this, and they tarred all the Jews with the same brush – and not altogether incorrectly. The Jewish blood is stronger than every other blood. It is the blood from the time before Christ.<sup>227</sup>

### The Solution to the Jewish Problem

For Rudolf Steiner's Eurocentrism, the only salvation for the Jews was assimilation. Larsen's solution to the ›Jewish problem‹ is the same: ›Assimilation is the Jew's path to liberation. If he chooses another path, he is and remains condemned – just as he has been (and rightly) up to now.«<sup>228</sup> But Larsen seems more pessimistic than Steiner. In one passage, he writes that the Jews cannot be assimilated; they are and remain different.<sup>229</sup> Subsequently, he takes a more moderate line and says that they can ›almost never‹ free themselves from the blood.<sup>230</sup> He maintains elsewhere that there are two peoples who were able to a certain extent to assimilate the Jews, namely, the Dutch and the English. This is because they have the same mercantile spirit, and are almost as materialistic, as the Jews.<sup>231</sup> From here, there is a gradual transition to speaking of Jews who are assimilated without ulterior motives and who behave like Christians.<sup>232</sup>

When the public first heard of *Jødeproblemet* in 2009, it aroused considerable interest. Anthroposophists, who had had the primary responsibility for Larsen's posthumous archive, found they had some explaining to do. It was asserted that they had not known of the manuscript's existence, although the manuscript, with various doublets, ran to roughly one thousand pages, and they had catalogued it as ›Jødeproblemet‹.<sup>233</sup> All the anthroposophists who spoke in public dissociated themselves from Larsen's anti-Semitism; and it was insisted that his anti-Semitism was an expression of Larsen as an individual. The Governing Body in the Anthroposophical Society issued a statement to the effect that Larsen's anti-Semitism had nothing to do with Rudolf Steiner's

---

<sup>226</sup> »[...] man synes man begynner å forstå ›gaskammerene«. Hitler og hans folk kjendte jo til alt dette.« Ibid., p. 297.

<sup>227</sup> »For å forstå ›gaskammerene« må man vite noe om jøderne i Polen, Ukraine og Rumænien. Hitler og hans folk visste alt derom, og de skar alle jøder over en kam – ikke uten en viss rett. Det jødiske blod er sterkere enn alle andre, det er blodet fra før Kristus.« Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>228</sup> Assimileringen er jødens vei til befrielse, velger han en annen er og blir han dømt – som han hittil (og med rette) var det.» Ibid., p. 299.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., p. 275.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>233</sup> Schiøtz & Ytrehus 2009.

anthroposophy.<sup>234</sup> It was also maintained that it was nothing comparable in other anthroposophists in Norway.<sup>235</sup> In the ensuing debate, one of Norway's high-profile apologists for Steiner, the Supreme Court advocate Cato Schiøtz, declared: »Larsen is critical of the Jews for the same reason that he is critical of the Nazis: They base themselves on an obsolete concept of race and blood. This is about the Jews' understanding of race, not about Steiner's christology.«<sup>236</sup>

### **Faithful Anthroposophists**

Rudolf Steiner's *Die Mission einzelner Volksseelen in Zusammenhang mit der germanisch-nordischen Mythologie* acquired a decisive importance for anthroposophists in Norway. They were given a principal task in the development of world history. By uniting with the Scandinavian-Teutonian genius and developing it further, they were to contribute to a development of the ego and of individualism in humankind. There were, however, obstacles on this path, and the Jews and Judaism were one such obstacle.

One basic reason for the radicalization of these ideas was the cultural-political context. In this situation, a number of anthroposophists both in Germany and in Norway believed that they had something essential to contribute to the analysis and the solution of the »problem.« At the same time, the belief that their Christ would return in the 1930s helped to intensify the emotional pressure still further.

The radicalization of Rudolf Steiner's anti-Semitism that one finds after his death in Thieben, Rittelmeyer, and a number of others had its parallel in Norway. After Hitler's seizure of power in 1933, the theme of the »Jewish problem« was high on the political-cultural agenda.

The anthroposophical Anti-Semites shared several ideas with the Nazis and with the extreme anti-Semitism: Judaism was a negative foreign body in the culture, and had no *raison d'être*. However, they did not propose exclusion or persecution. Their basic evolutionist view led them to believe that Jews must, or at least ought to, be assimilated into the Teutonic or Central European culture, if they wanted to keep up with the development of the world. The ideal was assimilistic.

---

<sup>234</sup> Antroposofisk Selskap, styret 2009.

<sup>235</sup> In an essay on Alf Larsen and anti-Semitism written after the public had learned of the existence of Jødeproblemet, Schiøtz concluded that Norwegian anthroposophists had always kept a good distance vis-à-vis anti-Semitism. This claim, which is presented without any form of historical investigation, is erroneous. He also emphasizes that Larsen's anti-Semitism was linked to a late phase in his life; but this too is incorrect. Schiøtz 2012. Similarly, the author Kaj Skagen claimed in an interview that Larsen's anti-Semitism was his private affair and that he was not aware of anti-Semitic attitudes among Norwegian anthroposophists. When he was asked why the link had been made between Larsen's anti-Semitism and anthroposophy, he replied that it was because of a personal agenda on the part of the person who had found the manuscript. Skagen 2010, p. 34.

<sup>236</sup> »Larsen er kritisk til jøder av samme grunn som han er kritisk til nazister: De bygger på et foreldet rase- og blodsbegrep. Dette handler om jødernes raseforståelse, ikke om Steiners kristologi.« Schiøtz 2009, p. 21.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

There is no difference worth mentioning between many of the prejudices one finds in anthroposophists in Norway and the generalizations and stereotypes of the period. But there are several variants, from a relatively mild version in Ingeborg Møller, via a more mythologized, intellectual variant in Helga Geelmuyden, to a more aggressive anti-Semitism with a racist basis, as in Johannes Hohlenberg. Alf Larsen went furthest in crude rhetoric and in racist expressions. Apart from some hints in Ingeborg Møller, it is only in Larsen that one finds the idea of a Jewish world conspiracy.

These anthroposophists were not Nazis. On the contrary, they were critics of Nazism. But their particular version of Nazism consists of regarding it as an expression of the Jewish mentality and claiming that the Nazis had learned from *the Jews*. Englert maintained that the Nazis had taken over their racial thinking from the Jews, so that the Jews themselves had provoked their own fate. Hohlenberg wrote that the Nazis were the true Jews, and Alf Larsen understood Nazism as Judaism's greatest victory in the world. Accordingly, the Nazis' persecution of the Jews was to be understood as a result of Jewish influence. This must surely be the ultimate confirmation that anti-Semitism is what Theodor Adorno called a mobile prejudice.<sup>237</sup>

Norwegian anthroposophists not only portray Alf Larsen as atypical in his anti-Semitism. It is also emphasized that *Jødeproblemet* was written late in his life, after the Second World War. However, his anti-Semitism agrees with the anti-Semitism of both German and Norwegian anthroposophists in the interwar period, and it is clearly based on his understanding of Steiner's christology and his definition of the Jewish »being.« The question, therefore, is not why he developed his anti-Semitism after the War, but how he could hold onto his anti-Semitism after the Shoa. Nor was he alone in this.

There were few or no attempts by anthroposophists after the Second World War to confront the ideas about race in a critical spirit. On the contrary, these ideas continued to exist, as if nothing had happened.<sup>238</sup> Nor was anti-Semitism thematized before others had pointed to the anthroposophists' »Jewish problem«. Indeed, there are several examples of anthroposophists and Steiner inspired authors who held fast to their negative schematic definitions of Judaism, and who denied the Holocaust.<sup>239</sup> In 1965, Karl König, the founder of the Camp Hill movement, who himself had a Jewish background, could claim that the annihilation of the Jews was connected to the denial of the second coming of Christ in the 1930s. The genocide of the Jews was a necessary sacrifice in connection with Christ's appearing in the ethereal sphere. At the same time, he held that it was representatives of ancient Jewish sects who were resurrected in the 1930s in »Aryan« bodies and brown shirts: they were the Jews of our time, the deniers of Christ. In this way, the Jews were seen both as victims and as perpetrators.<sup>240</sup> As late as

---

<sup>237</sup> Adorno 1950, p. 610.

<sup>238</sup> Staudenmaier 2014, p. 320.

<sup>239</sup> Haverbeck 1989, Schaub 1999, Bondarew 1996, Kollerstrom 2008. For further examples, see Staudenmaier 2014, pp. 322 f.

<sup>240</sup> König 1965.

## Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen

1991, Ludwig Thieben's *Das Rätsel des Judentums* was issued in a new edition by an anthroposophical publishing house. This attracted attention and caused strong reactions in Germany.<sup>241</sup>

In Norway, Johannes Hohlenberg published one of his essays from the interwar years with its criticism of Judaism in *Den trange port. Når saltet mister sin kraft* in 1948. This means that Alf Larsen was not a wholly unparalleled figure when he wrote his *Jødeproblemet* after the Second World War. Like other anthroposophists, he remained faithful to his basic viewpoint and to his thrust in Rudolf Steiner as the authority. In his view, the Jews and Judaism had no *raison d'être* at this stage in the historical development. The Shoa did not alter this fact.

It was an intellectual anthroposophical elite that was captivated by Rudolf Steiner's cycle on the national genius in Norway. They represented the Teutonic ethnic group for which Steiner had great hopes, and they ought thus to have had the best presuppositions for fulfilling his expectations. They took their task with the greatest seriousness. The Norse mythology was to be the vessel in which the new element acquired a new and deeper meaning. The archangels Odin and Thor were living realities, and they felt themselves to be Vidar's women and men. They were inspired by something great that was not yet realized. Although the goal lay in a distant future, they felt that Christ was near and that they were the ones who had something essential to contribute in the realization of the great work. But if it was to be successful, there were opposing forces that had to be overcome. Communism threatened in the East, capitalism wreaked havoc in the West, and Nazism was growing strong in Germany. But behind these movements, they saw something larger, the very spirit of denial and of hatred.

## References

Adorno, Theodor W. et al. (1950): *The Authoritarian Personality*, Harper & Brothers, New York.

Anker, Morten (2014): Carl Lie og Extrabladet, manuscript, 3 October.

Antroposofisk selskap, styret (2009): Grunnløs insinuasjon, *Morgenbladet* 16 October, p. 3.

Aukrust, Olav (1965a): Dovre folkehøgskole. In: Leif Mæhle (ed.): *Skaldespor: Artikler, taler, brev dikt. Olav Aukrust*, Gyldendal, Oslo, pp. 83–85

Aukrust, Olav (1965b): Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. In: Leif Mæhle (ed.): *Skaldespor: Artikler, taler, brev dikt. Olav Aukrust*, Gyldendal, Oslo, pp. 104–111.

Baarda, Ted A. van, et al. (2000): *Anthroposophie und die Frage der Rassen*, Info3, Frankfurt am Main.

Bader, Hans-Jürgen; Manfred Leist & Lorenzo Ravagli (2001): *Rassenideale sind der Niedergang der Menschheit. Anthroposophie und der Antisemitismusvorwurf*, Freies Geistesleben, Stuttgart.

Bader, Hans-Jürgen & Lorenzo Ravagli (2002): *Rassenideale sind der Niedergang der Menschheit. Anthroposophie und der Rassismusvorwurf*, Freies Geistesleben, Stuttgart.

---

<sup>241</sup> Bierl 2005, pp. 136–193.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

- Barkved, Frode (2009): Balder-mytenes aktualitet for vår tid, *Antroposofi i Norge* 4, pp. 21–29.
- Barkved, Frode (2010a): Individualitet og art i raseideologienes århundre. Noen undersøkelser rundt hyppig fremsatte beskyldninger mot Rudolf Steiner og antroposofien 1, *Antroposofi i Norge* 2, pp. 4–18.
- Barkved, Frode (2010b): Et håp for fremtiden. Om Vidar og Kristus-impulsen, *Antroposofi i Norge* 4, pp. 18–26.
- Benz, Wolfgang (2004): *Was ist Antisemitismus?*, C. H. Beck, München.
- Benz, Wolfgang (ed.) (2013): *Handbuch des Antisemitismus. Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 6, De Gruyter, Berlin.
- Bergmann, Werner (1996): Völkischer Antisemitismus im Kaiserreich. In: Uwe Puschner, Walter Schmitz & Justus H. Ulbricht (eds.): *Handbuch zur »Völkischen Bewegung« 1871–1918*, K.G. Saur, München, pp. 449–463.
- Bierl, Peter (2005): *Wurzeln, Erzeugel und Volksgeister. Die Anthroposophie Rudolf Steiners und die Waldorfpädagogik*, revised and expanded edition, Konkret Literatur. Hamburg.
- Bjørnson, Bjørnstjerne (1912): *Artikler og taler*, vol. 1, eds. Chr. Collin and H. Eitrem, Gyldendal, Kristiania.
- Bondarew, Gennadij (1996): *Anthroposophie auf der Kreuzung der okkult-politischen Bewegungen der Gegenwart*, Lochmann, Basel.
- Braut Simonsen, Kjetil (2012): Antisemittisme, innvandringsfiendtlighet og rasetenkning i norsk bondebevegelse, 1918–1940, *HL-senterets temahefte* 13.
- Brumlik, Micha (2000): Geheimer Staat und Menschenrecht – Fichtes Antisemitismus der Vernunft. In: Micha Brumlik: *Deutscher Geist und Judenhass. Das Verhältnis des philosophischen Idealismus zum Judentum*, Luchterhand, München, pp. 75–131.
- Bruun, Christopher (1898) [1878]: *Folkelige grundtanker*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Kammermeyer, Kristiania.
- Bruknapp, Dag O. (1976): Ideene splitter partiet. Rasespørsmålets betydning i NS's utvikling. In: Rolf Danielsen & Stein Ugelvik Larsen (eds.): *Fra idé til dom. Noen trekk fra utviklingen av Nasjonal samling*, Universitetsforlaget, Bergen, pp. 9–47.
- Böök, Fredrik (1933): *Hitlers Tyskland*, Norstedt, Stockholm.
- Christensen, Olaf Sunde (1998): *Jøder og gojim – mottakelsen av et antisemittisk skrift fra 1910*, Department of History, University of Oslo.
- Christensen, Terje & Oddvar Granly (2011): *Mot strømmen. Norske antroposofier i biografiske skisser*, Antropos, Oslo.



## Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen

- Christensen, Terje (2012a): De døde skylder man bare sannheten. Et kritisk blikk på Conrad Englert 1, *Antroposofi i Norge 2*, pp. 28–37.
- Christensen, Terje (2012b): De døde skylder man bare sannheten. Et kritisk blikk på Conrad Englert 2, *Antroposofi i Norge 3*, pp. 12–21.
- Danielsen, Rolf & Stein Ugelvik Larsen (eds.) (1976): *Fra idé til dom. Noen trekk fra utviklingen av Nasjonal samling*, Universitetsforlaget, Bergen.
- Den nye verdenskeiser. Zions lærde ældstes protokoller* (1920), translated by Helle Weedon, Helge Erichsens et Co.'s forlag, Kristiania.
- Dusse, Debora (2009): Eddamythen, Neomythen, Weltanschauungscodes. Zur Transformation eddischer Überlieferung im Kontext völkischer Weltanschauung, In: Uwe Puschner & G. Ulrich Grossmann (eds.): *Völkisch und national. Zur Aktualität alter Denkmuster im 21. Jahrhundert*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, pp. 233–244.
- Dusse, Debora (2013), The Eddic Myth between Academic and Religious Interpretations. In: Horst Junginger & Andreas Åkerlund (eds.): *Nordic Ideology between Religion and Scholarship*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 73–86.
- Emberland, Terje (2003): *Religion og rase: Nyhedenskap og nazisme i Norge 1933-1945*, Humanist forlag, Oslo.
- Emberland, Terje (2005): Antisemittismen i Norge 1900–1940. In: Trond Berg Eriksen, Håkon Harket & Einhart Lorenz (eds.): *Jødehat: Antisemittismens historie fra antikken til i dag*, Damm, Oslo, pp. 401–420.
- Emberland Terje & Jorunn Sem Fure (eds.) (2009): *Jakten på Germania: fra Norden svermeri til SS-arkeologi*, Humanist, Oslo.
- Emberland, Terje & Matthew Kott (2012): *Himmlers Norge*, Aschehoug, Oslo.
- Emberland, Terje & Kjetil Braut Simonsen (2014): Bonden som livskjelde for rasen, *Syn og Segn 2*, pp. 70–78.
- Emberland, Terje (2014): *Da fascismen kom til Norge. Den Nasjonale Legions vekst og fall 1927 til 1928*, Dreyer, Oslo.
- Englert, Conrad (1938): Vil jødernes skjebne ramme tyskerne selv?, report *Tidens Tegn*, 20 October, p. 6.
- Englert, Conrad (1940): *Vom Mythos zur Idee der Schweiz*, Atlantis, Zürich.
- Englert, Conrad (1925): Vom Weihnachtskind und seinem Baum, *Das Goetheanum 5*, pp. 100–101.
- Englert, Conrad (1941–1943): Goethes liv og verk i nytt lys, a lecture reported by Johannes Herzberg, manuscript.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

Englert, Conrad (1943): Menneskets utvikling gjennom de store kulturepoker, lecture reported by Johan Holtsmark, manuscript.

Englert, Conrad (no date): Deutsch (Schluss), manuscript in Goetheanum archive.

Eriksen, Trond Berg, Håkon Harket & Einhart Lorenz (eds.) (2005): *Jødehat: Antisemittismens historie fra antikken til i dag*, Damm, Oslo.

Fein, Helen (1987a): Dimension of Antisemitism: Attitudes, Collective Accusations, and Actions. In: Helen Fein (ed.): *The Persisting Question, Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 67–85.

Fein, Helen (ed.) (1987b): *The Persisting Question, Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.

*Festschrift Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag* (1971): Published by colleagues at the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen.

Funderud, Olaf (1930): En time i verdenshistorie. In: Olav Funderud (ed.): *Østfold Folkehøiskole i tyve år 1910–1930*, Høgskolelaget, Oslo, pp. 5–17.

Geelmuyden, Helga (1918a): Mytologiske Fragmenter III. Yggdrasil, Ask og Embla, *Vidar*, pp. 113–120.

Geelmuyden, Helga (1918b): Mennesketilblivelsen i vor nordiske mytologi og hos Henrik Wergeland, *Vidar*, pp. 270–288.

Geelmuyden, Helga (1919): Tanker i anledning kirkestriden, *Vidar*, pp. 315–332.

Geelmuyden, Helga (1925): Die Schöpfung des Menschen im nordischen Mythos, *Die Drei. Monatsschrift für Anthroposophie* 8, pp. 627–640.

Geelmuyden, Helga (no date a): Kant und Hegel, manuscript in the Goetheanum archive.

Geelmuyden, Helga (no date b): Baldur und Widar, manuscript in the Goetheanum archive.

Gollwitzer, Heinz (1971): Zum politischen Germanismus des 19. Jahrhunderts. In: *Festschrift Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag*, published by colleagues at the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen, pp. 282–356.

Harket, Håkon (2014): *Paragrafen. Eidsvoll 1814*, Dreyer, Oslo.

Haverbeck, Werner (1989): *Rudolf Steiner: Anwalt für Deutschland*, Langen Müller, München.

Henningsen, Bernd et al. (1997): *Tyskland og Skandinavia. 1800-1914. Impulser og brtyninger*, Jovis Verlagsbüro, Berlin.

Hohlenberg, Johannes (1931): Om Raceproblemet, *Vidar*, pp. 29–34.

Hohlenberg, Johannes (1937): En ny mennesketype, *Janus* 5, pp. 307–326.

## Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen

- Hohlenberg, Johannes (1999) [1981]: *Edda i antroposofiens lys*, 2. opplag, Antropos, Oslo.
- Husmann, Jana (2010): *Schwarz-Weiss-Symbolik. Dualistische Denktraditionen und die Imagination von »Rasse«*. Religion – Wissenschaft – Anthroposophie, Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld.
- Irlenbusch-Reynard, Michael (2009): Interaksjon mellom vitenskap og teologi? Tre perspektiver på den gamle norrøne kultur og litteratur i Tyskland fra 1850- til 1940-årene. In: Terje Emberland Terje & Jorunn Sem Fure (eds.): *Jakten på Germania: fra Norden svermeri til SS-arkeologi*, Humanist, Oslo, pp. 82–108.
- Janson, Tore (2014): *Germanerne. Mytene, historien, språket*, Pax, Oslo.
- Karcher, Nicola Kristin (2012): *Zwischen Nationalsozialismus und nordischer Gesinnung. Eine Studie zu den rechtsgerichteten Verbindungen norwegisch-deutscher Milieus in der Zwischenkriegszeit*, PhD thesis, University of Oslo.
- Kershaw, Ian (1998), *Hitler 1889–1936: Hubris*, The Penguin Press, London.
- Kollerstrom, Nicholas (2008): The Auschwitz »Gas Chamber« Illusion, [codoh.com/library/document/684/](http://codoh.com/library/document/684/) (4 Sept. 2014).
- König, Karl (1965): Geschichte und Schicksal des jüdischen Volkes, 3 Vorträge in *Advent*, Goetheanum archive.
- Langen, Klaus (1957): *Ivar Mortensson-Egnund*, Samlaget, Oslo.
- Larsen, Alf (1931): Nationalismen i vore dage, *Vidar*, pp. 48–58.
- Larsen, Alf (1933a): Vidkun Quisling og hans misjon, *Janus* 4, pp. 268–275.
- Larsen, Alf (1933b): Det store spørsmål til det norske folk i dag, *Janus* 4, pp. 241–248.
- Larsen, Alf (unsigned) (1933c): Kommentar til dette hefte, *Janus* 7, pp. 536–537.
- Larsen, Alf (1934): Kommentar til dette hefte, *Janus* 9, pp. 719–718.
- Larsen, Alf (1935a): Jeg har møtt en engel, *Janus* 1, pp. 47–55.
- Larsen, Alf (1935b): Kristi gjenkomst, *Janus* 10, pp. 755–763.
- Larsen, Alf (1938a): Teatrum Mundi, *Janus* 3, pp. 289–297.
- Larsen, Alf (1938b): Det norske, *Janus* 2, pp. 97–123.
- Larsen, Alf (1941): Letter to Henrik Groth, 13 September, Alf Larsen Archive, National Library, box 120.
- Larsen, Alf (no date): *Jødeproblemet*, Alf Larsen Archive, National Library, box 79.
- Larsen, Alf (1957): Omkring Lady Chatterley og hennes elsker, *Farmand*, 21 December, pp. 21–28.
- Larsen, Alf (1960): La dem skrike, *Farmand*, 26 March, pp. 25–31.
- Larsen; Alf (1962): Verdenspolitisk illusjonisme, *Morgenbladet*, 31 September, p. 3.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

- Larsen, Alf (1961): Fra den gamle til den unge, *Morgenbladet*, 17 September, p. 3.
- Larsen, Alf (1963): Av barn og fulle folk..., *Morgenbladet*, 21 January, p. 3.
- Lächele, Rainer (2001): Germanisierung des Christentums – Heroisierung Christi: Arthur Bonus – Max Brewer – Julius Bode. In: Stefanie von Schnurbein & Justus H. Ulbricht (eds.): *Völkische Religion und Krisen der Moderne*, Königshausen & Neumann, pp. 165–183.
- Leist, Manfred, Lorenzo Ravagli & Hans-Jürgen Bader (2012): *Raseidealer er menneskehetens forfall. Antroposofien og anklagene om antisemittisme*, Antropos, Oslo.
- Lorenz, Einhart & Izabela A. Dahl (2005): Kollaborasjon og kooperasjon. In: Trond Berg Eriksen, Håkon Harket & Einhart Lorenz (eds.): *Jødehat: Antisemittismens historie fra antikken til i dag*, Damm, Oslo, pp. 511–523.
- Martins, Ansgar (2012): *Rassismus und Geschichtsmetaphysik. Esoterischer Darwinismus und Freiheitsphilosophie bei Rudolf Steiner*, Info3, Frankfurt am Main.
- Martins, Ansgar (2014): *Hans Büchenbacher: Erinnerungen 1933–1949*, Info3, Frankfurt am Main.
- May, Hans von (1925): Mussolini og fascismen, *Vidar*, pp. 219–223.
- May, Hans von (1926): I anledning jødespørsmålet, *Vidar*, pp. 165–173.
- Mjøen, Jon Alfred (1914): *Racehygiene*, Jacob Dybwads forlag, Kristiania.
- Mortensson-Egnund, Ivar (1920): *Valund. Spelstykke frå runetidi*, Olaf Norlis forlag, Kristiania.
- Müller, Joachim (ed.) (1995): *Anthroposophie und Christentum. Eine kritisch-konstruktive Auseinandersetzung*, Paulusverlag, Freiburg.
- Mæhle, Leif (ed.) (1965): *Olav Aukrust, Skaldespor*, Gyldendal, Oslo.
- Møller, Ingeborg (1927): Kongsmerke eller trælemerke, *Nationen*, 4 July, p. 1.
- Møller, Ingeborg (1928): Opstandelse, *Romerike*, 4 April, p. 1.
- Møller, Ingeborg (1932): Mot, *Nationen*, 29 October, p. 6.
- Møller, Ingeborg (1933a): Letter to Vidkun Quisling, 13 July, Collection of Letters, National Library, Ms.fol. 4096 V.
- Møller, Ingeborg (1933b): Letter to Vidkun Quisling, 14 July, Collection of Letters, National Library, Ms.fol. 4096 V.
- Møller, Ingeborg (1934): Nordiske skaldeskikkelser. Meyer Aron Goldschmidt, Henrik Wergelands venn, *Nationen*, 18 June, p. 5.
- Møller, Ingeborg (1961): Møte med Rudolf Steiner. En samtale med Ingeborg Møller, *Horisont* 1, pp. 1–5.

Norsk Folkereisning (1931): Utkast til retningslinjer for Norsk Folkereisning, 14 October. Nasjonal Samlings partiarkiv, Riksarkivet RA PA-0760.

*NS sanger* (no date): Nasjonal Samlings Presse og propagandaavdeling.

Pöttker, Horst (2013), Mein Kampf (Adolf Hitler, 1925/26). In Wolfgang Benz (ed.): *Handbuch des Antisemitismus. Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 6, De Gruyter, Berlin.

Puschner, Uwe, Walter Schmitz & Justus H. Ulbricht (eds.) (1996): *Handbuch zur »Völkischen Bewegung« 1871–1918*, K.G. Saur, München.

Puschner, Uwe & G. Ulrich Grossmann (eds.) (2009): *Völkisch und national. Zur Aktualität alter Denkmuster im 21. Jahrhundert*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt.

Puschner, Uwe & Clemens Vollnhals (eds.) (2012): *Die völkisch-religiöse Bewegung im Nationalsozialismus: Eine Beziehungs- und Konfliktgeschichte*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Oakville.

Puschner, Uwe & Clemens Vollnhals (2012a): Die völkisch-religiöse Bewegung im Nationalsozialismus. Forschungs- und problemgeschichtliche Perspektiven. In: Uwe Puschner & Clemens Vollnhals (eds.): *Die völkisch-religiöse Bewegung im Nationalsozialismus. Eine Beziehungs- und Konfliktgeschichte*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, pp. 13–28.

Puschner, Uwe & Clemens Vollnhals (eds.) (2012b): *Die völkisch-religiöse Bewegung im Nationalsozialismus. Eine Beziehungs- und Konfliktgeschichte*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.

Quisling, Vidkun (1941a): Fenrisulven og Midgarsormen er sluppet løs. In: Halldis Neegård Østbye (ed.): *Quisling har sagt*, vol. 3, Stenersens forlag, Oslo, pp. 153–156.

Quisling, Vidkun (1941b): Kampen mellem arier og jødemakt. In: Halldis Neegård Østbye (ed.): *Quisling har sagt*, vol. 3, Stenersen forlag, Oslo, pp. 103–120.

Rem, Tore (2009): *Sin egen herre. En biografi om Jens Bjørneboe*, Cappelen Damm, Oslo.

Rittelmeyer, Friedrich (1934a): *Deutschtum*, Verlag der Christengemeinschaft,, Stuttgart.

Rittelmeyer, Friedrich (1934b): Judentum und Christentum, *Christengemeinschaft*, January, pp. 291–298.

Schaub, Bernhard (1999): *Adler und Rose: Wesen und Schicksal Mitteleuropas*, Zeitwende, Dresden.

Schiøtz, Cato (2000): Antroposofien i Norge. Noen bemerkninger om forholdet til nazisme, rasisme og økofascisme, *Libra* 3/4, pp. 113–124.

Schiøtz, Cato & Ragnar Ytrehus (2009): Antinazist og antisemitt, *Morgenbladet*, 16 September, p. 3.

Schiøtz, Cato (2009): En uspiselig type, interview with *Klassekampen*, 15 October, pp. 20f.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

Schiøtz, Cato (2011): Alf Larsen og den 2. verdenskrig – særlig med henblikk på behandlingen av tidsskriftet Janus i »Æresretten«, *Libra* 3, pp. 3–13.

Schiøtz, Cato (2012): Antroposofi og antisemittisme – situasjonen i Norge generelt og om Alf Larsen spesielt. In: Manfred Leist, Lorenzo Ravagli & Hans-Jürgen Bader (2012): *Raseidealer er menneskehetens forfall. Antroposofien og anklagene om antisemittisme*, Antropos, Oslo, pp. 109–149.

Schmid, Georg Otto (1995): Die Anthroposophie und die Rassenlehre Rudolf Steiners zwischen Universalismus, Eurozentrik und Germanophilie. In Müller, J. (ed.): *Anthroposophie und Christentum. Eine kritisch-konstruktive Auseinandersetzung*, Paulusverlag, Freiburg, pp. 138–194.

Schnurbein, Stefanie von & Justus H. Ulbricht (eds.) (2001): *Völkische Religion und Krisen der Moderne*, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg.

See, Klaus von (1970): *Deutsche Germanen-Ideologie vom Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart*, Athenäum, Frankfurt am Main.

Skagen, Kaj (2009): Framstegstanke og jødedom, *Dag og Tid*, 16 October, p. 33.

Skagen, Kaj (2010): Den evige dissidenten, interview with *Klassekampen*, 11 December, pp. 32ff.

Solbrekken, Ingeborg (2012): *Kors og kårde. Marta Steinsvik, liv og virke 1877–1950*, Vidarforlaget, Oslo.

Sonnenberg, Ralf (2009): »... ein Fehler der Weltgeschichte«? Rudolf Steiners Sicht des Judentums zwischen spiritueller Würdigung und Assimilationserwartung. In: Ralf Sonnenberg (ed.): *Anthroposophie und Judentum. Perspektiven einer Begegnung*, Info3, Frankfurt am Main., pp. 29–64.

Sonnenberg, Ralf (ed.) (2009): *Anthroposophie und Judentum. Perspektiven einer Begegnung*, Info3, Frankfurt am Main.

Staudenmaier, Peter (2005): Rudolf Steiner and the Jewish Question, *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 50, pp. 127–147.

Staudenmaier, Peter (2008): Race and Redemption: Racial and Ethnic Evolution in Rudolf Steiner's Anthroposophy, *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emerging Religions* 3, pp. 4–36.

Staudenmaier, Peter (2012): Der deutsche Geist am Scheideweg: Anthroposophen in Auseinandersetzung mit völkischer Bewegung und Nationalsozialismus. In: Uwe Puschner & Clemens Vollnhals (eds.): *Die völkisch-religiöse Bewegung im Nationalsozialismus: Eine Beziehungs- und Konfliktgeschichte*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Oakville, pp. 473–490.

Staudenmaier, Peter (no date): Anthroposophical Spiritual Racism, [http://www.waldorfcritics.org/articles/Anthroposophical\\_Spiritual\\_Racism.htm](http://www.waldorfcritics.org/articles/Anthroposophical_Spiritual_Racism.htm) (12 Nov. 2013).

## Jan-Erik Ebbestad Hansen

Staudenmaier, Peter (2014): *Between Occultism and Nazism. Anthroposophy and the Politics of Race in the Fascist Era*, Brill, Leiden.

Stegemann, Ekehard W. (no date): Antijüdische Stereotypen in der anthroposophischen Tradition? [http://www.akdh.ch/ps/ps\\_60Ref-Stegemann.html](http://www.akdh.ch/ps/ps_60Ref-Stegemann.html) (4 Sept. 2014).

Steiner, Rudolf (GA 32/2004): *Robert Hamerling: »Homunkulus«. Modernes Epos in 10 Gesängen*, Gesamtausgabe, Dornach.

Steiner, Rudolf (GA 53/1988a): *Die Geschichte der Menschheit und die Weltanschauungen der Kulturvölker*, Gesamtausgabe, Dornach.

Steiner, Rudolf (GA 64/1959): *Aus schicksaltragender Zeit*, Gesamtausgabe, Dornach.

Steiner, Rudolf (GA 118/1984): *Das Ereignis der Christus-Erscheinung in der ätherischen Welt*, Gesamtausgabe, Dornach.

Steiner, Rudolf (GA 121/1982a): *Die Mission einzelner Volksseelen im Zusammenhange mit der germanisch-nordischen Mythologie*, Gesamtausgabe, Dornach.

Steiner, Rudolf (GA 148/1992): *Das fünfte Evangelium*, Gesamtausgabe, Dornach.

Steiner, Rudolf (GA 174b /1994): *Die geistigen Hintergründe des Ersten Weltkrieges*, Gesamtausgabe, Dornach.

Steiner, Rudolf (GA 209/1982b): *Nordische und mitteleuropäische Geistimpulse. Das Fest der Erscheinung Christi*, Gesamtausgabe, Dornach.

Steiner, Rudolf (GA 353/1988b): Vom Wesen des Judentums. In: *Geschichte der Menschheit und die Weltanschauungen der Kulturvölker*, Gesamtausgabe, Dornach.

Steinsvik, Martha (1910): Eit adelsfolk, *Kringsjå* 1-2, 27 January, pp. 80–84.

Steinsvik, Martha (1918): Letter to the Vidar Lodge, 4 November, Archive of the Anthroposophical Society Norway.

Steinsvik, Martha (1921): Marta Steinsviks foredrag i Mandal, report *Nationalt Tidsskrift, Sandheten* 1, pp. 10–12.

Steinsvik, Martha (1925): Jøder og jesuitter, interview *Aftenposten*, 6 May, p. 8.

Steinsvik, Martha (1943): Letter to Sinding-Larsen, 2 August, Marta Steinsvik Archive National Library Ms. fol. 4561 A:1.

Sørbo, Jan Inge (2009): *Ørneflukt og ormegård; En biografi om Olav Aukrust*, Det norske samlaget, Oslo.

Sørensen, Øystein (2009): Drømmen om det storgermanske riket i Norge ca. 1850–1945. In: Terje Emberland & Jorunn Sem Fure (eds.): *Jakten på Germania: fra Norden svermeri til SS-arkeologi*, Humanist, Oslo, pp. 61–81.

## The Jews – Teachers of the Nazis?

Thieben, Ludwig (1991) [1931]: *Das Rätsel des Judentums*, 2<sup>nd</sup> expanded edition, Perseus Verlag, Basel.

Thing, Morten (2014): *Antisemitismens bibel. Historien om smædeskriftet Zions Vises Protokoller*, Informations forlag, Copenhagen.

Thull, Philipp (ed.) (2014): *Christen im Dritten Reich*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt.

Wagner, Arfst (1991): *Dokumente und Briefe. Zur Geschichte der anthroposophischen Bewegung und Gesellschaft in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, Vol. 1, Lohengrin Verlag, Tetenhusen.

Werner, Uwe (1999): *Anthroposophen in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus (1944–1945)*, Oldenburg, München.

Werner, Uwe (2011): *Rudolf Steiner zu Individuum und Rasse*, Verlag am Goetheanum, Dornach.

Winsnes, Erling (1924): *Den neste stat*, Gyldendalske bokhandel, Kristiania.

Zander, Helmut (2001): Anthroposophische Rassentheorie. Der Geist auf dem Weg durch die Rassengeschichte. In: Stefanie von Schnurbein & Justus H. Ulbricht (eds.): *Völkische Religion und Krisen der Moderne. Entwürfe »arteigener« Glaubenssysteme seit der Jahrhundertwende*, Königshausen und Neumann, Würzburg, pp. 292–341.

Zander, Helmut (2007): *Anthroposophie in Deutschland*, 2 vols., Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.

Zander, Helmut (2009): Rudolf Steiners Rassenlehre. Plädoyer über die Regeln der Deutung von Steiners Werk zu reden. In: Uwe Puschner & Ulrich G. Grossmann (eds.): *Völkisch und national. Zur Aktualität alter Denkmuster im 21. Jahrhundert*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, pp. 145–155.

Zernack, Julia (1997): Germanische Restauration und Edda-Frömmigkeit. In: Richard Faber (ed.): *Politische Religion – religiöse Politik*, Königshausen und Neumann, Würzburg, pp. 143–160.

Østbye, Halldis Neegård (ed.) (1941): *Quisling har sagt*, vol. 3, Stenersens forlag, Oslo.

### Other Sources

*Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Medien*, Pr. 782/06, Entscheidung Nr. 5505 from 6 Sept. 2007.

*Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Medien*, Pr. 783/06, Entscheidung Nr. 5506 from 6 Sept. 2007.