

Bernd-Christian Otto

# The Illuminates of Thanateros and the institutionalisation of religious individualisation

From the perspective of recent research on ‘religious individualisation’, modern groupings of ‘learned magic’ seem to entail a striking paradox. For large parts of Western history, ‘learned magic’ has been a decidedly individualistic enterprise, given that: (1) the bulk of the sources provide ritual prescriptions for pursuing individual goals or desires, and thus aim at facilitating or improving one’s individual life (be it in the realm of love, wealth, protection, harm, or healing); and (2) most premodern ritual prescriptions assume the ritual soloist.<sup>1</sup> Even from the late 19th century onwards, when group formation and sophisticated group rituals came to the fore, the goals of ‘learned magic’ remained largely individualistic, independent of whether they shifted towards individual apotheosis and self-deification, or continued to focus on inner-worldly and purely instrumental matters (see Otto forthcoming). It therefore comes as no surprise that the textual-ritual tradition of ‘Western learned magic’<sup>2</sup> triggers most, if not all core notions of ‘religious individualisation’ (see Otto 2017), and thus seems to represent an important individualising current in Western history from antiquity till this day.

In the light of this basic characterisation, group formation might be a particularly difficult enterprise in the realm of ‘learned magic’. If its practice is ultimately individualistic, it seems to collide with typical group dynamics, such as the need for shared rituals and mythologies, the development of binding teaching curricula and organisational structures, the institutionalisation of authoritative leadership, and the dogmatisation of ‘learned magic’ by means of selecting or discarding specific ritual techniques or by stipulating homogenous concepts of ritual efficacy. In other words, group formation, as soon as it became historically

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1 I would like to cite a recent Chaos Magick practitioner in this very first footnote, Ray Sherwin, who seems to confirm my claim. See Sherwin 1978, 2: ‘Since magick is an individualist pursuit the individual must always be of paramount importance and anyone who denies this is looking for profit or power or does not know any better’. In this regard, I shall point out that many written works of Chaos Magick authors are today out of print, and can only be accessed either via rare and excessively over-priced ebay offers, or through electronic texts on the internet, whereby the latter may circulate in many different versions. In the following, I will usually rely on the latter, but do my best to precisely indicate the online version used (in the references section), in order to avoid confusion.

2 On its conceptualisation see Otto 2016.

relevant (that is, mostly from the 19th century onwards), must have undermined the overly individualistic impetus that underlay ‘learned magic’ ever since. Unsurprisingly, there have been major schisms in major groupings of ‘learned magic’ all throughout the 20th century, such as the disruption of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn between 1900 and 1903, the secession of the *Typhonian Order* from the *Ordo Templi Orientis* between 1955 and 1962, and the schism between the *Church of Satan* and the *Temple of Set* in 1975, to name only three prominent examples. Yet, if we subsume all these groupings under the conceptual umbrella of ‘new religious movements’ (NRMs) and acknowledge one of the most common characterisations of NRMs – namely, that these tend to be generally short-lived, as schisms, trans- and re-formations, or complete demises are the historical rule rather than the exception (see, for instance, Stark 1996; Melton 2007; Cusack 2010, 1) –, then this is not very surprising. So, is there is a particular instability in modern groupings of ‘learned magic’, or were and are these just as fragile as many other new religious movements in the 20th and 21st centuries?

Inspired by this question, the present paper investigates a recent case which has not yet received much scholarly attention, namely, the so-called ‘Ice Magick War’, which led to a substantial schism between different sections of the Illuminates of Thanateros (henceforth IOT) in the early 1990s. This ‘Chaos Magick’ group is particularly appropriate to discussing the aforementioned individualistic-collectivistic-paradox in the realm of ‘learned magic’, and the schisms that may have arisen out of it. If one tentatively splits the (Euro-American)<sup>3</sup> history of ‘learned magic’ in the 20th and 21st centuries into a few major currents (‘major’ here mainly refers to historical impact; there are countless minor currents which will not be part of the following sketch),<sup>4</sup> namely: the (1) Golden Dawn (and post-Golden Dawn) current, which includes various off-springs such as Dion Fortune’s Fraternity of Inner Light; the (2) Thelema and Ordo Templi Orientis current, which later also includes the pivotal works of Kenneth Grant and his disciples (Typhonian OTO); the (3) Wicca current, with its countless splits and branches, including further Neopagan adaptations of ‘learned magic’ (e.g., Starhawk); the (4) Satanic

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**3** As scholarship has concentrated on the history of modern ‘magick’ in Euro-America or even only the Anglosphere, there is not much descent scholarly information available on recent developments in other parts of the world, such as South America, Northern Africa, or even some parts of Europe (consider Portugal, Spain, Italy, Eastern Europe, etc.). Thus, the following sketch is necessarily limited and open to future revisions.

**4** Yet the selection reflects, it is hoped, recent practitioner perspectives: compare, for instance, the topics discussed in Evans 2007 and Drury 2012. Note that, even though here divided for analytical purposes, most of these currents are historically related or have influenced one another, thus indicating fluid borders.

current (e.g., Church of Satan, Temple of Set); the (5) Chaos Magick current; the (6) Dragon Rouge current (which includes further ‘Draconian’ orders as well as the debate on ‘Uthark’ practices); the (7) Martinism current (with roots in France, but now almost global scope); the (8) Hoodoo / Voudon current (which includes further African-American or Afro-Caribbean adaptations by Western practitioners) and (9) modern ‘Seiðr’, ‘Asatru’ and related ‘Neo-Shamanic’<sup>5</sup> adaptations, Chaos Magick is clearly the most individualistic and has, not least due to its decidedly individualistic agenda, also yielded numerous innovative impulses, thus influencing the overall development of ‘learned magic’, or ‘magick’, as we shall call it in this article,<sup>6</sup> over the past decades.<sup>7</sup>

According to Colin Duggan, the importance of individualism in Chaos Magick cannot be understated: ‘The emphasis on personal experience, personal experimentation, personalised rituals, personal beliefs, self-development, self-conditioning, individual potential, individual creativity, and individual creation and dissemination of knowledge is evident in all aspects of Chaos Magick discourse’ (Duggan 2014, 411). In fact, typical modes of group formation (that is, in the realm of ‘learned magic’, the foundation of an elaborate order or fraternity) were neither considered inevitable nor necessary in the discourse on Chaos Magick, due ‘its strong rejection of the hierarchical structures of other magical orders or groups’ (ibid., 408). In contrast, individuals ‘choosing to involve themselves in the practice of Chaos Magick more often work alone or in loose networks. The anarchic elements of Chaos Magick [...] allow each individual to create or choose their own mode of participation in

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5 ‘Shamanism’ entails many discursive meanings but is nonetheless embedded in this historical sketch as it has often been used as a pivotal concept in modern literature on ‘learned magic’, particularly in the discourse on Chaos Magick: see on this observation also Duggan 2014, 100f; for Chaos Magick adaptations of ‘Shamanism’ see, for example, Carroll 1978; Sherwin 1978; Hine 1989/90. Interestingly, the latter relies on Mircea Eliade’s *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1951, transl. 1964) in his attempt to construe shamanism as an ‘archaic technique of ecstasy’ that would underlie much of modern magick: see Hine 1998 (1989/90), vol. 1: 5.

6 Most modern practitioners, not least those belonging to the Illuminates of Thanateros, fall under my criteria of conceptualizing ‘Western learned magic’ as outlined in Otto 2016 (such as Western-ness; the self-referential, identificatory use of the term ‘magic’; literacy; striving for lengthy, sophisticated rituals; etc.). Yet, in the following, I will, mostly for aesthetic reasons, abstain from labelling their ritual art as ‘learned magic’ (which, as an analytical category, makes more sense in premodern scenarios), but instead use the term ‘magick’, which is the main spelling found in the practitioner literature; going back to Aleister Crowley, said spelling is mainly used by authors and practitioners to acknowledge the reality of ‘magic’ despite living in modern secular or post-secular environments.

7 See also the self-perception of Peter Carroll, one of the founders of Chaos Magick: ‘Its paradigm has influenced virtually the whole of western magick with a current of eclecticism and a rejection of the principles of absolutism, guruship and totalitarianism’: Carroll 1997.

the discourse' (ibid., 409). The foundation of the IOT was thus 'more the exception than the rule' (ibid., 409),<sup>8</sup> whereas a loose network like 'Thee Temple Ov Psychick Youth' (TOPY, originally an avant-garde group of artists dedicated to Chaos Magick, the most prominent being Genesis P-Orridge) could be considered a contemporaneous counter-example, or even the more common form of social organisation in the Chaos Magick milieu of the 1970s and 1980s (see Cusack 2011). The IOT is thus a good case study for the issues discussed in this publication, as it was and still is an unprecedented attempt of institutionalising one of the most individualising currents in the history of 'Western learned magic'.

The article is structured as follows: In the first section, Chaos Magick will be analysed from the viewpoint of the overall history of 'Western learned magic', thereby focusing on its contributions and innovations to the latter, particularly with regard to its individualism and its relevance for dynamics of religious individualisation. The second section provides a brief sketch of the history, organisational structure and ritual workings of the Illuminates of Thanateros. Thereafter follows a re-narration of the Ice Magick War and the IOT's major schism in the early 1990s, which will be interpreted from different angles. A Conclusion rounds up the discussion, highlighting open questions and apparent paradoxes of the analysis.

## 1 Chaos Magick and 'Western learned magic'

The year of birth of Chaos Magick is usually considered to be 1978, which is the publication year of *Liber Null* (Peter J. Carroll, b. 1953) and *The Book of Results* (Ray Sherwin, b. 1952). Yet, both authors had met and coordinated their literary and ritual activities before that date, at least from 1976 onwards, when Sherwin's journal *The New Equinox* first appeared, to which both regularly contributed (the journal's title was a reminiscence of Aleister Crowley's *The Equinox*, founded in 1909). In the year 1976–77, Carroll and Sherwin had already announced the foundation of a new order dedicated to the practice of Magick, the Illuminates of

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<sup>8</sup> See also Versluis 2007, 142: 'One is struck by the individualism that resonates throughout the chaos magical movement to such a degree that one can hardly speak of a chaos magical tradition even if there is an order of "Magical Pact of the Illuminates of Thanateros"'. Note that there are other groups dedicated to Chaos Magick, such as the Autonomatrix or the Covenant of the Ancient Ones (see for a short discussion of these groups Houston 1995, 58; see also Hanegraaff 2007, 104), but the IOT is clearly the most important one, operative until today.

Thanateros, in *The New Equinox*.<sup>9</sup> According to Peter J. Carroll, Thanateros ‘takes its name from the gods of sex, Eros, and death, Thanatos’ (Carroll 1987, 9).<sup>10</sup> The birth years of Chaos Magick and of the IOT thus somewhat collide (even though the IOT really got started in 1986, see below), but the debate on Chaos Magick was much broader and only a small number of Chaos Magick sympathisers or practitioners were ever members of the IOT.

In the following years, apart from Carroll (see also *Psychonaut*, 1981) and Sherwin (see also *Theatre of Magick*, 1982), numerous further authors, artists and sympathisers contributed to the discussion, among them Lionel Snell (see, e.g., *Thundersqueak*, 1978; *Words made flesh*, 1987), Genesis P-Orridge (co-founder of Thee Temple Ov Psychick Youth; for his textual contributions see foremost *Thee Psychick Bible*, 1994), Joel Biroco (editor of the popular magazine *Kaos*, publ. between 1980–1989), Julian Wilde (e.g. *Grimoire of Chaos Magick*, 1986), Phil Hine (e.g., *Techniques of Modern Shamanism*, 1989/90; *Condensed Chaos*, 1992; *Prime Chaos*, 1993; *Oven-ready Chaos*, 1997), Stephen Sennitt (editor of the magazine *Nox*, publ. between 1986–1991, and of *Infernal Texts: Nox and Liber Koth*, 1997), or, more recently, Stephen Mace (e.g. *Stealing the Fire from Heaven*, 2003).<sup>11</sup> If one interprets their written works from the perspective of the overall history of ‘Western learned magic’, their main contributions and innovations seem to be: (1) the adaptation of scientific chaos theory; (2) ritual individualism, pragmatism, and instrumentality; (3) relativism and constructivism with regard to belief systems; (4) sophisticated conceptualisations of the human self; (5) anti-hierarchical distribution of knowledge; and (6) an ambivalent ‘appeal

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9 The announcement ran as follows: ‘Spiritual heirs to the Zos Kia Cultus, the Illuminates of Thanateros are the drinkers of the dual ecstasies of the sex- and death- gnosis. The IOT represents a fusion of Thelemic Magic, Tantra, the sorceries of Zos and Tao. The non-mysteries of symbolic systems have been discarded in favour of mastery of technique. Studies may be accomplished in a minimum period of 6 months and consist of a series of techniques to be mastered by lone effort. Students will then be tested. Having shown themselves acceptable, initiates will be put in contact with other members of the order and more complex instruction will be given. Applicants should write c/o Box 333, Morton Press, enclosing a blank £1 postal order for the complete studentship curriculum and instructions’: See The Council of the Magi (= The Book) 2014, 4.

10 See for further explanation *ibid.*: ‘Apart from being humanity’s two greatest obsessions and motivating forces, sex and death represent the positive and negative methods of attaining magical consciousness’.

11 The literary output of the Chaos Magick scene was and is enormous and can only be taken into account rudimentarily in this article, with a particular focus on publications from the 1970s-1990s. Apart from the monographs just mentioned, there were also the ‘zines’, self-produced fan-magazines devoted to Chaos Magick, which are today only partly accessible via the internet, as well as numerous other never-published texts and thoughts: the most complete online database seems to be [http://www.chaosmatrix.org/library/chaos\\_all.php](http://www.chaosmatrix.org/library/chaos_all.php) (last access October 17, 2017).

of tradition', i.e. innovative ways of positioning themselves within an alleged age-old tradition of magick (mainly due to the strategy of 'iconoclasm', which has been described in detail by Duggan 2013 and will thus be omitted in the following brief discussion of each facet).

## 1.1 Chaos theory

Numerous cultural and intellectual influences underlay the emergence of Chaos Magick in the 1970s, among them the written works of Aleister Crowley, Austin Osman Spare (foremost his *Book of Pleasure*, 1913), Kenneth Grant (*The Magical Revival*, 1972), Anton LaVey (*The Satanic Bible*, 1969; *The Satanic Rituals*, 1972), and Lionell Snell (*S.S.O.T.B.M.E. an essay on magic*, 1974); the psychedelic revolution of the 1960s with its 'search for ever new, more extreme, and otherworldly states of consciousness through marijuana, hashish, psilocybe [sic], mescaline, LSD, and other hallucinogens' (Urban 2006, 234); novels like Robert Anton Wilson's *The Illuminatus! Trilogy* (1975); new religious movements such as Wicca, Discordianism (see Cusack 2011; Greer 2017), or the Church of all Worlds (Oberon Zell-Ravenheart); contemporaneous debates on constructivism, poststructuralism and postmodernism in the social sciences (see Urban 2006, 222–54); counter-cultural artist networks such as Thee Temple ov Psychick Youth and magickal study groups such as the 'Stoke Newington Sorcerers group' (see on the latter The Council of the Magi 2014, 4); and, last but not least, quantum physics and chaos theory, which 'radically altered traditional conceptions of matter, space, and time' (Urban 2006, 234). Of all these influences,<sup>12</sup> chaos theory is the most interesting one, as it led to innovative modifications of the theory and practice of magick.

What Chaos Magick authors took from chaos theory was foremost the idea of 'nonlinear dynamics', often associated with the so-called 'butterfly effect', which was derived from the observation that small causes may have very different and potentially much larger physical effects, thus calling into question deterministic interpretations of reality. The term 'butterfly effect' was coined by mathematician and chaos theorist Edward Lorenz in the year 1972, when he presented some 'chaotic' meteorological findings to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was looking for a good metaphor. It is in fact fascinating to note that, inspired by Edward Lorenz's works, and only shortly before the publication of Carroll's and Sherwin's works (namely, in December 1977), the New York Academy of Sciences organised the very first Symposium dedicated to chaos

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<sup>12</sup> See also the summary in Mayer 2008, 58–63.

theory, which led, in the following year, to various ground-breaking articles that permitted the application of chaos theory to many different phenomena. In other words, Chaos Magick emerged almost simultaneously to its counterpart in the natural sciences.

Chaos Magick authors adapted the idea of a ‘chaotic’, or non-deterministic and non-predictable, universe mostly by relating it to processes of the human brain. Phil Hine, in his *Condensed Chaos* (later renamed *Oven-Ready Chaos*), writes for instance that ‘the Universe [...] is stochastic<sup>13</sup> in nature. Magick is a set of techniques for rousing a neurological storm in the brain which brings about microscopic fluctuations in the Universe, which lead eventually to macroscopic changes – in accordance with the magician’s intent’ (Hine 1997 (1992), 21). This argument is obviously related to one of the most classic esoteric ideas, namely that there is an intrinsic relationship between macrocosm and microcosm (‘As above, so below’), which now serves ‘to emphasise the connection between biological activity in the brain and the universe’ (Duggan 2013, 107). Yet, according to Carroll, the result of this reinterpretation is nothing but the emergence of a new Aeon, the ‘Chaoist Aeon’<sup>14</sup>:

‘In the Chaoist aeon, on whose threshold we stand, a new conception of psychic reality is forming. [...] The leading edge of quantum physics seems to be providing a theoretical basis for many of the phenomena rediscovered by the renaissance of interest in parapsychology and ancient magical practice. In this new paradigm [...] the animating force of the vast universe can be called Chaos’ (Carroll 1987, 157).<sup>15</sup>

In contrast to its rather abstract meaning in scientific chaos theory, the notion of ‘chaos’ is here promoted to a universal life force, and thus described in religious rather than scientific prose. Carroll even equalises it with ‘God or *Tao*’, as it is ‘the force which has caused life to evolve itself out of dust’ and claims that it is ‘currently most concentratedly manifest in the human life force, or *Kia*, where it is the source of consciousness’ (ibid., 28). Magick works because it allows the practitioner to influence, via his or her mind or brain, *Kia*, which is connected – via

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**13** By ‘stochastic’ Hines apparently means non-deterministic: a system in which its current state does not determine its next state.

**14** The metaphor of the ‘Aeon’ has been a common topos in ‘learned magic’ discourse ever since Aleister Crowley: see Bogdan 2012.

**15** See also Hine 1991, who states that if the ‘Quantum revolution dealt a death blow to the dualistic perception of the universe, Chaos physics will more or less finish it off. [...] We know that the Universe is much too complex (and wonderful) to be neatly labelled into opposites. [...] Anything might be possible, if we allow ourselves new possibilities. The best kind of magick [...] is magick that liberates us from the chains of oppression’.

an intermediate realm called *Aether* – <sup>16</sup> to the overall life force of the universe, namely Chaos. That practitioners can influence reality through their minds is, of course, not a novel idea and reminiscent, for instance, of Marsilio Ficino's re-conceptualisation of the Plotinian 'world soul' (*anima mundi*) or, a bit more recently, of Éliphas Lévi's Mesmerism-driven concept of 'astral light' (on the latter see Otto 2011, 520f). Yet, chaos theory provided practitioners of the 1970s and 1980s with an up-to-date scientific framework that seemed to heighten the plausibility of neurological processes affecting outer realities, whereby TOPY practitioners even coined the notion of 'neuromancy' (word-playing on necromancy: see Greer 2003, 474).<sup>17</sup> Carroll went as far as to suggest that 'the higher reaches of scientific theory and empiricism actually demand that magic exists' (Carroll undated (b)). Out of this novel interpretation arose a particular focus on extraordinary experiences, or ecstasy, as an important tool of magickal practice, as we will see below.

## 1.2 Ritual individualism, pragmatism, and instrumentality

If scientific chaos theory provided Chaos Magick practitioners with a novel theoretical framework, Austin Osman Spare's concept of 'sigilisation' fostered a fundamental change in their ritual art. Formulated as early as 1913 (*Book of Pleasure*), Spare's innovative idea that sigils – i.e. those usually predefined 'sophisticated circular or rectangular arrangements of drawings, "voces magicae" and/or "characteres"' that had pervaded the *Grimoire* genre for many centuries (Bellingradt, Otto 2017, 74 and *passim*) – could be tailor-made by writing down wishes and re-arranging the letters above one another<sup>18</sup> was hardly recognised during his lifetime and popularised only during the 1970s, first by Kenneth Grant (1972, 180f.) and thereafter, with somewhat greater impact, by Peter J. Carroll and Ray Sherwin.

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**16** See also Carroll 1987, 29: 'Between Chaos and ordinary matter, and between Kia and the mind, there exists a realm of half formed substance called *Aether*. [...] It consists of all the possibilities which Chaos throws out which have not yet become solid realities. It is the "medium" by which the "non-existent" chaos translates itself into "real" effects. It forms a sort of backdrop out of which real events and real thoughts materialize. Because aetheric events are only partially evolved into dualistic existence, they may not have a precise location in space or time. They may not have a precise mass or energy either, and so do not necessarily affect the physical plane. It is from the bizarre and indeterminate nature of the aetheric plane that Chaos gets its name, for Chaos cannot be known directly'.

**17** The term 'neuromancy' was first adopted from W. Gibson's novel *Neuromancer* (1983). Thanks to J. Christian Greer for this hint.

**18** See Spare 1913, 29f; for a concise technique see Carroll 1987, 20–2.



From the viewpoint of the history of ‘Western learned magic’, the ritual technique of ‘sigilisation’ implied two important innovations. First, it allowed practitioners to produce individualised sigils that were construed according to their personal wishes and desires. Compared to the slavish repetition of predetermined iconographies beforehand (which usually referred to hierarchies of demons and other intermediaries in the *Grimoire* genre),<sup>19</sup> the technique of ‘sigilisation’ thus represents a crucial shift towards the psychologisation and individualisation of magick. If the production of sigils was individualised, so, secondly, was their ritual implementation: namely, through their casting onto the practitioner’s subconscious mind by means of ecstatic techniques (based on either sex, drugs, meditation, music, dance, or other similar means)<sup>20</sup>; techniques of ‘sexual magick’ were of particular preference here.<sup>21</sup> As it is here indeed nothing but ‘the mind that works magic’ (Luhmann 1989, 120), Spare’s technique of ‘sigilisation’ pushed the so-called ‘psychologisation of magic’ forward, as it was now systematically applied to all facets of ritual practice and theory, thus going beyond earlier psychologisations of the art.<sup>22</sup>

A crucial facet of the ritual pragmatism inherent in Chaos Magick was its systematic, experimental, and results-oriented approach, which was devoid of any obedience to authority.<sup>23</sup> From the viewpoint of the history of ‘Western learned magic’, the game-changing impact of this impulse is, again, noteworthy. Chaos Magick practitioners apparently burst apart the idea that ritual scripts,

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**19** I believe that Spare’s inspiring sources may have been Mather’s edition of *The Key of Solomon the King* (1889) and particularly Crowley’s edition of the *The Book of the Goetia of Solomon the King* (1904), with its list of 72 demons and their respective sigils.

**20** See for instance Carroll 1987, 70, on the use of sexuality: ‘As the body goes into the orgasm phase, and in the seconds following, the whole force of the will and perception is focused on the desire, or more conveniently, its sigil. In that brief instant when he is no more, the alignment is made, the obsession formed, the demon bom, or the sigil charged, his will sent forth’.

**21** See for instance Hawkins 1996, 103: ‘Spare often charged sigils with his semen, though many of his sigils were simply written on card and held to his forehead while muttering some form of incantation, leading to instant results’.

**22** See on psychologisation Pasi 2011 and Plaisance 2015.

**23** See for instance Wilde 1998 (1986), 26: ‘I find it inconceivable that so many talented occultists still cling to a perverted, post-victorian [sic] perspective of reality. The Golden Dawn and other movements of that ilk bestowed upon the world great pioneers/warriors (and I here acknowledge my debt and gratitude to them) but one can no longer trudge drearily in their well-worn footsteps, hoping that (by some process of sympathetic magic?) some of their accomplishments/abilities will rub off – if you pursue dinosaur tracks all you are likely to acquire are dinosaur droppings and a few bones – small reward for a life-time’s work. A fossil is not a living creature – discovering someone else’s reality and making it your own may be convenient and gratificatory [sic], but it is also second-rate’.

only because they have been written down centuries ago or were practiced by acclaimed individuals or groups, were to be considered more trustworthy and efficacious, thus paving the way for a more systematic, experimental and innovative ritual agenda.<sup>24</sup> In fact, practitioners were encouraged to record all their ritual experiments and results in ‘magical diaries’,<sup>25</sup> thus following Aleister Crowley’s earlier suggestions – yet, compared to Crowley (whose ritual successes and/or failures we may never be able to verify, due to the hagiographic impetus of his entire work), Chaos Magick practitioners might have been more open-ended and results-oriented, given that their diaries should record any ‘data pertaining to both positive and negative results’ (Duggan 2014, 407–8).<sup>26</sup> Accordingly, Chaos Magick practitioners ‘see their practice as scientific, results-based, and experimental’ (ibid., 406), or, in the words of Phil Hine, ‘What matters is the results you get, not the “authenticity” of the system you use’ (Hine 1997 (1992), 10).<sup>27</sup>

Next to this drift towards ritual individualism and pragmatism, Chaos Magick practitioners tossed away all those moralistic and ideological reservations that have led many practitioners of the late 19th century onwards to neglect

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**24** See also Davis 1995, 59: ‘For today’s Chaos mages, there is no “tradition”. The symbols and myths of countless sects, orders, and faiths, are constructs, useful fictions, “games”. That magic works has nothing to do with its truth claims and everything to do with the will and experience of the magician. Recognizing the distinct possibility that we may be adrift in a meaning less mechanical cosmos within which human will and imagination are vaguely comic flukes. [...] the mage accepts his groundlessness, embracing the chaotic self-creating void that is himself’. See further Duggan 2014, 408: ‘The [...] way in which Chaos Magick appeals to tradition is in the form of iconoclasm, which is understood figuratively as the strategy of disregarding the established ideas of one’s predecessors in favour of one’s own innovations. [...] Iconoclasm is the active form of perennialism in Chaos Magick discourse as tearing down existing structures and hierarchies makes way for new systems, cultural spaces, and individualism that can be included in the tradition’.

**25** See for instance Carroll 1987, 13: ‘A magical diary is the magician’s most essential and powerful tool. It should be large enough to allow a full page for each day. Students should record the time, duration and degree of success of any practice undertaken. They should make notes about environmental factors conducive (or otherwise) to the work’. The advice is repeated some ten times in *Liber Null*. See also Sherwin 1978, and Hine 1997 (1992), 45f.

**26** See also Sherwin 1978, 12: ‘By keeping an accurate record of his workings, when his inaugural experiments are completed the magician is able to review his methods and observe which of them were effective and which of them he might now discard as being of no pertinence. The Book of Results should be kept in as scientific a manner as possible. The magician realizes, of course, that no experiment can be repeated exactly since there are circumstances which he is unable to control (e.g. the motion of the heavenly bodies, the weather etc.) but as far as his own preparations are concerned (the time of day, the ritual trappings, his own state of mind) he should record these as precisely as possible’.

**27** See also Urban 2006, 226: the ‘guiding principle here is not “what is the Truth” but rather the pragmatic stance of “what works for me”’.

instrumental or ego-centred ritual goals and focus instead on apotheosis as the ultimate objective of magick (see on this development Otto forthcoming). Chaos Magick practitioners were certainly not unique in their countermovement towards instrumentality (that is, in their pursuing of short-term, inner-worldly ritual goals) in the 1970s and 80s – think, for instance, of the publications of Anton LaVey – but from the viewpoint of religious individualisation it is nonetheless worth noting that Chaos Magick practitioners were not ritually wedged into a system of spiritual purification or soul ascension (compared to, say, the contemporaneous followers of Dion Fortune or the several re-foundations of the Golden Dawn), but allowed and encouraged to pursue any ritual goal they desired, even odd ones.<sup>28</sup> Take one of the oldest desires that ever manifested in the ritual art of ‘learned magic’ as a telling example, namely economic advantage – or simply money –, about which Carroll writes in his *Psybermagick* (Carroll 1995, 21): ‘Never insult money or blaspheme it [...] If you want money, then sacrifice it only on opportunities which will make money. Treat money as a major God: for its capricious and awesome power rivals that of even love and war. Money acts as a vast, intelligent organism which lives by occupying the brain of nearly everyone on this planet. Mammon seems far more awake at this moment than many gods we could mention’. Following such advice, Chaos Magick practitioners developed countless ritual techniques for money gathering (many, unsurprisingly, focused on sexuality).<sup>29</sup> Pondering this interesting inclination towards instrumentality, one might conclude that apart from the individualisation of ritual theory (through psychologisation), and of ritual practice (through sigilisation), Chaos Magick also implied a significant individualisation of ritual goals.

### 1.3 Relativism and constructivism with regard to belief systems

In a manner somewhat similar to this individualised, pragmatic and instrumental approach towards ritual practice, Chaos Magick practitioners also adopted

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<sup>28</sup> See for instance Carroll 1987, 98: ‘At odd moments he [the magickal practitioner] may pick various persons around him and make them stand up, sit down, or move around and do particular things’.

<sup>29</sup> See for a few practical examples Urban 2006, 250–3; see for instance LaSara Firefox 2003, 11: “‘But how did you get your computer?’ you ask. The answer is simple: lots of masturbation whilst focusing on a series of lovely little sigils. I started with sigil phrases like ‘I will own a Mac Laptop’ and progressed to ‘I will be gifted with a Mac Laptop.’ Sex is energy, so I suggest masturbating while chanting, rubbing the piece of paper on your body or maybe drawing it on yourself with sensual oil. Let your imagination run wild’.

creative and pragmatic attitudes towards the issue of ‘belief’. ‘Do you know, that there may be no Ultimate Truth?’ figures prominently on the title page of one of the main teaching documents of the Illuminates of Thanateros (see The Council of the Magi 2014, title page) – thus mocking the desire of many former and contemporaneous practitioners.<sup>30</sup> This renunciation of the existence of ‘ultimate truth’ had two driving forces. On the one hand, Chaos Magick practitioners generally ascribed negative effects to belief systems as ‘belief is responsible for all the limiting conditions placed on the subjective individual and therefore, in order to break free of the conditions, one must break free of belief and learn how to use it as a tool for the development of the self’ (Duggan 2014, 409). Carroll thus suggests different ‘techniques of liberation’, thereby referring to ‘those which weaken the hold of society, convention, and habit over the initiate, and those which lead to a more expansive outlook. They are sacrilege, heresy, iconoclasm, bioaestheticism [sic], and anathemism’ (Carroll 1987, 45–7). On the other hand, Chaos Magick was influenced by contemporaneous debates on relativism and constructivism in the social sciences. In his essay ‘The Magic of Chaos’ Carroll argues for instance that an ‘implication of the principle of relativity of belief is that all beliefs are considered to be arbitrary and contingent. Consequently, all notions of absolute truth only exist if we choose to believe them at any time’ (Carroll undated (b)).

Thereof derived another ground-breaking innovation of Chaos Magick, namely the idea that instead of being controlled by belief systems, practitioners should begin to control belief systems. In other words, beliefs should be considered as mere tools, adapted to the respective situation, and interchanged when necessary (see further Duggan 2014, 409). Carroll devotes an entire chapter in *Liber Null* to diversifying six ‘random beliefs’ (namely paganism, monotheism, atheism, nihilism, chaosism, and superstition), which should be adopted and adjusted by the practitioner depending on each situation’s necessities: ‘Try each or any of them for a week, a month, or a year. This exercise may save one an unnecessary incarnation or two’ (Carroll 1987, 73–7). Chaos Magick practitioners were quite aware of the innovativity of this theoretical turnaround and engaged in interesting comparisons of different historical explanations of magickal efficacy.<sup>31</sup>

An interesting consequence of this relativistic and constructivist attitude towards belief was that Chaos Magick practitioners became ‘uninterested in

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**30** Another prominent slogan is ‘Nothing is true, everything is permitted’, taken from William S. Burroughs’ *Minutes to go* (1960). It can also be seen as a partial inversion of Discordianism’s slogan ‘Everything is true; everything is permissible’: see Malaclypse the younger 1965, 88. Yet, the line already appears in Nietzsche’s *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1969, 150). Thanks to J. Christian Greer for these suggestions.

**31** See, e.g., Hine 1997 (1992), 19–22. See also Tegtmeier 1991.

whether deities invoked exist, or whether formal rituals are performed' (Cusack 2011, 142). On principle, any being could be invoked, any ritual tradition adopted and tested for its efficacy, including self-invented or fictional entities or cosmologies. Thus, the particular interest of Chaos Magick practitioners in the latter, particularly in Lovecraft's Cthulhu myth (on which see Frenschkowski 2011), which also served to undermine 'those culturally-indented categorical distinctions which separate the "real" from the "unreal"' (Hanegraaff 2007, 102).<sup>32</sup> Again, from the viewpoint of the overall history of 'Western learned magic', the ground-breaking impetus of this move is fascinating. Instead of stipulating a coherent cosmology or belief system which would explain the workings of magick, Chaos Magick practitioners simply filed away the whole issue of truth, thus liberating and instrumentalising individual belief as a mere tool of ritual practice.

#### 1.4 Sophisticated conceptualisations of the human self

Chaos Magick's instrumentalisation of belief systems is related to another innovative idea, namely that the mind, and particular the conscious self, has to be looked upon differently than has been done thus far in the history of 'Western learned magic'. Broadly speaking, according to Chaos Magick practitioners, the average, everyday state of mind is incapable of producing any magickal effects (see also Duggan 2014, 410). In contrast, Chaos Magick strives for overcoming 'the gods of logic and rationality' through ritual and other means, for instance through an ecstatic ceremony called the 'latter day black mass':

'Drumming, leaping, and whirling in free form movement are accompanied by idiotic incantations. Forced deep breathing is used to provoke hysterical laughter. Mild hallucinogens and disinhibitory agents (such as alcohol) are taken together with sporadic gasps of nitrous oxide gas. Dice are thrown to determine what unusual behavior and sexual irregularities will take place. Discordant music is played and flashing lights splash onto billowing clouds of incense smoke. A whole maelstrom of ingredients is used to overcome the senses' (Carroll 1987, 44).

Phil Hine considers sexual ecstasy, pain overload, and LSD to be the 'nukes' that provide 'a powerful form of gnosis' necessary for the 'continual process of

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<sup>32</sup> See further *ibid.*, 103: 'A preference for precisely the kinds of beings described by Lovecraft – entities that have come from other-dimensional "spaces between the stars" – fits very well with the importance to Chaos Magick of Spare's concept of "Kia", described as "the space between the worlds", or the "neither-neither" realm beyond the duality of objectivity and subjectivity (and hence beyond the duality of fiction and reality as well)'.

Deconditioning’ (Hine 1997 (1992), 43). Hine also suggests performing a ‘Discordian Opening Ritual’, where the practitioner asks the ‘Blessed Apostle Sri Syadasti,<sup>33</sup> patron of psychedelia’ to ‘blow our minds’ (ibid., 26).

According to the Chaos Magick literature, such practices serve two goals: (1) the liberation or ‘deconditioning’ of the mind from oppressive beliefs and thinking habits, which may obstruct efficacious ritual practice; and (2), even more importantly, the achievement of ‘gnosis’ – which is also called ‘magical consciousness’ or ‘absolute consciousness’ in the literature –, as ‘Altered states of consciousness are the key to magical powers’ (Carroll 1987, 31). For the achievement of ‘gnosis’, Carroll distinguishes two different modes or paths, which he calls the inhibitory mode (mostly equated with sensory deprivation and meditation techniques) and the excitatory mode (where ecstatic and ‘mind-busting’ techniques come into play).<sup>34</sup> The final goal and aspired state of mind is equated with *samadhi*, or absolute quiescence: ‘Stopping the internal dialogue, passing through the eye of the needle, *ain* or nothing, *samadhi*, or onepointedness’ (ibid.). Carroll claims that it is only ‘during these moments of single-pointed concentration, or gnosis, that beliefs can be implanted for magic, and the life force induced to manifest’ (ibid.).<sup>35</sup>

With its focus on altered states of mind and the achievement of ‘gnosis’, Chaos Magick was in line with many new religious and New Age movements of the 1970s and 80s. Yet, when it comes to ritual practice, Chaos Magick’s urge towards ‘shattering [...] the boundaries of the self’ (Urban 2006, 253) was nonetheless an innovative – and, again, individualising – move when interpreted from a bird’s eye perspective upon the history of ‘Western learned magic’. The mere re-enactment of pre-arranged ritual scripts from previous centuries obviously ceased to be a plausible enterprise, when it is ultimately ecstasy, or ‘gnosis’, that

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**33** This figure is taken from the *Principia Discordia*: see Malaclypse the younger 1965, e.g. 39, 89. Sanskrit ‘Syadasti’ means ‘could be’ (Syād) and ‘be’ (asti), hence ‘could-be-and/or-be’, ‘maybe-ism’, or ‘non-absolutism’ (as everything could be or not be, or both be and not be). Thanks to Rahul Parson for this clarification, who points to the related Jain term ‘syādavāda’ in his article ‘Individualization and Democratization of Knowledge in Banārasidās’ Samayasāra Nāṭaka’ (in this publication).

**34** See Carroll 1987, 31: ‘In the inhibitory mode, the mind is progressively silenced until only a single object of concentration remains. In the excitatory mode, the mind is raised to a very high pitch of excitement while concentration on the objective is maintained’; see also the table on p. 33, where 20 different techniques are assigned to either type.

**35** To be fair, I simplify things a bit for the sake of the argument, as ideas ‘of the self in Chaos Magick are ambivalent and the singularity of self, the essentialism of the idea that there is one self, sometimes in two parts, and that that self corresponds to the physical individual, and to that one individual only, has been a source of contention’ (Duggan 2014, 410).

taps onto 'Kia', thus setting magick in motion. Again, the practitioner is thrown back onto him- or herself, being responsible for his or her own self-transcendence through techniques of ecstasy or deprivation, which, expectably, led to manifold individualised ritual variations.

## 1.5 Anti-hierarchical distribution of knowledge

Last but not least, the debate on Chaos Magick yielded individualised publication strategies already in the early 1980s, which went beyond the regular and occult book and journal markets. Crucial in this regard was the genre of 'zines' which could be produced and shared by any individuals interested in Chaos Magick. 'Zines' (an abbreviation of 'fanzine' or 'magazine') were self-produced texts, usually in A4 or A5 format, that were printed privately and circulated in low quantities, thus also reflecting an anarchistic or 'punk' element inherent to the emergence of Chaos magick.<sup>36</sup> They included home-made texts devoted to theories of magick and related topics, accounts of ritual experiments and results, or excerpts from magical diaries, and often 'a networking section and/or a review section of other zines along with contact details of their producers and information on how to obtain them' (Duggan 2014, 410). 'Zines' were an individualised publication tool that foreshadowed the democratisation of knowledge production and distribution which has become so crucial to the universal success of the world wide web. Long before the latter become the most democratic communication medium of all times, 'zines' led to a striking individualisation as well as interconnectedness of grass-root communication about Chaos Magick in that 'zine consumers are zine producers, and the act of distributing zines becomes the act of gaining access to other zines' (ibid.). In other words, in the Chaos Magick discourse basic communication strategies, too, were individualised, thus verifying the above claim that Chaos Magick indeed represents one of the most individualistic currents within the textual-ritual tradition of 'Western learned magic'.

This finding is even more striking when acknowledging that 'Western learned magic' *per se* triggers most, if not all, core notions of 'religious individualisation' (see Otto 2017, 46–50). Yet, it may be reasonable to argue that there are different grades and strengths of 'religious individualisation' even within single religious traditions (in this case, within the textual-ritual tradition of 'Western learned magic'), depending, for instance, on the temporal and spatial focus, or concerning different individuals or groups that belong to the same tradition. As we have

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<sup>36</sup> See on this issue Greer forthcoming.

seen, Chaos Magick is highly individualistic in various domains, be they ritual theory (psychologisation; neuromancy); ritual practice ('sigilisation', experimentality, diaries, instrumentality); its interpretation of belief systems (relativity, constructivism, utilisation); its sophisticated conceptualisation of the human self ('gnosis'); or its democratic and anti-hierarchical publication strategies ('zines'). Against this backdrop, it is even more fascinating to note that an organised fraternity arose out of this movement, the Illuminates of Thanateros, to which we shall now turn our attention.

## 2 The Illuminates of Thanateros

Before we delve into the history and workings of the IOT, a word on methodology is necessary. The IOT is a small modern grouping of magick which has hardly evoked the attention of the scholarly community, so that there is almost no 'independent' information available on its history and workings, apart from texts and accounts produced by the group itself or occultist historians. It is hence impossible to verify or falsify any of the order's historical claims, and the fact that IOT members are not allowed to communicate freely on internal matters, does not rectify the situation. There are indeed order historians (also called 'archivists': see *The Council of the Magi* 2014, 9) who may have produced accounts of crucial events such as the Ice Magick War,<sup>37</sup> but these texts are usually not accessible by outsiders (such as scholars). We therefore have to work with what we have, but as we will see there is enough material to scrutinise for the time being.

A basic outline of the order's history is provided in a document entitled 'The Secrets of the Illuminates of Thanateros', also called 'The Book', which is available on the internet in two different versions (2002 and 2014). According to the 2002 version, which, by the way, 'is accepted by all Sections and all Pact members as valid' (Illuminates of Thanateros 2002, 14), the IOT was, in the first years after its announcement in 1976/77, 'rarely more than a loose correspondence network and a few people meeting for rituals in East Morton' (ibid., 6). Until the mid-1980s, the IOT never advanced to a fully operating order with regular ritual (group) practice but remained instable, with occasional meetings at different places and short-term group formations and dissolutions. Peter Carroll (also known as 'Frater Stokastikos' in the IOT) equipped a temple in Bristol in 1982, the 'The Bristol C.H.A.O.S. Temple' or 'Cabal Heraclitus' (ibid.), which remained operative until Carroll's resignation (on which see further below). Apart from another small (8–14

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<sup>37</sup> An example may be DeWitt 2000.



members) short-lived group (The ‘Circle of Chaos’, 1984–87), the IOT as we know it today only got started when Peter Carroll, together with German practitioner Ralph Tegtmeier (b. 1952, also known as ‘Frater U.:D.:’),<sup>38</sup> ran a public seminar in Bonn-Ramersdorf ‘in a former cloister in the Rhineland over four days in October 1986’ (ibid., 7). During this seminar, ‘certain tests’ were made with the practitioners and those passing were invited to a ‘Mass of Chaos’, whereby the decision was made to form ‘a new magical order of some kind’. This event was also called ‘The Founding of the Pact’, and the IOT also synonymised as ‘The Pact’ thereafter. In the official IOT calendar, 1986 is thus the year ‘0’ (ibid.). The re-formation of the now re-named ‘Magical Pact of the Illuminates of Thanateros’ was announced in another manifesto called ‘The Pact/Liber Pactionis’, which was published in August 1987 in the journal *Chaos International* (#3). The same event led to the formation of a UK section, whereby a ‘UK Pact Temple’ was equipped in London, and to the formation of a German-speaking section (comprising, at that time, Germany, Austria and Switzerland). The first ‘World Pact Meeting’ was held at Raabs (Austria) in August 1987, and 25 new members were initiated (ibid.). These meetings have been held ever since, with the 28th AGM meeting held in Germany in 2014 (see The Council of the Magi 2014, 22). In the years after 1986, various independent national sections or ‘satrapies’, as they are called (Illuminates of Thanateros 2002, 3), were founded, such as Australasia (1988), USA (1989), Bulgaria (1995), Brazil, Denmark, and Holland (1997).

This (hi)story is at least partly confirmed by an interview with Ralph Tegtmeier conducted by German psychologist Gerhard Mayer on June 21, 2004, when the latter did research for his monograph *Arkane Welten: Biografien, Erfahrungen und Praktiken zeitgenössischer Magier* (2008).<sup>39</sup> Tegtmeier maintained an occult bookshop called Horus in Bonn between 1979 and 1981 and founded several book labels (Verlag Ralph Tegtmeier; Edition Magus), wherein he published a German translation of Carroll’s *Liber Null* in 1982 under the title *Liber Null: Praktische Magie* (with reprints and revisions in <sup>2</sup>1984 and <sup>3</sup>2003). In the aftermath of this translation, Carroll and Tegtmeier eventually met and decided to offer ritual workshops together. The aforementioned seminar in Bonn (October 1986) was the first of these joint seminars and it led, as indicated above, to a re-foundation of the IOT, or ‘The Pact’, as it was now called. Technically, thus, Tegtmeier is a

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<sup>38</sup> On Tegtmeier’s biography see Mayer 2008, 72–8.

<sup>39</sup> I would like to thank Gerhard Mayer, who has been so kind as to provide the interview transcript. Additionally, I would like to thank Ralph Tegtmeier for the opportunity to conduct an interview on the matters discussed here (on May 21, 2019).

founding member of ‘The Pact’,<sup>40</sup> which is a crucial piece of information as in the early 1990s a severe dispute between Carroll and Tegtmeier was one of the underlying motifs of the Ice Magick War.

From the viewpoint of the institutionalisation of religious individualisation, it is interesting to note that the order attempted to be decidedly: (1) anti-hierarchical; (2) anti-dogmatic; and (3) anti-secret. Concerning the first issue, *The Book* states:

‘In traditional secular as well as in mystical organisations we find the form of the pyramid, at the top of which there is a leader or Guru or similar person. The position of the Guru is above all other members and above all criticism. The Guru teaches, commands and criticises those who hold a lower degree. [...] No one, regardless of degree or post, may command another member of the Pact. Criticism in the Pact flows from the bottom to the top. Those in higher degrees must refrain from critical remarks towards members with lower degrees [...]. Every Magister Templi, Section Head, Adept and Magus is assigned an Insubordinate as personal assistant. This assistance consists of providing feedback to the recipient of the insubordination on their actions. The office of the Insubordinate ensures that criticism flows from the bottom to the top. The Insubordinate acts independently from the Pact hierarchy’ (Illuminates of Thanateros 2002, 12 = The Council of the Magi 2014, 3).

As we see, the IOT attempted to overcome or even reverse – through the position of the ‘Insubordinate’ – power imbalances which the founders have observed in other magical (or ‘mystical’) organisations.<sup>41</sup> The IOT distinguishes four standard degrees – Neophyte (4°), Initiate (3°), Adept (2°), and Magus (1°) – and a range of offices which shall not interest us here (see Illuminates of Thanateros 2002, 13–4; the 2014 version differs slightly: The Council of the Magi 2014, 6). Interestingly, it is claimed that ‘rising within the hierarchy and mastery is based on actual magical and organisational achievements’ (Illuminates of Thanateros 2002, 13; in the 2014 version, ‘hierarchy’ is replaced with ‘antiarchy’: The Council of the Magi 2014, 8). The anonymous authors of the English Wikipedia article on the IOT thus speak of a ‘magical meritocracy’,<sup>42</sup> whereby it is to be noted that a

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**40** See the unpublished interview transcript with Gerhard Mayer (June 21, 2014): ‘das führte auch dazu, dass wir den I.O.T., den es offiziell zwar gab, aber der eigentlich nie formal gegründet worden war, [...] in den USA, in Großbritannien, dass wir den also dann tatsächlich formal auch noch gegründet haben in Deutschland und äh .. insofern bin ich, wenn man so will, was den formalen Aspekt angeht, ein Gründungsmitglied des I.O.T. gewesen’.

**41** See also Urban 2007, 236: ‘The organization of this order was, from its origins, intentionally “chaotic,” that is, antihierarchical and fluid, with “less emphasis on discipline than on enthusiasm and creativity,” in the hope of “calling the bluff” of the “great almighty gurus” who run most modern magical groups’.

**42** See, e.g., Anonymous 2017: the IOT ‘was based on a hierarchy of magical ability rather than invitation, a magical meritocracy’.

‘degree raising may occur either at the request of a candidate or at the proposal of the bearers of the according degree and higher degrees. For carrying out a degree raising the presence of at least one bearer of a higher degree is necessary’ (The Council of the Magi 2014, 8).<sup>43</sup>

Apart from this anti-hierarchical approach, the IOT also attempted to be anti-dogmatic in the sense that local temples, sections or so-called ‘satrapies’ were self-governed, particularly with regard to their ritual practice(s): ‘Each section is autonomous. The autonomy of each section ends where the unimpeachable autonomy of the Pact is affected/concerned’ (Illuminates of Thanateros 2002, 14).<sup>44</sup> Carroll indeed stressed the need for innovation and creativity in each section, as ‘dogmatic ideas, rigid hierarchies and fixed teachings and beliefs will kill its creative spirit rapidly’ and thus encouraged sections to ‘experiment with whatever techniques, rituals and ideas they please’ (Carroll undated (a)). Finally, at least in the 2014 version, the IOT claims to be anti-secret: ‘The structure of the Pact and the responsibilities of its degrees and posts are laid open in this book. There are no secret oaths and no secret inner circles’ (The Council of the Magi, 3).

Even though each IOT section or group was encouraged to operate freely, independently, and creatively – thus mirroring the individualist agenda of Chaos Magick as outlined above –, there were, of course, standardised scripts for individual as well as group rituals. Particularly for the first degree, the Neophyte (4°), a summary of basic techniques is provided in a document called *Liber MMM*, which was already included in Carroll’s *Liber Null* (see Carroll 1987, 12–25), but now also circulates independently on the internet.<sup>45</sup> It includes instructions on mind control, visualisation techniques, sigilisation, and dream control or

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**43** See also the overview in Woodman forthcoming: ‘Whilst adherents emphasise the individualistic, anti-dogmatic and anti-structural nature of Chaos magic, the IOT replicates aspects of the initiatory and hierarchical grade structures common to Western esoteric sodalities. Nominally under the authority of “The Council of Magi”, the IOT is comprised of quasi-autonomous “Temples” and its formal degree structure is subverted by inclusion of the ritual office of “the Insubordinate” (whose role is to contest abuses of power within Temple hierarchies). Temples do, however, perform institutionally-shared rituals, including “The Mass of Chaos B”, an invocation of Baphomet, who is seen as the mystical figurehead of the organisation, embodying the “current” of Chaos magic’.

**44** Again, the 2014 version slightly differs: ‘The rules and procedures described in this Book are valid on a global level throughout all Sections. All Sections are otherwise autonomous. Every Section may add rules and procedures as it is considered necessary by the Section’ (The Council of the Magi 2014, 2).

**45** See, for instance, <http://www.chaosmatrix.org/library/chaos/texts/libermmm.pdf> (last access November 14, 2017).

divination.<sup>46</sup> Concerning group rituals, various scripts are outlined in Carroll's *Psychonaut*, such as the five 'Rites of Chaos' of which the 'Mass of Chaos' seems to be the most important one. This group ritual is performed to raise 'a particular manifestation of energy for inspiration, divination, or communion with particular domains of consciousness', but also to 'modify physical reality' (ibid., 130), and consists of six steps, which revolve around group invocations of Chaos (here understood as an entity)<sup>47</sup> and Baphomet (understood as 'the representation of the terrestrial life-current': ibid., 131). Against the backdrop of the individualist agenda of Chaos Magic, it is interesting to read here that the

'purpose of structuring group activity with ritual is to generate more power than individual efforts might achieve. Synergistic effects will come into play in a properly synchronised working, and the collective power will exceed the sum of individual powers participating. Group working also makes possible many experiments requiring more than one operator and allows for a division of labor when some participants can contribute abilities which others lack' (ibid., 117).

Yet at the same time, Carroll stresses that any group ritual should be experimental and research-like, as it would otherwise be 'unnecessary to do it' (ibid.). In other words, there are tendencies of ritual standardisation within the IOT, but the experimental, creative and individualist agenda prevails even here.<sup>48</sup>

As we will see shortly, it is precisely the anti-hierarchical, anti-dogmatic, individualist and experimental agenda of the IOT which may have fostered developments that led to its schism in the early 1990s. This may not be utterly surprising: 'After all, an organised movement of Chaos Magic is inherently contradictory and could only logically end by dismantling itself in its own act of total liberation' (Urban 2007, 243).<sup>49</sup> In fact, already around 1986 Ray Sherwin resigned from the order, that is, he 'excommunicated himself because he felt that the Order was slipping into the power structure that he had intended to avoid with this group' (Hawkins undated; see also Woodman forthcoming). In a similar vein, Peter

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**46** Another document called *The Book of the Novice* outlines 11 basic ritual techniques for beginners, which are a bit more precise and also includes a chapter 'magical weapons' and banishing rituals as well as the suggestion to find a mentor: see The Council of the Magi 2014, appendix (16–8).

**47** See ibid., 130: 'I Reign Over You Saith | The Dragon Eagle of the Primal Chaos | I Am the First the Highest That Live In the First Aether' etc.

**48** See for some interesting descriptions of group rituals DeWitt 2000.

**49** See also Anonymous undated (a): 'Das Vorhandensein einer Hierarchie im IOT hat viel Streit über ihn in der chaotischen Szene verursacht. Gegner denken, dass das Konzept un-chaotisch sei und einzelne Mitglieder einschränke, während Befürworter glauben, der geringere Chaosismus mache wesentlich effektivere Gruppenarbeit vor allem in internationalem Maßstab möglich'.

Carroll backed out from the IOT shortly after the Ice Magick War, though it was only in 2016 that he ‘publicly announced withdrawal of support for the organisation’ (Woodman forthcoming).

Apart from these resignations by (both) founding figures of the group, it is particularly the Ice Magick War which may have revealed the weak spot, or Achilles’ heel, of the IOT. It is thus time to discuss the IOT’s major schism and the events that preceded and followed in the early 1990s.

### 3 The Ice Magick War

In all wars, there are at least two sides to the story, and this is equally true in the case of the Ice Magick War. There are several sources for the conflict authored by protagonists (such as Carroll and Tegtmeier), and these, as we might expect, differ in their respective narrations and interpretations. But before delving into the story and its interpretations, we should first understand how modern practitioners of magick actually engage in war, that is, how they do battle. After all, we may suspect that they have more nuanced weapons at their disposal than fists, knives or firearms. A brief detour into modern ‘battle magick’ may also help to understand what actually happened during the Ice Magick War.<sup>50</sup>

Let us start with two texts on ‘battle magick’, authored by Peter Carroll and Ralph Tegtmeier, respectively. In the chapter on ‘magical combat’ in Carroll’s *Psychonaut*, he states that ‘Magical attack takes two forms. At long range, telepathic information is sent which makes the target destroy itself. To make a man fall under a vehicle is not impossible; to make a vehicle fall on top of a man is something else entirely. At short range, it is possible to injure or drain an adversary’s energy field using one’s own. This demands close proximity, usually contact. Magical close combat of this type is not effected by mere will or visualisation, but by projecting a force that can actually be felt, usually through the hands’ (Carroll 1987, 125). The theoretical approach is again mostly psychological, even though he also refers to the invocation of entities for attacking – ‘A skilled sorcerer may succeed in projecting a purely aetheric entity across space to harass his opponent’ (ibid., 126) – and for defensive purposes: ‘The most effective defenses are provided by sentient or semi-sentient entities’ (ibid., 127). When it comes to the use of ritual artefacts, we find an interesting list of quite stereotypical elements – ‘The image of the target wounded in the required manner is used to send the

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<sup>50</sup> I have adopted the term ‘battle magick’ from the practitioner literature, even though, of course, much of what it covers had previously been labelled ‘black magic’.

attack. Wax images, photographs, hair, or nail pairings help to form a connection between the visualised image and the target' (ibid., 126). Here, again, the attack is mostly a matter of the projection of 'psychic energy': 'the attack is launched from a state of deepest concentration or from a pinnacle of ecstatic excitement. Hate and anger aroused during a full ritual destruction of the image may serve' (ibid.). Carroll does mention the dangers involved in malevolent magick ('It is the height of unwisdom to enter into situations where conflict is the only option left. Magical attack is the direct opposite of occult healing, though it uses similar forces. As with all things, constructive activities are a far greater challenge to our skills than destructive ones': ibid., 127), but his approach is quite pragmatic and far from being moralistic.

Ralph Tegtmeier, in a chapter on 'Kampfmagie' in his *Die Hohe Kunst der Magie* (2011 II: 564–79), claims accordingly that a fully-fledged battle between practising magicians is the rare exception, as it spins out high amounts of energy; yet, there are also unconscious threats and attacks derived from emotions such as hate, envy or jealousy which call for sufficient knowledge of protective measures (Tegtmeier 2011, 565). Tegtmeier calls into question the 'myth', widely spread in modern esoteric and 'white magic' discourses, that the negative energy of malevolent magick ultimately falls back onto its arouser, claiming that this would be nothing but a misleading Judaeo-Christian imprint.<sup>51</sup> He provides a disturbing list of some 17 effects of successful magickal attacks, based on those instances in which he was able to verify that magick was indeed responsible (ibid., 574). There are some further reflections on defence, the deployment of psycho-terror, and 'micro-magic' (the use of figurines or magickal weapons), but Tegtmeier does not provide any detailed ritual prescriptions, apart from basic partner exercises that aim at sharpening one's senses (ibid., 577–9). Tegtmeier provides a few more specific instructions in his brief articles on 'Kampfmagie' published in 1986–7 in

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51 Ibid., 569: 'Fataler ist allerdings die Sicherheit, in die der Esoteriker damit gewiegt werden soll: Denn nichts wäre falscher als die Annahme, daß man vor kampfmagischen Aktionen anderer allein schon deshalb geschützt sei, weil irgendein göttliches Vergeltungsprinzip die Bösen schon bestrafen werde. Abgesehen davon, daß es selbst in einem solchen Fall alles andere als wünschenswert wäre, erst zum Opfer zu werden, um sich dann – möglicherweise auch noch posthum! – an der Bestrafung der Bösewichter zu erfreuen, verkennt diese Spießerdylle leider die Grundmechanismen, nach denen die Kampfmagie funktioniert. Tatsächlich läßt sich zwar recht häufig beobachten, daß Magier, die einen Angriff gegen andere starten, mit plötzlichen Rückstößen (im Fachjargon: "Reperkussionen") zu kämpfen haben, doch beweisen andererseits die vielen erfolgreichen Schadensmagier, daß dies wohl kaum an irgendeinem die Schwachen schützenden "Naturgesetz" liegen kann'. See also Tegtmeier 1986, 36.

*Anubis* (issues 3–5), which were partly inspired by Peter Carroll’s previous writings on the matter.<sup>52</sup>

Before delving into the Ice Magick War itself, another brief detour on ‘Eismagie’ is necessary, given that it is the name-giver of the events discussed in the following. *Eismagie* is the title of a short booklet published by Tegtmeier in 1996, i.e., years after the schism of the IOT. *Eismagie* is a highly sophisticated discussion of human reality that is sometimes hard to digest, not least due to its narrative style (the text uses plenty of unusual German terminology, partly invented for the purposes of the argument). It is mostly an essay on what it might actually mean to be a ‘magician’ if ‘magic’ were to imply *really* doing the impossible.<sup>53</sup> Apart from one practical ‘arrangement’ (‘anordnung’), to be performed once in a lifetime, which consists of lying on the ground – as motionless as possible – for eight hours and marking down one’s experiences thereafter (Tegtmeier 1996, 37–39), and an uncommented list of bodily and linguistic exercises for the first degree or ‘Laborstufe’ (ibid., 78–84), there are no ritual scripts provided in the 84-page book. ‘Ice Magic’, at least as Tegtmeier conceptualises it here, rather seems to be a philosophical or even phenomenological attempt to fundamentally

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52 See for instance Tegtmeier 1986, 38. Anton La Vey, in his *Satanic Bible*, is also quite transparent regarding the precise performance of malevolent rituals: see LaVey 1976 (1969), 63f.

53 See Tegtmeier 1996, 5. For the German reader, and for the purpose of understanding the difficulty of the text, I shall quote the entire first paragraph of chapter 1, despite feeling incapable of offering any sensible translation (note that Tegtmeier uses small letters throughout the entire book): ‘reduziert auf ihre kernaussage – und “reduziert” meint hier: unter außerachtlassung der kulturüblichen verbrämungen, folkloristischen schnörkel, verkennungen und mehr oder weniger wohlformulierten ausflüchte – besagen alle gängigen definitionen, wenn auch nur ahnungsweise, daß “magie” bedeutet, unmögliches zu tun. wir wollen das hier ganz wörtlich nehmen: “unmögliches” heißt also nicht, “(vorläufig) für unmöglich gehaltenes”, denn damit erschöpfte sich jede begehung in den zirkelschlüssen bloßer mutmaßung. (hier, wie so oft – das werden wir noch sehen –, bietet die sprache einen nutzbaren fingerzeig: eine mutmaßung ist ein akt, durch den der eigene mut – genauer, das fehlen oder die beschränktheit desselben – zum maß der dinge gemacht wird. sicherlich läßt sich beispielsweise die position vertreten, daß man es für durchaus wünschenswert hielte, wenn es keine unmöglichkeiten gäbe; es aber a priori anzunehmen, daß dem so sei, kündigt lediglich von mangelnder streitbereitschaft gegenüber der eigenen ohnmacht). zwar ist der reflex, der unzuverlässigkeit aller aussagen den vorzug zu geben (“wie kann man behaupten, daß etwas unmöglich sei, da solche anmutungen in der vergangenheit doch immer wieder von der wirklichkeit überholt wurden?”), prinzipiell instinktsicher. doch werden wir an späterer stelle in einiger gründlichkeit ausführen, daß es im sinne dessen, was hier als “eismagie” noch zu definieren und entwickeln ist, zugriffsbefestigendere herangehensweisen an die problematik gibt als die der resignativen, achselzuckenden anpassung an die unhaltbarkeit schematischer konturierungsstrategien’. For some English reflections on the matter, see Tegtmeier, Rietti 2006.

change the practitioner's perception of reality,<sup>54</sup> particularly against the backdrop of Tegtmeier's claim that 'Ohnmacht' (powerlessness) is necessarily and inevitably the basic state of affairs in human life.<sup>55</sup> To be fair, the book only provides a basic outline of 'Eismagie' and rarely dips into the practical side of the art, the encounter of which seems to be reserved for workshop-participants and personal disciples.<sup>56</sup> It is worth mentioning, however, that there is certainly no right-wing, fascist or 'völkisch' ideology present in the work. Tegtmeier does his best to emphasise that 'ice' implies neither geographical nor ideological connotations or preferences but is used as a mere metaphor for something 'that actually does not exist'.<sup>57</sup> He even engages, presumably from a perspective of hindsight on the Ice Magick War, in a lengthy apology on the matter.<sup>58</sup>

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54 See also the summary in Mayer 2008, 61–3.

55 See for instance Tegtmeier 1996, 16: "wirklichkeit" ist in ihrer urbedeutung "das, was wirkung ausübt". was aber wirkt, ist dadurch mächtiger als der empfänger oder erleider dieser wirkung. im allgemeinen hat der mensch sich evolution gegenüber anderen lebensformen als überlegener anpassungskünstler erwiesen. In unserem zusammenhang aber bedeutet das nur, daß er sich mit seiner ohnmacht arrangiert, also abgefunden hat. nicht so der zauberer: will er unmögliches tun, kann er sich weder mit der wirklichkeit begnügen noch sich mit ihr arrangieren. tatsächlich ist die magie im hier entwickelten sinne ein "totalangriff auf die wirklichkeit" (genau genommen sogar der einzige).

56 Tegtmeier provides a concise outline of 'Eismagie' in his translation of John Michael Greer's *The New Encyclopedia of the Occult* (Engl. 2003; Tegtmeier added a range of self-penned articles to his translation of the German *Enzyklopädie der Geheimlehren* [2005], such as that referred to here), in which he points to further definitions of 'Eismagie': 'Magie ist die Kunst, die eigenen Interessen ohne Bedingungen, Hilfsmittel und Ausschmückungen durchzusetzen'; 'Es geht darum, die Reichweite vorbehaltlos *auszuschöpfen* – nicht versuchen, mehr zu tun, als man kann, sondern sich darum bemühen, nicht weniger zu tun, als in der eigenen Reichweite liegt'; 'Magie ist die Erschließung zielentlassener, hochdifferenziert nutzbarer Flachpotenziale': Tegtmeier 2005.

57 See, for example, *ibid.*, 22: 'halten wir noch einmal fest, daß es sich beim "eis" im hier verwendeten sinn also um etwas handelt, das es grundsätzlich nicht gibt, folglich um etwas allenfalls herzustellendes oder, genauer, durchzusetzendes'. See also Tegtmeier, Rietti 2006.

58 Tegtmeier 1996, 75: 'gerade dieser letzte Punkt wurde in der Vergangenheit von einschlägig interessierten kreisen in absichtlichem mißverständnis und als manipulative taktik dazu benutzt, abstruserweise ausgerechnet der eismagie "rechtsradikale" oder "neofaschistische" anliegen nachzusagen. freilich gehört es zu den faderen treppenwitzen westlicher magiegeschichte der jüngeren Zeit – sofern man derlei belanglose miszellen überhaupt in den rang historisch relevanter ereignisse erheben und ihnen somit eine folgenschwere zusprechen möchte, die in keinem vertretbaren verhältnis zu ihrer durchsichtigen einfältigkeit steht –, daß ein teil dieser kreise ausgerechnet selbst erklärtermaßen aus dem neonazistischen lager stammte und sich diesem bis heute zugehörig und verpflichtet fühlt. daran wird aber immerhin offenbar, welche denunziatorischen spasmen die vertreter magischer orthodoxie aufzubieten imstande sind; sobald sie ihre mehr oder weniger mühsam erwirtschafteten sozialen pfründe gefährdet wännen'.



The exercises on ‘Körperführung’ in the final part on the ‘Laborstufen’ point, in particular, towards Tegtmeier’s main inspiration, namely the martial arts concept (called ‘Tan Tien Tschüan’) of his part-time mentor Helmut Barthel.<sup>59</sup> According to Gerhard Mayer’s interview with Tegtmeier (2004), Barthel contacted Tegtmeier after the latter had published his articles on ‘Kampfmagie’ in *Anubis* (1986–87).<sup>60</sup> Barthel suggested a meeting, with the result that he became Tegtmeier’s teacher for several years.<sup>61</sup> Tegtmeier claims that Barthel could perform incredible deeds with his martial arts technique, deeds that were usually called ‘magic’ by laymen (an example may be ‘kontaktloser Stoß’).<sup>62</sup> It was from Barthel’s abilities that Tegtmeier derived the above definition of ‘magic’ as doing the impossible.<sup>63</sup> Tegtmeier even lived with Barthel for roughly a year, before breaking off the contact for unspecified personal reasons. Nevertheless, ‘Eismagie’ is derived from Tegtmeier’s experiences with Barthel,<sup>64</sup> although it is to be noted

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59 There is still an operative website dedicated to the art, where texts and images of Helmut Barthel can be found: <http://www.tantientschuean.de/tan/boxen.html> (last access November 16, 2017).

60 See also Tegtmeier, Rietti 2006, 8.

61 See the unpublished interview transcript (Mayer 2004): ‘Das hat dessen Aufmerksamkeit erregt und er hat mich dann zu einem Interview eingeladen, in Norddeutschland. ....mhm [zündet sich eine Zigarette an] und besagter Herr wurde dann .. zu meinem eigenen, nicht geringen Erstaunen, dann eigentlich auch zu meinem Lehrer. Ich hab ne Menge Lehrer gehabt, wenn auch nicht im Bereich der Magie, also Lehrer beispielsweise: Yoga, Tantra, .. in dieser Art ja? Da habe ich auch bei ... teilweise bei ganz bekannten Leuten dann auch gesessen und [lacht] mich belehren lassen. In der Magie eigentlich nich. [...]’.

62 See *ibid.*: ‘Da war es in sofern ein bisschen anders, weil der, dieser Mann, ... m...äh .. Kampfkunstexperte war, aber in seiner Kampfkunst auch .. also .. rekurierte, beziehungsweise, wiederherstellte, wenn man so will, .. ähm ... ne ganze Menge von dem, was man sonst eigentlich in der Kampfkun// in der asiatischen Kampfkunst nur in den Legenden .. ke// oder aus Legenden kennt. [unklar: Also das sind auch// – 0:24:28] angefangen bei kontaktlosem Pushen .. bis zu den äh wirklich.. äh abstrusesten.. sagen wir mal .. für den .. Laien-Beobachter eigentlich nur als magische Phänomene zu bezeichnenden.. [...] ..äh Effekten .. und äh der hat mir so manchen Zahn gezogen auch, was meine ... mhm.. bis dato natürlich nicht so def// von mir nicht definierte, aber.. dann äh .. versucht zu definierende, wenn man so will, auch Kritik .. unkritische Haltung, was, was die konventionelle Magie anbelangte’; see also Tegtmeier, Rietti 2006, 8. In my own interview, Tegtmeier described further ‘miraculous’ capabilities of Barthel.

63 *Ibid.*: ‘Also mit anderen Worten: Von ihm stammt eine Formulierung äh: “Magie heißt unmögliche Dinge zu tun!”’.

64 *Ibid.*: ‘Es gab, ich bin ja auch äh .. mit ner Gruppe von Leuten dann dort gewesen, hab dort praktisch gelebt .. für’n Jahr so. Ich hatte da noch meine ... meine Hauptwohnung in .. damals in U. Aber es kam dann [sogar?] aus persönlichen Gründen auch zu nem Bruch, und äh seit dem haben wir auch keinen Kontakt mehr. Aber ich habe da im Zuge dessen, und das war durchaus zumindest am Anfang mit seinem Einverständnis ... dann das entwickelt, was ich dann die “Eismagie” genannt habe’.

that Tegtmeier claims full responsibility for the invention of the term and for the contents of his later book on the matter.<sup>65</sup>

So, what happened during the Ice Magick War? In order to facilitate the analysis, I shall mostly rely on an internet document composed by an anonymous member of the IOT at some point after the year 2000, which neatly combines several versions of the story (Anonymous undated (b)). The document includes Peter Carroll's essay 'The Ice War', which he had published in the journal *Chaos International* (#23) in 1997; a comment by practitioner Ryans Run on an interview quote from Carroll published in *Chaos International* 17 (1993); an email statement on 'Ice Magic' by Frater U.:D.: (Tegtmeier) from the year 2000; and a critical comment by an anonymous German practitioner of the IOT. Finally, I shall use another insider account of the events produced by eyewitness Michael (now Zoe) DeWitt (2000), and the transcript of my own interview with Tegtmeier (conducted on May 21, 2019). As we will see, this ensemble of perspectives reveals quite some food for thought with respect to the issues discussed in this publication.

According to Peter Carroll's account of the story, the conflict began during the third 'AGM' (International Pact Meeting) in 1989, when Tegtmeier told his then-friend Carroll about the incredible deeds of Barthel, thereby evoking Carroll's criticism.<sup>66</sup> In the year between the third and fourth AGM, more and more members of the German section began to sympathise with the Barthel-Tegtmeier approach causing Carroll to believe that Tegtmeier had actively 'attempted to lead sections of the pact into it' (Anonymous undated (b)). Carroll thus decided to publicly accuse 'Fra. U.D. of abusing his position and of membership of an ultra right wing [sic] mind control cult with a seriously nasty agenda. All hell broke loose [...] The ice magick philosophy appeared to be a grim and paranoid thulean atavism which might have had ghastly consequences if Fra. U.D. had spread it through the fabric of western esoterics' (ibid.). In sum, there seem to have been five reasons for Carroll's concerns: Tegtmeier's alleged adoption of an 'ultra-right-wing' agenda; his shift towards non-transparency and secrecy; his

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<sup>65</sup> See Tegtmeier 1996, 7; Tegtmeier, Rietti 2006, 8.

<sup>66</sup> See Carroll 1997: 'The Chancellor or "Kohl"', as I shall call him for reasons of girth, first spoke to me about the Ice Lord on the eve of our best ever combined seminar and Order meeting at Castle R's. According to Kohl, the Ice Lord's theories and methods lay aeons ahead of anything our magical order got up to. As a reputed master of internal martial arts, the Ice Lord could apparently deliver lightning bolts with his fingertips and paralyse adversaries at a distance [...] Kohl, who favoured a decidedly old-aeon authoritarian master-acolyte approach to magick, could hardly contain his excitement at the prospect of such power. I found all this highly alarming, as Kohl seemed likely to lose interest in what we had created together, in favour of what the Ice Lord apparently had to offer'. During my own interview (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019), Tegtmeier confirmed that Carroll reacted very negatively when Tegtmeier told him about Barthel's capabilities.

shift towards hierarchical, dictatorial forms of leadership; his (and Barthel's) abuse of power (allegedly including threats to and punishments of members), which seemed to undermine the magickal freedom and individualism for which the IOT stood; and, finally, Tegtmeier's alleged attempt to take over the entire IOT, thus disempowering Carroll. Carroll concludes:

'Reports spoke of Aryan supremacism, survivalist paranoia, and cultic levels of obedience. My heart sank: the usual aeons old crap with a charismatic figure, this time with a few good tricks up his sleeve, pandering to cultural fears and desires, with probably enough intelligence to make it all end in tears bigtime if he got hold of a suitable communications infrastructure, i.e., my Order! [...] If things had gone badly, Kohl [Tegtmeier] and the Ice Lord [Barthel] would have ended up at the head of the cream of the western world's magicians with the Order's communications infrastructure in their hands.' (Carroll 1997)<sup>67</sup>

Notably the conflict was not, thus, about eventual incompatibilities between Chaos Magick and the techniques promoted by Barthel and Tegtmeier.<sup>68</sup> However, 'ice magick' nonetheless seemed to contradict or undermine basic pillars of the IOT as outlined above, particularly its anti-hierarchical, anti-secret, anti-dogmatic agenda – at least from the viewpoint of Peter Carroll.

Before the fourth AGM, which took place in August 1990 at the same Austrian castle as the third AGM (Burg Plankenstein), Carroll sent memos to all section heads mentioning his serious concerns,<sup>69</sup> in response to which Tegtmeier

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**67** For a German summary of further rumours, see DeWitt 2000, 28–9. However, DeWitt's report is problematic as he was excommunicated from the IOT – due to 'harmful behaviour directed against pact' ('wegen paktschädigenden Verhaltens') – at the beginning of the very pact meeting he describes in his report (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019). See from DeWitt's perspective DeWitt 2000, 33–38.

**68** See also Ryans Run in Anonymous undated (b): 'The IOT was not opposed to innovative magical creations. Nor was the IOT interested at all in dictating to Frater VD concerning his magical goals etc. For sure, there was substantial interest in Helmets abilities. He could after all raise his Chi to a high level of circulation; and hence had developed extraordinary sexual [the claim that Barthel practiced sexual magick is incorrect, according to Tegtmeier] and magical powers. His training program was based upon a strict program of activity often spanning many hours or at least as some opine, days without sleep. Magical exercises combined with a rigorous training period created an accelerated experience, however stressful. The Ice Mage was not actually the problem, it was the underpinnings of dictatorial control which created a fiasco for the IOT'.

**69** See DeWitt 2000, 30: 'In dem Rundschreiben, das Carroll für der Tempel CHAOS beisteuerte, forderte er unter der Überschrift "Grade A Priority Request" alle Mitglieder des Pakts zur zahlreichen Teilnahme am kommenden Pakttreffen auf, da es bei dieser Gelegenheit eine Diskussion darüber geben würde, ob die "innerhalb des Pakt im Geheimen entwickelte Eismagie" wie folgt einzustufen sei: (A) paranoide und apokalyptisch – der selbe alte Trick, B) neofaschistisch, autoritär, elitär und rassistisch, C) gegründet auf Charisma, Hypnose und Bullshit, D) eine Kult

authored a critical reply and declared a state of ‘pact emergency’ (*Paktnotstand*).<sup>70</sup> Tegtmeier, who was responsible for the organisation of the event (which was, incidentally, masked as a *Mythologenkongress* towards the owners of the castle),<sup>71</sup> first attempted to prevent Carroll from coming to the castle, but later re-invited him (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019); Carroll, for his part, claims to have arrived at the event with a bag full of magickal weapons.<sup>72</sup> According to the latter over the following days both he and Tegtmeier (note that Barthel was not there)<sup>73</sup> tried to convince participants to join their respective sides, whereby ‘Conspiracies, factions, and private briefings sprung up everywhere amongst the forty plus magicians present’ (Carroll 1997).<sup>74</sup> Apparently, there were almost no physical encounters involved, even though Carroll and Tegtmeier exchanged ‘Grim accusations of treachery, deceit, and megalomania [...] for several hours with no ground given [...] Perhaps only the presence of the aristocratic Section Head prevented the massively-built Kohl and my athletic self from seeking a resolution on the physical plane’ (ibid.). Nonetheless, Carroll, Tegtmeier, and all other participants held a regular pact meeting at some point, which, according to Carroll, ‘became mired down at many points with debates about procedures and precedents and rules, and with what seemed to many, attempts by Kohl to introduce authoritarian and centralist measures’ (ibid.). The most important magickal ‘battle’ involved in the entire event<sup>75</sup> seems to have happened on the last night when, according to Carroll,

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von Machtfanatikern, die Menschen in die unausweichliche Katastrophe zu führen versuchen, E) dem Geist der Chaosmagie entgegengesetzt, F) dazu geeignet, den Pakt zu zerstören”.

70 Ibid.

71 See ibid., 37.

72 See Carroll 1997: ‘He then cancelled my appearance at the impending event. He could do this as he had made the Seminar and accommodation arrangements. However, the membership forced him to recant, and I eventually got on a plane with a rucksack full of heavy duty magical weaponry, including a huge oversize dagger acquired from a leading American occult swordsmith with a thirteen-inch drop-forged carbon steel blade, ironwood grip, phosphorbronze fittings which had had no expense spared, was bought without haggling, was aether-fixed and consecrated to Baphomet knows what’.

73 See ibid.: ‘I never met the Ice Lord, nor ever saw his image, during the whole conflict, and he declined a challenge to meet me in person at the siege of Castle L??..s, during one of the major battles of the campaign’.

74 See in much greater detail DeWitt 2000, 34–7. Note that DeWitt speaks of ‘circa 35 participants’ (37). According to Tegtmeier (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019), ca. 60 members participated in the event.

75 On another magickal encounter, see DeWitt 2000, 39: ‘Während ich mich selbst noch in der Taverne befand, fand draußen – mit dem Einbruch der Dunkelheit – jene schicksalshafte Konfrontation zwischen Alhia und Neonfaust statt, in deren Verlauf als Höhepunkt des äußeren Geschehens eine verzögerte Ohrfeige und ein laut ausgesprochener Fluch standen, über deren

Tegtmeier and a few supporters were sitting in a local taverna. Carroll acquired two supporters,

‘charged down to the taverna and announced to Kohl’s table that I would be the “last to leave”. [...] Kohl prided himself on his ability to have the last word in any session lasting into the small hours. [...] At my insistence the three of us sat at a table with hands joined in a triangle whilst I shouted bizarre occasional comments at Kohl and his entourage. [...] Madman strategy works, however, as I have discovered. If you appear prepared to do ANYTHING to beat the other bastard, you probably will. [...] Eventually, at about three in the morning, Kohl led his followers out first. Soror Crazy and Frater Hardman seemed at the end of their respective tethers; I thank them for their fortitude, I was hallucinating’. (Ibid.)<sup>76</sup>

Whatever happened during this encounter, magickal or otherwise, we know only the basic rule that whoever left the taverna first would lose. On this basis, Carroll won, at least according to his own narrative (for Tegtmeier the described event never actually happened), yet the schism remained. In the aftermath of said AGM, ‘Kohl [Tegtmeier] led a number of German members plus the UK Section Head [Ian Read] and his other half to the Ice Bunker. [...] As I had suspected, Kohl had done a deal with the Ice Lord [Barthel] to bring him more people in return for sharing some of the absolute authority over them and for receiving a priority line to Ice Magick teachings’ (ibid.).<sup>77</sup> Carroll apparently engaged in practices of hostile long-distance magick for some time,<sup>78</sup> and attempted to acquire and convince sympathisers, eventually persuading the Austrian section leader

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weitere Einzelheiten ich jedoch – auch wenn ich darüber Bescheid weiß – nicht Auskunft geben kann, da ich zum einen nicht selbst Zeuge der Vorfälle war, und zum anderen ein rein äußere Beschreibung des Geschehens im Sinne dessen, was die am Hof befindlichen Zeugen davon mitbekommen hatten, der eigentlichen, zutiefst magischen Interaktion nicht im Mindesten gerecht werden würde, da diese vorwiegend auf telepathischer Ebene, im Bewußtsein der beteiligten Personen, stattfand und somit in erster Linie allein deren Angelegenheit ist’. Tegtmeier does not recall this event, but mentions an encounter with Carroll in the castle courtyard who, apparently drunk, threatened Tegtmeier with his magickal dagger; Tegtmeier responded by applying the Chaos magick technique of ‘laughter’ (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019).

**76** Tegtmeier does not recall this event (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019). Even though he concedes that the participants often spent time in said taverna he asserts that he never shared a table with Carroll.

**77** Tegtmeier confirms that he, together with eleven of his own disciples, lived at Barthel’s commune for some time before and after the fourth pact meeting in August 1990 (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019).

**78** Carroll 1997: ‘Protecting myself with semi-sentient combat servitors against attacks Kohl had reputedly launched, I struck with dissaffinity wedge enchantments between Kohl, the Ice, and the UK Section Head [Ian Read, according to Tegtmeier]. One can never tell what effects such conjurations have, except perhaps statistically but, fairly soon after, the UK No.1 and his other half made an escape from the bunker and returned to the UK with grim tales confirming all suspicions about Ice Magick in detail, much of which I published in memos to all Sections’. Tegtmeier

to prevent Tegtmeier's participation in the forthcoming fifth AGM. In reaction to several Tegtmeier sympathisers who 'proclaimed themselves in charge of the Order, almost certainly on Kohl's command' (ibid.), Carroll formed an agreement with 'the remaining loyal Section Heads for an excommunication of Kohl. I also excommunicated the gang of four who now claimed to lead the Order' (ibid.).<sup>79</sup> During the fifth AGM in Austria, Tegtmeier did not appear,<sup>80</sup> and 'no hardcore Ice magicians attended, although a few Germans with ambiguous feelings and loyalties came to argue for a while'. According to Carroll, this is basically when the 'war' ended, with casualties of some '30 % of its membership [...], including most of the Swiss and Germans' (ibid.).

Compared to Carroll's account, Tegtmeier's version is, as we might expect, quite different. In an interview with Gerhard Mayer (2004) and another one conducted by myself (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019), Tegtmeier concedes that there was a major dispute with Carroll but claims that he never intended to take over the IOT, nor to abolish its grade structures, nor to establish authoritarian or secretive principles of leadership.<sup>81</sup> On the contrary, Tegtmeier had announced to step down as head of the German section already before the fourth pact meeting in 1990, which he in fact did at the beginning of said meeting (a decision that was confirmed by the 'council of the magi', i.e. the holders of the first degree of the IOT: Tegtmeier, Otto 2019). What is more, the Swiss and Austrian satrapies, whose leader Tegtmeier had previously been, became independent sections with new section heads during the fourth pact meeting (this re-grouping was likewise confirmed by the 'council of the magi'). Tegtmeier thus technically gave up his position as leader of the German section – which had previously included Austria and Switzerland – at the very meeting during which Carroll accused him of craving

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claims to never have performed long-distance magick against Carroll (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019); see also Tegtmeier, Rietti 2006 and below.

**79** According to IOT rules, an 'Excommunication is the expulsion of a Pact member. An excommunication can only be executed by a temple or Section with the full knowledge and approval of the Section Head and their Insubordinate' (The Council of the Magi 2014, 8). Interestingly, this rule does not allow for the excommunication of section heads (i.e., holders of the first degree), which may explain why Carroll needed the support of other section heads to excommunicate Tegtmeier.

**80** From Tegtmeier's perspective, it would have made no sense to participate in meetings of the 'old' pact after the foundation of the 'revolutionary IOT' – on which see below –, thus he never actually intended to come to the fifth pact meeting: Tegtmeier, Otto 2019.

**81** See also his email statement from 2000: 'never was there any intention to split let alone gain control over the IOT. I actually resigned from my post as head of the All-German section as announced a year before, splitting it up into a German, a Swiss and an Austrian section with someone else taking over' (Anonymous undated (a)).

power within the order. Tegtmeier claims that he never felt comfortable as the leader or spearhead of a magickal grouping, a disposition which also led him to reject various offers to become grandmaster of the *Fraternitas Saturni* (in which he is still involved today). In fact, frustrated by the events surrounding the fourth pact meeting and particularly Carroll's 'excommunications', Tegtmeier founded, together with some 75 German members of the German section,<sup>82</sup> a schismatic spin-off named 'Revolutionary IOT' –<sup>83</sup> but Tegtmeier did not seize leadership of said spin-off either, that is, he merely became a regular member. Tegtmeier furthermore stresses (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019) that neither himself, nor Barthel, nor any members of the German section were entrenched in political right-wing ideologies; in stark contrast, both Tegtmeier and Barthel had rather been committed to socialist ideas in their past, while the majority of the members of the German section were either politically disinterested or belonged to the Green and/or leftist-liberal side of the political spectrum.

For Tegtmeier, the core of the matter were misunderstandings, anti-German prejudices, and paranoia, aside from a more theoretical underlying dispute: 'We got into an argument not least because I simply posed the question, and this was actually a very old question: "Well? Does it work?"'.<sup>84</sup> This question, as well as 'ice magick's' seemingly radical approach (in that it calls into question the efficacy of most 'conventional' forms of ritual magick and strives for nothing less than a 'total attack onto reality'<sup>85</sup>), tended to fuel fear and aggression, as attested by the emotional reactions and statements of Peter Carroll. Carroll, in fact, never even attempted to engage in an open-ended discussion with Tegtmeier on the matter (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019), a discussion that might have called into question the validity of his apprehensions. To be fair, Tegtmeier's teacher Barthel indeed

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**82** According to Tegtmeier, most German members of the pact were shocked by Carroll's seemingly totalitarian and paranoid behaviour.

**83** See also Anonymous undated (a): 'In den frühen Neunziger Jahren litt dieser chaotischmagische Orden unter dem sogenannten Eiskrieg und mehrere Streitigkeiten zwischen den Hochgraden zerbrachen die Gruppe in Fraktionen wie den Reformierten IOT (RIOT) in Deutschland und The Autonomatrix in Kalifornien. Kurz danach trennte sich Carroll selbst von der Gruppe und zog sich von der aktiven Mitarbeit zurück, wobei er ausdrücklich betonte, dass das nicht in Unzufriedenheit mit dem Zustand des Paktes begründet läge, sondern eine Angelegenheit seiner persönlichen Entwicklung sei'. The agenda of The Autonomatrix can be studied online: <http://www.arcane-archive.org/occultism/magic/chaos/autonomatrix-1.php> (last access November 17, 2017). See also DeWitt 2000, 40.

**84** See Mayer 2004: 'Krach gab's nicht zuletzt deshalb und Irritation, weil ich einfach mal die Frage gestellt habe, und die war eigentlich nun ganz alt: ".. Und? Klappt's?"; my translation.

**85** Tegtmeier 1996, 16. Tegtmeier, Otto 2019: 'In der Eismagie können wir uns nicht mit 99 % zufrieden geben'.

pursued an authoritarian type of leadership and frequently made his disciples witness his superior powers (in martial arts and beyond), and this may also be one of the reasons why, a few months later, Tegtmeier split up with Barthel for personal reasons ('aus persönlichen Gründen': *ibid.*).

According to Tegtmeier, the IOT lost 80% of its members in the schism (as opposed to 30% in Carroll's version).<sup>86</sup> His email statement from the year 2000 (see Anonymous undated (b)) is, however, more polemical. Tegtmeier argues here that Carroll had a severe 'personal crisis' and points to alleged 'symptoms of maniacal depression and of schizoid paranoia': 'The only "magical war" he ever waged with "this organisation" was the psychotic blitz in his own head' (*ibid.*). Tegtmeier strongly rejects Carroll's idea 'that we were some sort of neo-fascist white supremacist oddball outfit working towards world domination' (*ibid.*), and calls into question the legitimacy of Carroll's excommunications ('he was neither in any authority to excommunicate anyone [...], nor did he even have any majority within the council of the Pact's Magi for this preposterous act'). Ultimately, Tegtmeier ridicules the idea that there has been any kind of war at all, thus mocking Carroll's 'imagined victories'. A similar interpretation is provided in an interview between Tegtmeier and David Rietti, published in the journal *Oracle* in 2006 (Tegtmeier, Rietti 2006); Tegtmeier stresses that he never engaged in any malevolent magick towards Carroll, given that 'it wouldn't have been necessary anymore because all these irrational forays were so obviously over the top, they were inevitably bound to become wholly self-defeating anyway. [...] No point in wasting any resources of your own on ultimately inessential exertions' (*ibid.*, 12).

To sum up, from Tegtmeier's perspective, it was Carroll who undermined the liberal agenda of the IOT, due to his attempt to suppress a novel and promising theoretical-practical approach towards magick ('Eismagie'), his incapability to accept other people's opinions, his illegitimate excommunication of pact members – including Tegtmeier himself –, and his attempt to re-gain control over

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**86** See Mayer 2004: 'Und äh ... gut, das führte aber auch dazu, dass ich dann äh einen Riesenkrach kriegte im I.O.T. und vor allem auch mit Pete Carroll, weil der da irgendwie .. so im Grund sich so in den Kopf gesetzt hatte äh, ich wollte den Orden übernehmen, was nun wirklich, nichts lag mir ferner.. ich hätte sogar schon, das hatte damit noch gar nicht zu tun: Ich war Leiter der der der Sektion Deutschland und der wie es damals hieß ein Satrapin [?], Schweiz und Österreich und ich hatte gesagt, ich will in einem Jahr von diesen Ämtern zurücktreten, was ich dann auch pünktlich gemacht habe und nichts lag mir ferner, als mir da so ne Organisation an ans Bein zu binden [*lacht*] ... aber gut, da gab's ne Menge äh .. an Missverständnisse auch an Paranoia und so weiter, wie dem auch sei, jedenfalls gab's da, kam's dann zu nem Bruch .. der I.O.T. hat dann darauf hin ungefähr achtzig Prozent seiner Mitglieder verloren'; compare also Tegtmeier, Rietti 2006, 12. According to Tegtmeier (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019), the German section had, at that time, around 80 registered members, whereas the global IOT had some 115 members.



the IOT by ‘bringing into line’ members against a fantasised right-wing infiltration of the order.<sup>87</sup>

It is noteworthy that, after the events described here, both Carroll and Tegtmeier secluded themselves more or less simultaneously from the IOT.<sup>88</sup> As Carroll writes in his *Psybermagic* (1996, 124), the reason was that he had ‘captained the Magical Pact of the Illuminates of Thanateros for a decade and derived immense satisfaction from the progress made in the theory and practise of magic(k) during this period, but grew to despise the slavish imitation and treachery with which many mortals seek to advance themselves’.<sup>89</sup> It was also in the aftermath of the Ice Magick War that Tegtmeier broke with Barthel, and also more or less disappeared from the magical scene (Mayer 2008, 75).<sup>90</sup> The breakaway group of ca. 75

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**87** An anonymous German IOT member claims to have internal documents on the matter, received from his own mentor – who was a direct witness of the events – which would falsify Tegtmeier’s attempts at downplaying the issue. According to these documents, Tegtmeier tried to take over the IOT and thereby abolish its grade system in favour of ‘hidden authority’. See anonymous undated (a): ‘[...] *never was there any intention to split let alone gain control over the IOT.* | Ausser, dass er den Paktnotstand ausgerufen hat, weil einige Fratres wegen Beschäftigung mit Eismagie exkommuniziert wurden (fragwürdig damals, indeed). Ausser, dass er das gradsystem abschaffen wollte, damit auch noch die IOT Anarchos auf Linie brachte. Natürlich war der Zweck eines [sic] gradlosen paktes die hidden authority – er wollte alle Schlüsselstellungen (section heads, etc.) mit seinen lemmingen besetzen. Ich habe einen ganzen Arsch voll Dokumente zu dem Thema, die ich von meiner mentorin geerbt habe. Besagte Frau lernte damals (80er) ber [sic] Tegtmeier, und war am Anfang der Eismagie Zeit dabei – blieb dann aber beim IOT und machte sich für VDs Exko stark – go figure!’. He explains Tegtmeier’s version as a mere attempt to ‘kill Carroll’s reputation’ and in fact blames Tegtmeier as being ‘responsible for the biggest schism of the chaos current, and Pete naturally feels like a father of it [...] In 1993 the IOT Germany was a big pile of rubble and one can be glad that the people who restored it aren’t cultists. Today’s [sic] German pact is extremely liberal’ (Anonymous undated (a)). Tegtmeier (in an email from May 15, 2019) strongly rejects the existence of these documents: ‘das ist reine Fiktion. Wer das Gegenteil beweisen kann, soll es auch tun. Würde mich durchaus interessieren. (Wie man im Englischen so schön sagt: *Not holding my breath, though.*) Geschieht dies nicht, bleibt es nichts anderes als ehrenrühriges Hörensagen vulgo Gerücht’.

**88** Technically, Tegtmeier never actually ‘resigned’ from the order; however, after having found the ‘revolutionary IOT’, he had lost interest in the – from his perspective – ‘old’ pact.

**89** For another argument, see Carroll’s internal letter in DeWitt 2000, 41: ‘Letzten Endes hing die Mitgliedschaft im Pakt davon ab, ob man den Leuten zum Gesicht stand und ob man gewillt war, sich nach den ungeschriebenen Gesetzen des Paktspiels zu richten, ähnlich wie in den sozialen Strukturen anderer kleiner Vereine und Banden’.

**90** See DeWitt 2000, 40: ‘Nachdem Neonfausts [Tegtmeier] Versuch, eine Gegenveranstaltung auf die Beine zu stellen und gemeinsam mit einigen deutschen Fratres einen reformierten I.O.T. (R.I.O.T.) [‘Revolutionary IOT’] ins Leben zu rufen, gescheitert war, es weiters zum Bruch zwischen Neonfaust und dessen Lehrer, dem Eismagier H. [Barthel] gekommen war, und die kleine Gruppe von Eismagiern, die der Magus um sich geschart hatte, zerfallen war, zog sich Neonfaust alias

German members of the newly founded ‘Revolutionary IOT’ continued its workings for roughly one year, and gradually fell apart thereafter (Tegtmeier, Otto 2019).

## 4 Conclusions

If I am correct in my observation that the ‘textual-ritual tradition of “Western learned magic” triggers a wide range of notions ascribed to “religious individualisation” and might therefore be interpreted as a particularly noticeable example case of such dynamics’ (Otto 2017, 29), and if I am further correct with my claim (above) that ‘Chaos Magick represents one of the most individualistic currents within “Western learned magic”’, then the IOT was indeed a striking attempt at institutionalising religious individualisation. Even though the IOT created grade structures, stipulated pre-arranged teaching documents and ritual scripts, and engaged in group events and rituals, the founders were well aware of the implications – or dangers – of group formation and did their best to construe the IOT as an embodiment of what Chaos Magick stood for: ‘a current of eclecticism and a rejection of the principles of absolutism, guruship and totalitarianism’ (Carroll 1997).

The irony of the story is that the IOT’s theoretical and ritual liberality and its encouragement of individual sections to ‘experiment with whatever techniques, rituals and ideas they please’ (Carroll undated (a)) may have led to the very events described here. In other words, the IOT, through its liberality, suddenly found itself sharing a bed with its ideological enemy: ‘Ice Magic’s’ alleged dogmatism, sectarianism, authoritarianism, and abuse of power – at least as they appeared from the perspective of Peter Carroll. The latter’s attempt to suppress these perceived tendencies might be understandable (if his accusations had been true), but also points to an undesired flipside, nicely formulated by the anonymous German insider of the IOT: ‘Many good people left the scene back then – many because they themselves thought Pete’s fight against fascism was fascistic (and there is something to that)’ (Anonymous undated (a)). In fact, from Tegtmeier’s perspective it was rather Carroll who undermined the ‘spirit of liberty’<sup>91</sup> for which

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Frater V.:D., dessen Karriere als Magieautor an die zehn Jahre davor so vielversprechend begonnen hatte, vollständig aus der Öffentlichkeit zurück, beendete bis auf unbedeutende Ausnahmen seine einstmals so rege Publikationstätigkeit und soll Gerüchten zufolge neben der Geburt eines Sohnes [Tegtmeier does not have a son: Tegtmeier, Otto 2019] auch einen gefährlichen Herzanfall [according to Tegtmeier, this is likewise incorrect] erlitten haben’.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 30: ‘Als Antwort auf die obigen Fragen von Autonomesis veröffentlichte Neonfaust [Tegtmeier] am 21.6.1990 das von ihm verfasste Positionspapier 309 “Contra Inquisitionem”,

the IOT stood for, and Carroll's excommunication of pact members appeared to him as nothing more than a 'drumhead trial of Chaos'.<sup>92</sup>

Where does this leave us concerning the idea of institutionalising religious individualisation? To be sure, any attempt at generalising from the case presented here would be too far-reaching. The Ice Magick War and the schism that arose from it was, in all likelihood, not an inevitable consequence of the IOT's foundation and its attempt to institutionalise a particular strand or type of religious individualisation that materialised in modern magick (namely, Chaos Magick). There may well be general tendencies in human behaviour that particularly apply in matters of group formation and group dynamics, not least in the realm of magick.<sup>93</sup> Yet history necessarily remains contingent in the sense that everything might still have happened differently. In other words, 'ice magick' did not enter the stage of history to demonstrate that the IOT's liberalist agenda was determined to fail. What the IOT's schism rather seems to attest is that both factions attempted to preserve and protect the liberal agenda of the grouping, albeit from very different perspectives, with different means, and different outcomes. This might suggest that attempts at institutionalising religious individualisation are by no means predestined to fail and that they may even yield powerful dynamics of resilience and self-defence. Nonetheless, the case presented here remains highly ambivalent, thus highlighting the tension, or contradiction, inherent in the idea of 'institutionalising religious individualisation'.

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in dem er für den Fall einer versuchten oder ausgeübten Inquisition (die abwertenden Fragen Carolls stellten für ihn eine klare Verletzung seiner persönlichen Glaubensfreiheit dar) die Aus-rufung des Paktnotstands durch einen *Defensor fidei* und die Einberufung eines Tribunals des Chaos vorschlug, das die streitenden Parteien anhören und schließlich einen Richtspruch fallen sollte, durch den der Geist der Freiheit innerhalb des Pakts wieder hergestellt werden könnte'.

**92** See DeWitt 2000, 39: 'In seiner verbitterten Stellungnahme [...] betonte [Tegtmeier], dass ein solcher Schritt nicht im Mindesten den Regeln des Liber Pactionis entspreche, und bezeichnete dieses Vorgehen, bei dem ihm nicht einmal die Gelegenheit zu einer Stellungnahme gegeben wurde, schlichtweg als "Standgericht des Chaos". Gleichzeitig forderte er sämtliche Paktmit-glieder auf, ihre Stimme gegen ein solches Unrecht zu erheben und fragte, wo denn jene Querulanten [subordinates] seien, die einst als lautstarke Verteidiger der Freiheit die Kritik der Basis in die oberen Ränge tragen wollten'.

**93** See, for instance, Mayer 2008, 237–45, who discusses various failed attempts to unite magickal individuals and groupings under German umbrella organizations in the early 2000s.

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