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Fichte's ideal of humanity[1] [Three Lectures][2]

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The Absolute I of Action

From the time of the Reformation to the time of Goethe German life of the spirit offers us a remarkable picture. From the barren steppes with scarcely any elevation in the terrain there rise up individual mountain giants, isolated great spirits: Copernicus, Kepler, and after a long pause, Leibniz. Then there towers all at once a huge mountain range of great minds: Lessing, Herder, Winckelmann, Wilhelm von Humboldt; and in literature the sublime summits of Goethe and Schiller; and in philosophy the genius Kant, and from him there is awakened the philosophy of German Idealism which in and of itself is a mighty line of mountains with many hardly accessible peaks: Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Schopenhauer – just to name the best known. Have we exhausted the abundance of cultural values which irradiate from these giants? Has their spiritual life made its full impact on us? It is a significant fact that a chief part of the eternal content of these great minds (and I am thinking thereby especially of German Idealism) brought about its effect on our spiritual life and that it all at once was completely disconnected. It is as if a thick fog descended on the once so radiant glacier heights and hid them from modern humanity. All at once in the middle of the nineteenth century there died away the energy of the life of the mind[3] which [268] came forth from these great idealists and which spread throughout the world and seemed to signify a transformation of world-culture. The domination of this philosophy over minds was undone by the domination of the new exact sciences and the special technical culture deriving from them. This reversal of the direction of interest was so great and thereby the effected change in the capacities of an intelligent appreciation was so great that we would in vain page through the millenia in a book on history or study the most remote cultural regions in order to find a philosophy which would appear more unintelligible to us Germans and moderns than this philosophy of German Idealism which is indigenous to our people.

At least one could so speak without exaggeration until recently. For since the turn of the century there are noticeable signs of discontent in the spiritual interests of the present and connected to this there are evident in smaller circles a new attitude toward German Idealism, a new understanding of its aspirations and its modes of thought. And in addition there came this war, this heavy fate for our nation, which goes beyond all comprehension. What a phenomenon! The first organization of a people encompassing practically the whole earth has come into being. But to what purpose? For no other than to annihilate Germany's strength and thereby to kill a fruitful living, working and creating for the German people. Has there ever been in all of history a greater fate imposed upon a people? A harder test? But such a time is, as it must be, a time for all who are strong and well-disposed, a time for soul-searching and reform. It is a time of renewal of all the ideal sources of power that once were opened up out of the deepest depths of the soul and that already earlier had proved their saving power.

A century earlier our German people battled for survival. The Germany whose Prussians were humbled at Jena stood up and was victorious. It was victorious through nothing else than through the power of the new spirit which German Idealism and its flag-bearer of those days, Fichte, awakened in it. It was solely the Ideals[4] originating in the nation, solely a turning within to the highest religious and ethical Ideals, which awakened the powers that at the same time purified [269] and strengthened all hearts and made heroes out of weak and faint-hearted people. Today Ideas and Ideals are again on the march. They are finding open hearts. The one-sided naturalistic mode of thinking and feeling is losing its power. Need and death are today's teachers. For many years now death is not an exceptional event which permits itself to hide and have its majesty debased through splendid congregations under piles of bouquets and wreaths. Death has again won back its holy primal right. It is again the great reminder of eternity in time. And so there have again grown for us *organs of vision for German Idealism*, and in particular we have become able to esteem that particular individual among the bearers of this philosophy in its sublimity who, in our contemporary needs, is able to bestow the most consolation and strengthening of soul: J.G. Fichte, the philosopher of the war of liberation. It is of him, of his new shaping of the Ideals of a genuine humanity out of the deepest sources of his philosophy, that I want here to speak.

Even though it is true that Fichte introduces an epoch in the history of German speculation, he was, nevertheless, anything but a mere theoretical scholar and learned professor. The passion which moves his theoretic thinking is not merely thirst for knowledge, not merely the passion of a pure theoretical interest. Fichte was rather a thoroughly *practically* directed nature. By reason of his predisposition and dominant life-will he was an ethical-

religious reformer, educator, prophet, and seer. Yes, I can risk all of these names and he himself would take no offense. Therefore his whole philosophizing stands in the service of this powerful practical drive. And so it is no wonder that he, thoroughly a man of strength and power, proceeds in his thinking not seldomly with violence in order to arm his practical interests with theoretical arguments.

Fichte made it quite hard already for his contemporaries, and more so still for us, to follow him. Someone raised as a theoretician in the spirit of rigorous science will find almost unendurable the many demanding acrobatics of thought [*Denkkünsteleien*] of his *Wissenschaftslehren*. One becomes impatient and would like to leave the theoretician alone in order to take delight in the famous patriotic orator, ethician or seeker after God. [270] But again, that will not do. For Fichte is not merely a preacher of morals and a philosophical pastor. All of his ethical-religious intuitions are theoretically anchored. And so one is thrown back to his theoretic constructions which one gladly skipped. But now one perseveres. And if finally the sense of the style of this extraordinary personality is awakened, then not only the heart is opened for the greatness and beauty of the Fichtean world-view and the practical impulse which radiates from it, but one also becomes aware that behind the logical violence he imposes on us there lies a deeper meaning, an abundance of great intuitions which, however, have not yet completely matured scientifically. And in these intuitions there lies a true power, quite similar to other great philosophers of the past, e.g., Plato.

The philosophy which wants to illuminate with the light of strict scientific knowledge the highest problems – which remain the most remote for natural experience and thought – needs a longer route and lengthier epochs of strained labor of thought in order to climb up to the level of definitively grounded science. In this respect it is still today not yet at its goal. But how unseemly is the pharisaical self-righteousness of the exact sciences, how unjust the disdainful judgments about philosophy by those educated in the strict natural sciences of our time. They overlook that also in the natural sciences the strict method and theory were not all of a sudden there and that it was not something discovered by some clever natural-scientific researchers. They overlook that they rather are the result of thousands of years of hard wrestling by minds of genius who were led by great intuitions and who, in creative productions, did preparatory work and, as such, made first of all possible ever new attempts at the mastery of the future rigorous science.

In terms of stages of development, of course, philosophy stands far behind the other sciences. But should we therefore inconsiderately shove aside what its great geniuses offer us of wonderful inklings and projects? Philosophy has to do with questions which can be a matter of indifference for no one because taking a position in regard to them is decisive for the dignity of

genuine humanity. Even if we painfully miss the clarity and rigor which is our theoretical Ideal, nevertheless we must, [271] with loving dedication, take the trouble to appropriate for ourselves the intuitive spiritual content of the great philosophical systems, we must be happy and proud to share in the becoming and unfolding of the highest truths and in being able to acquire an increase in the intuitive inklings of those matters upon which so much depends for us in our humanity. With this we indicate our attitude toward Fichte, or rather it indicates the attitude which I would like to recommend to you in your reading of Fichte's writings. I do this on the assumption that you, once you have penetrated the hard shell, will sense the most noble exaltation and invigoration which emanates from Fichte. And it emanates in a way similar to Plato because he also was one of the great diviners and seers of cognitional achievements which do not merely satisfy theoretical curiosity, but rather penetrate into the depths of the personality, and forthwith transform and elevate to a higher spiritual dignity and power.

Of those writings which in special measure exercise such effects I will mention: *The Vocation of Man* (1800), *The Characteristics of the Present Age* (1806), *The Way to the Blessed Life* (1806), *Speeches to the German Nation* (1808), The Erlangen Lecture *On the Essence of the Scholar* (1805), and the five Berlin *Lectures on the Vocation of the Scholar* (1811).

It is the peculiarity of *pure theoretical inquiry* in philosophy that the direction of its response determines life and can and must work decisively for the highest positing of goals for personal life. This connection explains why the great man of *praxis*, *Fichte*, was so passionately interested in certain theoretical attitudes and why he expected from his 'idealism' the complete salvation, elevation, and redemption of humanity. The theoretical question which stood in the center for him has to do with the existence, or kind of existence, of the spatial-temporal reality, of the world in the natural sense of the word. For the philosophically naive this is the most peculiar of all questions. Such a person asks: Is not the external world, this world of material and organic beings that is simply there, quite obviously a world of things existing for themselves, things which [272] occupy space, move about in space, and effect one another? Does not natural science have in this natural world the most certain substrate of its investigations? Does not natural science continue to bear witness to the reality of this world through its exact predictions?[5]

With Descartes' *Meditations*, the overture of modern philosophy, there springs forth as something wonderful, a tendency to a revolution of this so very natural and seemingly obvious kind of thinking. What exists, first of all, one now hears all of a sudden, is not the world in which we are, but what is first is *we* ourselves with our experience and thinking; and the world is for us, experienced by us, a world posited by us in our thought.[6] It is first of all a

world presenting itself through the medium of our cognitional phenomena. What is the meaning then of that being-in-itself which naive reflection ascribes to it? How is knowledge, which nevertheless passes from one cognitive formation to another, as knowledge of things in themselves, possible? How is knowledge of things possible for which all being-known through the human phenomena of knowing is a matter of indifference?

From this point proceeds the path to "idealism," which before Fichte received its most powerful development through Kant. Space and time, the great forms of the presentation of natural reality, have, according to Kant, no transcendent-real meaning whatsoever. They originate purely out of the knowing subjectivity as the 'forms of intuition' produced (*beigestellten*) by and in subjectivity. In the mere impression of sense data, i.e., sound, color, etc., the subject is affected by transcendent things in themselves. The so-received material of sensation spreads itself out necessarily in space and time in accord with a unique *unchangeble, unconscious* self-effecting causal system.

In a similar manner concepts like substance (matter), real property, force, capacity, cause, and effect do not express, as we naively think, features of transcendent being, but rather the basic forms of a thinking which belong inseparably to our kind of mind. These basic forms have apriori laws, like the law of causality, which, once again, only express the necessary ways our theoretical reason works on what is spatially-temporally intuited; at its lowest level reason does this in an unconscious way.

In the subsequent experiential-logical thinking we pursue natural science which is guided purely by these (consciously formulated) apriori laws, therefore from pure principles originating in our subjectivity. The true and real nature is nothing other [273] than that which is known in natural science. Therefore it is nothing other than a formation derived from the materials of sensation in accord with pure inner laws and norms. Such a formation has a necessary validity for every subjectivity that is the same kind as our own. Understanding prescribes to nature its laws; nature therefore is merely a product of our subjectivity, merely a phenomenon. Kant believes he can show that only through this insight is the possibility of an objectively valid knowledge of nature understandable. He believes also that through this insight he can show that every theoretic knowledge of transcendent realities is absolutely unthinkable. Therefore we cannot demonstrate anything at all, nor can we theoretically contradict anything that has to do with the things in themselves (from which we as the affected derive our sense impressions). But first of all we cannot theoretically demonstrate or theoretically contradict anything that has to do with God, the transcendent essence of our soul, or its immortality and freedom.

Thus in this idealism there is realized a paradoxical reversal of the natural naive mode of thinking. But what a monstrous imposition on "sound" com-

mon sense! Subjectivity is world-creative, shaping the world from out of pre-given materials of sensation in accord with its firm laws.

But no less remarkable is Kant's theory of *practical reason*. The human life of drive and will, just like its life of experience and thinking, is subject to apriori laws. Besides there being a theoretical reason there is a practical reason. Here we become aware of the sublime moral law, the categorical imperative of duty, the absolute unconditioned demand to fulfill our duty regardless of our inclination and any consequences stemming from the act. Because it is free of any doubt in its absolute validity, this law does not belong to what constitutes nature. Rather it elevates us, at the same time that it subjects us, to the dignity of moral humans and makes us members of a moral world. And now Kant makes a most remarkable turn, one which had a deep effect on Fichte. Kant deduces as "postulates of practical reason" the transcendent essential beings whose theoretical unknowability he had demonstrated. If we cannot demonstrate theoretically anything about God, immortality and freedom, we nevertheless can know that all such transcendences necessarily must be believed as truly existing, if, that is to say, the moral law is not to lose its practical sense. For example, in nature there is no freedom; everything there is rigorously [274] causally determined. The causal law is constitutive for a nature. That holds for humans as parts of nature, as a phenomenal being in a phenomenal context. The demand of duty of the categorical imperative, with its unconditional ought, would not be thinkable if I could not do what I ought. Therefore the human must have behind his being (*Sein*) as phenomenon a transcendent essence (*Wesen*) and a transcendental freedom. Such is a practical belief of reason, a practical postulate. In this spirit the transcendences of religion as necessary postulates are demonstrated. And therewith a moralistic philosophy of religion and a metaphysics are not demonstrated as science but rather are grounded through such postulates.

Kant's results are the points of departure for Fichte. In the beginning of his career, Fichte was indefatigable in his praise of Kant and in his efforts to profess that he was a Kantian. First of all, he transformed, going beyond Kant, idealism by moving it to its radical consequence. He swept away, as did others who preceded him, the affecting things-in-themselves and pronounced that they were the last remnant of a naive dogmatism. He sought to show that transcendent beings, for which becoming-conscious was non-essential, things which, in themselves have nothing to do with subjectivity and only accidentally enter into a relation with it, are something completely nonsensical. According to Kant we receive the sense impressions from without; we owe them to affecting, completely unknown and unknowable, things-in-themselves. If these are unthinkable, then whence comes the sensible manifold that is continuously pregiven to us and is the material for the constitution of nature? Why does it appear and why does it appear precisely in the order

and with the qualities that permits a nature to be formed?

Here Fichte, stimulated by Kant's doctrine, seizes upon a thought of great daring through which he grounds a completely new type of world-interpretation and through which he places himself in opposition to the natural understanding of the world. And he does this in a way which is not easily surpassed. According to Kant, the subjectivity which produces objectivity can only be active after it previously was passive. Fichte, the man of will and deed, cannot be satisfied with that. Through the canceling of things-in-themselves affection is eliminated. Now in subjectivity [275] there remains as a dead residue a whirl of material from sense impressions. Can there be in subjectivity something that it itself has not produced? No. The subject is thoroughly, and nothing else than, what acts. And whatever the subject has in its presence, as substrate of action, as object of its activity, that must be something immanent in it, something already enacted. Therefore there coincides being a subject and being one who acts; but also being-an-object-for-the-subject and being a product of acting. Prior to the acting, when we go to the origin, there lies nothing. The beginning, when we think, so to speak, of the history of the subject, is not a fact (*Tatsache*) but an "action" ("*Tathandlung*") and we must here think of this as a "history." Being a subject is *eo ipso* a history; it is having a development. Being a subject is not only acting but necessarily also progressing from action to action, from the product of acting to a new action, to new products of acting. It belongs to the essence of acting that it be directed to a goal. If the I acts and if each new purporting does not generate out of itself new goals and each task new tasks in infinite succession, the I would be dead and not alive. The infinite chain of goals, purposes, and tasks cannot, however, be disconnected, otherwise the I would not be an I; otherwise the fulfilling of the first task would not motivate a new purporting, and so forth. Every goal is a *telos*, but all goals must connect in the unity of the *telos*, therefore in a teleological unity. And that can only be the highest moral end.

II. The Moral Order of the World Principle As the World-Creating Principle

The Fichtean I, the essence of which we attempted to elucidate at the end of the last lecture, is the self-positing action out of which in infinite succession ever new actions originate. The I (or the intelligence, as Fichte also says) must set for itself ever new boundaries in order to overcome them ever again. It must originate ever new tasks which generate in their solution ever new tasks. The solution can and may not be one which is completely satisfying if it is going to make possible new positing of goals and if it is not [276] to

bring the infinity of the I-activity to a standstill. In all these positings of goals and purportings, there holds sway necessarily a unifying teleology. The infinity of actions has a meaningful unity. With this we concluded the last lecture.

Now we have to attend to the fact that Fichte who is the student of Kantian philosophy speaks to us, that therefore this I can not be some sort of individual human I. Human subjects are members of the world; in the sense of idealism, they are very mediate formations in subjectivity. The I of Fichte, the pure or absolute I, is nothing other than this subjectivity in which (according to the systematic play of actions) the phenomenal world with all its human I's first comes to be. To write the history of the I, of the absolute intelligence, is therefore to write the history of the necessary teleology in which the world as phenomenal comes to progressive creation, comes to creation in this intelligence. This is no object of experience but a metaphysical power. Because we knowing humans, nevertheless, are I's in which this absolute I has split itself,[7] we can, through intuitive immersion in that which belongs to the pure essence of the I, of subjectivity, reconstruct the necessary teleological processes out of which the world inclusive of ourselves (in what for us is an unconscious holding sway of absolute intelligence) is formed in teleological necessity.[8]

If we proceed so, we are philosophers. And the *only genuine task of philosophy* is to be found here. It consists in grasping the world as the teleological product of the absolute I and, in the elucidation of the creation of the world in the absolute, making evident its ultimate sense. Fichte believes he is able to achieve this and to have achieved this. In his, indeed, often quite capricious and abstruse constructions, he believes himself to have deduced in their teleological necessity all the forms of intuition and thinking, all the basic laws of pure understanding, which, according to Kant, comprise the apriori outline of the world of experience. He therefore deduces why, or what here is the same thing, wherefore the absolute I, acting in itself must posit materials of sensation, and expand them spatially and temporally. Why it must, then, substitute for the so-formed intuitions matter, force, causal laws; why it must therefore form a material world and finally, grafted upon this, a human world with social forms. I said "wherefore." What, we must ask, gives to this world-creating [277] teleology its ultimate meaning? What gives to the infinity of actions and the typicality of their achievements a firm teleological direction? The answer is: The infinite action is pervaded by an infinite drive longing for satisfaction. Where is it heading? Toward that which alone can guarantee pure satisfaction, what alone can be an end in itself, what alone contains absolute value in itself.

The Kantian ethics has shown what that is: A moral action uniquely and exclusively has absolute value and nothing else in all the world. This must be

the ultimate teleological ground which keeps the play of actions in intelligence in motion. In other words, the teleological production of the world in the absolute I is, from the beginning, oriented toward the production of a world in which moral acting can have its place. Therefore, ultimately, it is oriented toward the creation of a human world, a world of free spirits who exist with one another in moral relationships and who, led by the noble command of duty, realize a moral world-order.

There belongs to this moral world-order as its teleological ground-layer, as its necessary pre-condition, material nature. In order that there be humans and human communities there must be a nature. Furthermore these must exist in order that moral humans and human communities can exist. A *moral world-order* is the only thinkable absolute value and goal of the world. But as such it is the ground of the actuality of the world. It is as such not a real actuality. As an abiding ought-to-be it is a normative Idea. And yet it is more than reality; it is that within the absolute I which directs all world-formation, therefore it is the world-creating principle. It is not the I which is the world-creator even though it is true that purely within it, in its transcendental action, the world is constituted. But why? Because the I is always dominated by a drive of reason. It is dominated by the drive for the realization of this normative Idea of the moral world-order. This Idea is therefore the teleological cause of this world. In other words, it is God. For with this word one has signified the teleological creative ground of the world.

This is what we actually find in Fichte.[9] God is the moral world-order; God alone can be it. On the other hand, this God is completely immanent to the absolute I. He is no external substance, no reality outside of the I which would work from without to within. The I is absolutely autonomous. It bears its God in itself as the vivifying [278] and guiding end-idea[10] of its actions, as the principle of its own autonomous reason. (But perhaps this is a rather free interpretation which might help to clarify the obscurity of Fichte's intentions.)

In any case, you see the wonderful consistency with which Fichte carries out a pure idealism in the sense of a pure teleological world-view and, at the same time, a pure moral world-view. If one regards nature as simply something given, one can explain it by means of natural causality founded on nature. One can refer back each experienced natural event to its causal laws. But here a completely different explanation of nature is realized. Here in Fichte an elucidation of the meaning (*Sinnes*) of nature, of all of nature, an elucidation of the sense of its actuality as material nature and as the showplace of a human world is thereby achieved in that one understands nature as a teleological necessity, and one makes understandable for what purpose it is there and demonstrates that its ultimate ontological ground is its *telos*. It is this and nothing else that German Idealism and, first of all, that of Fichte

wants to achieve. One can say that in Fichte there is celebrated the resurrection of the glorious, if not yet mature, type of platonic interpretation of the world. For Plato also God is an Idea, the Idea of the Good, which he designates as the sun of the realm of ideas, as the light-source out of which all values originate. And this idea is also for him the teleological cause of the given world of senses, which for him is merely a phenomenal world.

Fichte resembles Plato also in that for him, who, as we earlier stated, is a thoroughly idealist practical person, the theoretical interpretation of the world as foundational is supposed to be for a practical elevation and salvation of humanity. The theoretical interpretation is supposed to be for an inner transformation of the human through a manifestation of the ends to which humanity is devoted. Fichte once said: "Nothing has unconditional value and meaning except life; all the rest of thinking, poeticizing, and knowing has value only in so far as it, in some way, is related to life, proceeds from it, and intends to return to it."[11]

As already in his beginning days when he threw himself with enthusiasm into the arms of Kantian philosophy, so he hoped, and now especially by reason of his idealist purification and transformation of this philosophy in the direction of an ethicizing metaphysics, for a total [279] rebirth of humanity. This new philosophy, and it alone, creates a completely new and genuine Ideal of humanity. Of course, this clearly involves a complete reversal of all values.[12] Indeed, the naive dogmatist, for whom the world of the senses is absolute actuality, becomes through this very conviction also practically a sensate human. He becomes a slave of the earthly world. In pleasure and pain, in desire and enjoyment, he is always tied to it and dependent on it. As such a sensate human he is continuously needy, driven between hope and fear, through and through unblessed. What is his Ideal? It is what he calls "happiness," the goal of the greatest possible sum of pleasure. And for the community there results as a matter of consistency, the goal of the greatest possible happiness for the greatest possible number. Each of these is a completely unachievable, thoroughly valueless, and meaningless goal which make the person completely unblessed.

But now there comes the Kantian-Fichtean philosophy and shows that this completely amazing, desired and feared world is a pure nothing, mere phenomenon and product of subjectivity. It brings to light out of the interiority of our autonomous reason the uniquely pure and absolute value of obligatory acting; it discloses to the human at the same time the innermost sense of his spiritual nature and tasks. It teaches him that only in pure willing, in a pure sensibility completely independent of the external success and failure of his agency, lies the value of his personality. It shows to him that he, as moral agent, is free and, indeed, a free citizen in a community determined to freedom. How elevating is this philosophy for the noble self-consciousness of

the human being and the dignity of his existence when it proves that the entire world-creation is achieved in the absolute intelligence for his sake; that the world exists for him and his kind only to create possibilites for free action and for being effective. That is its determination and in this framework everyone and each has its proper determination: the individual human as moral human in a social context. The particular duties, however, take form for him in the particular situation and according to them he has to shape his life in freedom. Living in this way everyone is and knows himself as a *member of a trans-sensible moral world-order*. [280] He himself, in each moral action, is the way the moral world-order is aided to become reality. And it is this which gives to him his own value and dignity. Now he lives no longer for himself, but purely for the Idea, for the species.

He has now rid himself of "happiness," this deceptive ideal which earlier aped the true value of himself. Now he freely follows the beckoning voice sounding from his practical reason: "Act in accord with your determination." Never can this life come to an end in ethical freedom. As the true philosophy teaches, it unfolds itself in an infinity of tasks as an agency which solves them infinitely. And therein does the genuine human find *his blessedness*. This is the blessedness of moral autonomy in the liberation from all sensate slavery. He who has now become a citizen of the trans-sensible world, now goes his way upright and free; indeed, he can stand upright before God himself. For the moral law that binds us, says Fichte, constitutes the divine being: "Take the Godhead into your wills and it will descend from Its throne for you."[13]

In this way the new philosophy shows the way, the only way, to salvation in the elevation to a genuine Ideal of a humanity living in pure morality. With this inner rebirth, which is a matter of a unique heroic decision, there springs up a completely new type of human. As long as the human languishes in the "affect of Being," delivered over to the torment of sensible desires of the multiplicity of earthly things and impulses, he lives necessarily a scattered, to an extent spent, existence. The distraction of the unblessed sensate humans is transformed through that rebirth into the concentration of a new spiritual human, of the idealist, creating himself continuously in a free self-activation.

In this stage of development of the Fichtean philosophy the ethical human coincides completely with the religious human. Here there are not to be found distinctive religious ideals which would confer on the ideal human distinctive new colors and a corresponding elevation. Fichte himself says during this epoch: "Morality and religion are absolutely one."[14] God is directly identified with the idea of the moral order of the world. He is the "*ordo ordinans*"[15] out of which [281] all being (*Sein*) springs forth in a teleological manner. Accordingly the complete reversal of the theoretical version of the world *eo*

ipso is a complete reversal of the religious, whereby Fichte, as always, identifies the religious version with the genuine Christian one. This true Christianity, says Fichte in his harsh critique of his era, has been submerged. The perverse dogmatism in which it lives and which substantializes the world of the senses as an absolute world of things in themselves poisons true belief in God. God, who created this world, himself is thought of as a spatial-temporal being, as the substance over against the finite substances. But as a spatial-temporal being God is absolutely unpresentable (*unvorstellbar*) if he is not presentable as a thing, as a sensible being – which is complete nonsense. The true religion and philosophy teaches: God is a trans-sensible being, unthinkable as substance, as reality, yes, even as personality. And the usual substantialization leads necessarily to denigrate God in a moral respect. He becomes the giver of all enjoyments, as a distributor of the always sensibly envisaged "happiness" or unhappiness of finite beings. With this God who is a thoroughly wretched God and whose heaven is a welfare institute for voluptuaries, the so-called "believer" makes a contract, whose document is the Bible. Through obedience toward God he buys himself earthly and other worldly delights. How pitiful! As if pleasure made one blessed rather than unblessed. The truly religious person wants nothing to do with this idolatry. He needs no Elysium in the other world; he possesses already in this world all conceivable blessedness in his free ethical agency. The infinity of the moral task thereby includes in itself immortality.

In the collection of writings after 1800 which I take the liberty of recommending to you, Fichte's metaphysics, as well as his doctrine of religion and God, and inseparably his ideal of humanity, undergo a profound transformation. They are introduced through the spirited piece on *The Vocation of Man*. Already in this text the identification of God and the moral world-order vanishes; and thereby there falls away the identification of religion and morality. A similar advance which was realized in Greek philosophy from Plato to Neoplatonism is prepared for in this writing and is completed in the later [282] writings of Fichte, namely a progression to an inner religious mysticism. The charge raised against him which profoundly disturbed him, namely, the accusation of atheism, led him to a new and more intensive engagement with problems in the philosophy of religion. In addition there occurred the no less disturbing political events, the ignoble behavior of the German people and princes in the Napoleonic times, the defeat at Jena, and the indolence with which the greater numbers of people received this humiliation. His practical nature is now especially pulled into practical matters. He feels that he is called to be a reformer and now turns more than ever before to popular lectures for a wide audience. His era, which he already had criticized with sufficient poignancy, is now portrayed in the darkest light. "This era," he says, "seems to me to be like a shadow which is bent over a corpse, out of which

are driven an army of diseases. Standing there wailing, the shadow is not able to tear its eyes away from the scene so much before loved.[16]

But Fichte's activist optimism – and every teleological idealism is theoretical and practical optimism – is not disheartened. "The dawning of a new world is already breaking and has made the mountain tops gold and prepares the day which is to come."[17] But the Fichtean philosophy, in which this dawning is illuminated – and the picture is a good one – is constantly changing, elevating itself to an ever more pure light. As I mentioned, already in *The Vocation of Man* (1800), as pronounced as the moral motive is, he had appropriated a new religious motif which was distinctively his own. God is therefore no longer the *ordo ordinans* but the infinite will, in his new formulation, which effects this *ordo*.[18] He is the world-creator in the finite reason. It is his light through which we see all light and through which we see everything that appears in this light. Our whole life is this life; all that we see and know we see and know in this divine life, even our duty. Everything in the world is willed by God, formed by God and effected by God. And this world is the only possible one, a world which is good through and through.

Religious life now no longer coincides with moral life, but rather the moral is a lower level which fulfills itself first of all in [283] religious life as a higher level. Religious life is life in God and is as such, and not as mere morality, "blessed" life. In the course of his writings, there is achieved that advancement which I compared with that of original Platonism into the mystical religious Neoplatonism. The results of his previous speculation in regard to the absolute I and its actions are not given up but are only seen in a different light. Neoplatonism, deriving from Plato's comparison of God with the sun from which all light irradiates, has projected an emantionist interpretation of the world. God, the *Hen*, The One or the Good, lets everything which is proceed from itself in an eternal irradiation as a gradation of an increasing estranging formative process from the primal light down to the completely God-alienated physical world. And it conceives this gradation as one of self-reflections, mirrorings of itself, as it were. Thereby is indicated the kinship the Platonic One has with the Fichtean I. Fichte himself still does not conceive the absolute I as the creative God. Rather God for him is the eternal unchanging unique Being (Sein) who reveals himself in the I. And this means: The infinite Being reveals itself in the infinite series of deeds in which the physical and spiritual world is constituted as phenomenon. To say "it reveals itself" means, on the one hand, it is reflected, it creates a likeness, namely in the form of consciousness. This is a reflection (*Abbild*) which, on the other hand, is nothing separate from God himself. In this succession of reflections of acts of consciousness the divine Being is supposed to, and this as a matter of necessity, *conceal itself*, as it were. And the gradualness of this concealment, which in Neoplatonism has its analogue in the gradation of

God-estrangment, in the gradation of light and darkeness, I say, the gradualness of this concealment is so thought of that in the higher levels the shadow concealing God in consciousness becomes ever more transparent – until at the highest level the most perfect God-seeing and thereby the being-one-with-God is reached. (This is the *reversio* or *deificatio* of the mystic.)

There corresponds to this in the development of humanity, namely in the human developing himself upward toward the Ideal, the continuous levels of elevation which, according to Fichte, can be delineated in five types. Fichte introduces this as five levels of world-perspectives, five levels of remoteness or approximation of humanity to the divinity. [284] There corresponds to them, if we exclude the lowest level which is valued as purely negative, four ideal types of humans. And with regard to the practical, there corresponds also an elevation, which is to be effected by a religious-ethical means, of humanity, namely to that level of human existence in which all concealing layers fall away from his spiritual eye and he has completely reached his determination, his vocation, i.e., oneness with God. These five levels have the titles of the standpoints of 1) sensuality, 2) ethicality, 3) the higher morality, 4) religion, faith, and 5) vision or "science."

III. The Self-Revelation of God in the Levels of Humanity

The new doctrine of God and salvation to which Fichte raised himself in the period of his final maturity (and which found the purest expression in his *The Way to a Blessed Life* – the new formation of his theory of Ideals of humanity – this was the great theme that we fastened onto at the end of the last lecture. God, the absolute Being which in itself has not come to be and is unchanging, reveals himself in eternal necessity in the form of the pure I. He others himself in an endless gradation of self-reflectings in which, as formations of consciousness, He mirrors Himself in Himself, at first in an obscure form, but then in ever higher purity and unconcealedness, and finally He comes to purest self-consciousness. In this course of development He, as it were, splits Himself into a manifold of finite human subjects, upon which his freedom, that of absolute self-determination, devolves as their personal freedom. Thereby five possible ways of a definite life-arrangement are apriori predelineated for these subjects. They, i.e., we humans, therefore can choose from among these arrangements in freedom. As free beings we therefore are not forced to remain still on the level of the particular world-view at which we are presently arrested. We can elevate ourselves freely to a higher one. When we do this we thereby realize at the same time an advance of the self-revelation of God Himself toward a higher revelation. Our freedom is a ray of the divine freedom, our will a ray of the divine will – in the most pure

sense. To choose the higher humanity [285] is to decide for God. Indeed it is more still: In us God Himself decides, a ray of God in us passes into the higher light.

The sense of this doctrine is that not only the highest life but all our life in its deepest ground is the life of God, whether we know it or not. All life is striving, is drive for satisfaction. This drive pervades all our still incomplete satisfaction. The ideal goal is therefore always pure and full satisfaction. In a word, it is blessedness. It is an essential matter, then, that all life aspires to be a blessed life. With such a life we would be in actual possession of that which we interiorly and ultimately long for; we would be united with it. Being united with what is longed for is nothing else than love. Love, or at least an element of love, is found in every genuine, if only relative, satisfaction; or, as we may also put it, love is found in each true and authentic life. For a life that loses itself in pseudo-satisfactions, loses itself; it is a merely apparent life; it is an empty, self-negating life. And the more true life there is, the more there is of love and blessedness. But in all blessedness there is to be found, whether we know it or not, the blessedness of God, the love of God. This love of God is perfect when life is perfect; when it is full and pure blessedness. And it is this at the level of unconcealed devotion and oneness with God where God reveals Himself in our vision no longer through veils but as the pure divine Idea and where we become participants in the infinite love and blessedness of the infinite object of the longing of our life.

Proceeding with each in its turn, the lowest level of revelation of God in the human soul is that of complete concealment. The ordinary sensuality functions here as the dark wall which separates us from God. The human existence at this level is the human of the senses. He seeks his blessedness in happiness. He deceives himself because this alleged blessedness is in truth the negation of all blessedness. In expending oneself on the ephemeral senses and pseudo-world there is, as we have already learned, no satisfaction. If there were nothing else, then the grave would be the only salvation. But how does one reach blessedness through letting oneself be buried? Therefore the true life begins, first of all, when genuine love, the love of the non-transient awakens to the eternal, where the deception of sensuousness is evident. [286] The genuine drive of life or blessedness breaks through as "yearning for the eternal." Basically this yearning is always there, even in the lowest level. Even in the unblessed the divine voice speaks; it warns him to go beyond the appearances to that which supports the appearances and what wants to be manifest in the appearances. But this call is drowned out through the sensuousness and remains not understood and ineffective.

The second level of humanity, the first level on the way to the true life, is what the human climbs to when the sensible "affect of Being" is overcome through the affect of the moral commandment. When he becomes aware of

the unblessedness of the life of the senses he hears the voice of duty within. Against the lawlessness of his dissipation on the sensual realm, there is required of him the rigorous legality of acting from duty and he submits himself freely to this commandment. The world-view which here results is the moralistic one which Fichte earlier effusively praised and represented, but now no longer esteems highly. But it is not as if he repudiates all the greatness and beauty which he earlier taught and created out of the Kantian philosophy. Rather he now arrives at the conviction that this greatness and beauty cannot properly have its source alone in the formal command of duty. He sees that here there is necessary a critical distinction.

He makes the distinction between *mere ethicality* (*Sittlichkeit*), the standpoint, he believes, of Stoicism, and *the higher and proper morality* (*Moralität*). For the Stoic the principle of his life-will is the formal requirement of duty. Therefore it is a matter of doing one's duty unconditionally and against all impulses of sensuality. Of course, the human achieves dignity at this level of formal ethicality but not the highest. He elevates himself and feels himself to be elevated over everything sensual and earthly, but he abides in a state of mere *negativity*: to want not to do anything as a result of which he would have to despise himself. This freedom of Stoic *apathie* is still an empty freedom. The love which moves the Stoic dispenses with all positivity. It is merely formal love of freedom. Therefore it lacks *content*.

We would put it this way: The formalist ethics, in its enthusiasm for formal generality always to do one's duty, is lacking any determination of positive absolute values which as practical goals could fulfill the one striving with love and so confer on his acting a positive blessedness, [287] i.e., the realization of Ideals with contents. It is also clear that the Stoic, who lives in a constant defensive posture against the onslaughts of sensible desires, is therefore, still dependent on this posture, still innerly bound to it and still feels its power.

But there is a higher standpoint which is possible and where all wrestling with sensual impulses falls away because they have become completely powerless; in a certain sense they have become nothing. What effects this, however, is not a formal general and empty command of duty but rather it is a positive love of eternal values which offer to duty its specific content on each occasion. When they come into view and fill the heart with enthusiastic love, then the command of duty comes too late. The beautiful and good is already chosen and done.

Actually Fichte recognized in such considerations, even though they do not reach a final precision, the basic deficiency in the Kantian as well as his own earlier ethics; thus his distinctions are of permanent value.

From what has been said the religious perspective which is a result of the Stoic standpoint is obvious. In this view it would be consistent to identify

God with the ethical order of the world. (This is the Fichtean view of his first period.) This view would be incomplete, at best a transitional value for mounting to the heights of true religion. Initially Fichte believed it was a necessary stage, but he later dropped this view.

Let us now move on to the third world-perspective and thereby to a new type of higher humanity, to the characteristics of a *higher and authentic morality*. We now are walking on the path of positive blessedness. It requires of us to get rid of all motives which dominate the other world-perspectives. Therefore here there is nothing more of the slavery to sensual delight, and nothing more of wrestling with it, and nothing more of the pride of the self-righteousness stemming from the conquest of sensual delight through the formal command of duty; nothing more of that cold and empty autonomy in Stoic *apathie*. In a certain sense we are all in these matters still egotists, ever in a state of ethical correctness and self-righteousness of the Stoic sage. To get on the path of higher morality and finally of highest blessedness means to renounce oneself, to want nothing, not even freedom, for oneself. It means rather we must feel ourselves completely as an organ of the divine life and of the self-elevations which the Divine wants of us in order ultimately to immerse ourselves in God.

But how does that happen at this level of [288] the higher morality? In exactly what aspect of finitude does the divine will express itself? The answer is: Wherever we love something in pure love for the sake of itself, wherever something pleases us purely for the sake of itself (and in no way as a mere means) and pleases us in a measure completely going beyond all other pleasings, then we are certain we are dealing with an appearing of the immediate divine essence in the world; or, as we might also say, an absolute value.[19] Something given in this way is, under the circumstances of the moment, something absolutely perfect. God's essence becomes manifest in each pure beauty. Again, it is manifest in perfect domination of nature. And not less so in the perfect state, and finally in science. In other words, God reveals himself wherever *Ideas* luminously beckon us in the empirical realm. They are divine Ideas. The light of eternity is radiated in time to us, thereby transfiguring time. Thus, e.g., *the beautiful* is not a sensible predication of the sensible things we call works of art. It is the artist who, with each blow of the hammer onto the marble and each stroke of the brush on the canvas, breathes onto the marble and the canvas an Idea, his Idea, or rather the divine Ideas. In the creative consciousness of the artist, in the pure spontaneity with which the artist's concept realizes itself, the Godhead reveals itself and reveals itself in the guise (*Gestalt*) of this Idea. Hence the blessedness of the artistic creating: It is blessedness of receiving the Idea of God while it is actively taking shape, the blessedness of doing a divine doing, of being effectively an organ of God. And hence the inexpressible joy in the sympathetic contem-

plation of a work of art wherein we appreciatively experience the event of the transpiration of the divine Idea in the sensible formation. This aesthetic joy and the passionate longing to give form to something beautiful in oneself and outside of oneself is the dominant affect of the artist and characterizes as such the artistic genius.[20]

Here there is no need for a categorical imperative as motive, no appeal to self-respect, no struggle with diverting sensible inclinations. No. Completely of itself, driven from within, the genuine artist, who is "moral" in the highest sense, wants to and can strive for nothing else. He does not want to do anything else but always again to make something beautiful which he loves above everything else. His love for the divine Idea does not even permit to surface an other love, a love for the lower sensuous dimension.

[289] However, every genuine scientific researcher is also highly moral, and for similar reasons; except that here the divine Idea is a different one, namely that of the theoretical or practical truth. And so is the noble technologist whose love aims at creating for humans domination of nature (and not for lower sensuous goals). And finally the noble politician who finds his blessedness working on the preservation and formation of the order of an ideal community in accord with the particular Ideas which are normative for this community. The Idea which guides him and which is loved by him is that of the ideal state as the arrangement of the ideal community. His longing is to effectively realize this divine Idea.

This type of the high moral person encompasses a series of special types of ideal humanity who all together have their right in themselves and are not to be placed in a hierarchy of value. And this is so for metaphysical reasons, namely, every human is, as we know, a ray of the unfolding of divine being, one of the organs which God has created for his self-revelation (in the form of the realization of his Ideas).[21] But not every human is an organ of the actual and possible unfolding for all Ideas. Rather: in each individual God reveals himself in an *individual* way. Each of us has his share in the divine being and, correspondingly, has *his own* Idea which, in a practical respect, constitutes his higher life-task, his higher determination and vocation. No one can exchange his life-task with that of someone else.[22] Each has his own life-dynamism (*Lebenstrieb*) which predelineates for him his goal. Of course, the divine Idea, which constitutes the trans-sensible being of a human, can be concealed through his bondage to the sensuous realm. But each is free; each can listen for the divine voice and can grasp his higher determination and can find his blessedness in the loving formation of his own Idea.

What I should do is not a matter of concocting goals; rather I discover what I should do immediately when I have broken through the partition of sensuality. I need merely ask: What would, in the realm of my possible activities in terms of capacity and success, fill me with unexpressible joy, with

perfect satisfaction? If painting or designing, then I become aware of the artist's vocation in me. Or, if it is a judicial or another form of legal activity, then it is in this direction that is to be found my love and my [290] life-goal. The question always is merely: What is it that I really and with my whole heart want? And the decision from the standpoint of eminent morality declares nothing else than that, from now on, only those things are to be willed and nothing else.[23]

The perfected freedom and exclusivity with which someone actually so lives, loves, and works characterizes the genius which is nothing other than the pure guise which the divine being has assumed in our individuality.

Let us go a level higher. This higher morality is possible without the person himself knowing its ultimate significance. Therefore it is easily possible that there is conjoined with it a certain very natural impurity. The high moral person as a shaper of Ideas in the empirical world aspires obviously to realize a work. Understandably he will be unhappy when, without any fault of his own he fails. But that is wrong. For in such a case it is clear that he holds *the work* for the absolute value, that he therefore is not clear about what he really wants. Perhaps this unblessedness will become a means of education in that it will make him face this question of conscience. In any case, if he does examine himself he will find it is not the external work which has absolute value and which is the end in itself, but exclusively *the person himself* as the one willing and creating this work. And, finally, he will be able to become clear that it is the unfolding of a divine being and life in his own individual life and striving and this is what he really always wants and is striving for as the absolutely valuable.

If he has come this far, then he has raised himself to the *fourth standpoint*, that of *religion*. He is not only, as the high moral person, the medium of revelation and realization of divine Ideas, but he *knows* himself also as such: He knows himself as a sanctified vessel of the divinity[24] which he now first of all recognizes in truth and embraces with infinite love. As before he will create works with inexhausible diligence free of all extrinsic motivation. But the work of the moment is not that which is striven for unconditionally. He has a higher consciousness of the unity with God in his striving that derives from the knowledge and love of God which renders this consciousness blessed. He who has climbed to this elevated standpoint sees the world with new eyes. And this is especially true of the social world of humans. He sees also that God lives in each human [291] in a unique guise, even if also very much concealed. He directs his love to all his neighbors. He does this even though it is hard for him when he experiences that he is cut off and separated from the divine irradiations. A sad striving and longing to be united with them fills him and thereby is explained the pure love of humans from out of the infinite love of God. And this pure love of humans has its obvious practical conse-

quences. In all his action and undertakings within the social community, the moral-religious person will treat his neighbors as children of God like himself. He always looks to the seed of the genuinely divine in them and takes the trouble to accord to the demand of that which constitutes their noble humanity.[25]

Thereby every human individual has become a member of an ideal world of spirits, a *kingdom of God on earth*. It is indeed the Kingdom for which we all pray: Thy Kingdom Come! Everyone belongs to this Kingdom in so far as he is the effect of the divine Ideas and is aware of this in the love of God. And everyone, in that he lives in the ideal determination, does his part in realizing it.

The religious person sees God. How does he see Him, where does he find Him? Fichte answers:

> Do you want to see God as He is in Himself, face to face? Do not seek him on the other side of the clouds. You can find Him everywhere *where you are*. Look at the life of those devoted to Him and you are looking at Him. Dedicate yourself to Him and you find Him in your breast.[26]

But we still have not yet reached the highest standpoint. This highest standpoint is not that of the merely religious *inner awareness* [*Inneseins*] *of God*, but of the *knowledge of God*. Or we could also say: the standpoint of religious consciousness on the basis of perfected philosophical insight.[27] Fichte calls this the "standpoint of science." On its foundation, religion, which is a circumstance and living fact in the heart, becomes a *scientific theme*. The unity and connectedness of the divine and human life and the ultimate How of this connection becomes a matter of insight in the absolute perfect science. The religious person is satisfied with the fact of the connection which he has been granted, [292] but science gives the explanation.

Thereby simple faith, when it is pervaded by philosophical knowledge, is elevated to a "seeing." With the deepest insight into the Why and How religious consciousness is elevated; the unity with God becomes much more interior and pervaded by scientific clarity, and God Himself has reached His highest level of possible self-revelation in the process of revelation within the person who is having the religious intuition.[28]

At this higher level the description of the picture of an Ideal must lack its proper brilliance and inner warmth. For we can only indirectly gain an inkling that an all-encompassing knowledge of God, that includes an all encompassing knowledge of the world – the task of a scientific philosophy – would have to bring us boundless joy, and a joy that would not merely be the satisfaction of a theoretical interest, but one which, by streaming into the religious blessedness, would have to enhance superabundantly this blessedness.

With this theme we now reach our conclusion. What could follow and

what would surely be worthy of great interest would deal with the formation of particular Ideals of humanity in accord with individual Ideas. And it would further deal with the great manner in which Fichte, in his social-pedagogical writings, attempts to lead toward a practical realization of the projected Ideals. Here we have to consider, besides the lectures on *The Essence [or Determination] of the Scholar*, *The Speeches to the German Nation*. Nothing shows in a more splendid way the personality of Fichte than the manner in which he, in the years of Germany's greatest humiliation, holds before the eyes of the German people its sublime national Idea in a noble elaboration. And how he, at the same time, posits the national Idea as one with the Ideal of a genuine and true people. And, furthermore, how he awakens in the German people the faith that, if they fulfill in freedom their higher determination, salvation must thereby come for all of humanity. The Fichte of the war of liberation speaks also to us.

Indeed, in the exigency of our times, there is only one thing that can give support, strengthen, yes, make us insurmountably "blessed" in all our misery: It is the divine spirit of the Idea; it is the reflection on the pure Ideals, for the sake of whose realization we exist. It is the divine spirit of the Ideals which have found in our German people these most noble and sublime representatives. A people which has produced such spirits, [293] which in these spirits and by them has guided, which has striven so very much to be pure in heart, which has so profoundly sought God within and has embodied the intuited Ideals in such sublime formations – such a people must be and remain the hope of humanity. That this people be so actually in vital truth, that is the infinite task of all of us, of all of us who wish to conquer in the war so that there be continued the revelation of divine Ideas in our glorious German people; so that this people continue to increase in true glory, that it elevate itself in itself, and through itself it elevate all of humanity.

Translation by James G. Hart

Notes

1. [Translator's Note: From Edmund Husserl *Aufsätze und Vorträge (1911–1921)*, Husserliana XXV, ed. Thomas Nenon and Hans Reiner Sepp (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), pp. 267-293. Numbers in text placed in square brackets refer to these pages.]
2. Editor's note: The lectures were held in the context of courses at Freiburg University for those connected with the war effort (*Kriegsteilnehmer*); the first occasion, 8–17 Nov. 1917; repeated on 14–16 Jan. and 6, 7, and 8 Nov. 1918.
3. [Translator's Note: In the editor's textual-critical notes we find a rich hermeneutical page which Husserl indicated should be left out. It reads: "Except for the limited sphere of the exact sciences, the great ones of the past – this is a very common phenomenon - have an effect on posterity which is not continuous, but rather one which works only sporadically

through the ages. There are easily understandable reasons for this. Every age is moved by its own dynamic forces and has organs only for what is required by and in accord with its vectors of development. These are the foggy factors which stream, as it were, into every present and often conceal from it total epochs with their great personalities, cultural creations, and styles. But this and other forms of mist, which increase with the growing temporal distance from the present moments's efforts to understand, cannot do enough to conceal the values of eternity of the past. For everything eternal comes forth in the form of finitude. It does not come forth in its time in utter purity, but rather it is disclosed in a concealed way through the manner of speech, thought, and feeling. Therefore it is revealed in an obfuscation which, with the increase in temporal remoteness, is ever more difficult to penetrate. Thus the great tasks of historical and philological criticism. This double-sided concealment explains the change in judgments regarding past times and in the course of times. Thus the occasional oscillations between, on the one hand, extreme admiration and esteem, and, on the other, complete misunderstanding and contempt. The most striking example of this is the change in appreciation for German Idealism." Hua XXV, 385.]

4. [Translator's Note: I have chosen to translate *Idee* and *Ideal*, with capital letters when it referred to what Kant, Fichte, and Husserl regard as "regulative ideas" in order to distinguish them from any mental entity resembling Hume's "ideas."]
5. [Translator's Note: At this point the editors note that Husserl has a text within square brackets which he marked with red and ink: "The world is at first experienced immediately and then is reliably known in an experiential-scientific way and then determined with concepts and lawful structures. And this world is over-against the knowing subject and existing in itself. We knowers are bodily included in it as things. But we belong to it also in regard to our own psychological aspect, as events ruled by their own psychophysical laws." Hua XXV, 386.]
6. [Translator's Note: At this juncture in the textual-critical notes of the editors we find another revision which Husserl indicated should be left out: "The world for us, experienced by us, thought by us; the world posited by us ourselves in our experiencing and thinking. (There is no extra-conscious existence in any other sense than that of an existence which the knowing I posits in its consciousness, in its experiencing, thinking) and from here is the road to "idealism" which, developed in various and increasingly more profound systems, teaches in its most radical form: There is no meaning in saying: A world exists in itself and consciousness is an incidental event in it. Rather the world is nothing else than a lawful structure of appearances of consciousness encompassing all conscious subjects; it is a lawful structure of appearings which constitute themselves in the course of consciousness, some of which are conscious as actual experiences, some are reliable appearings in accord with solid experiential laws; and over and above this they have no meaningful existence.

   In this way Leibniz attempted to reduce all reality to the being (Sein) of soul-like natures (*Wesen*), which he named monads. Within these monads, in accord with a divinely willed and effective causality, all things, indeed all of nature, with the so-called human and animal bodies (*Leiber*) emerge as lawful phenomena and by reason of this firm lawfulness, which finds expression in the natural sciences, all things have a reliable but only phenomenal existence.

   In a very influential way and on an encompassing scientific basis Kant interpreted space and time as forms of intuition of human consciousness and thereby all of the spatial-temporal world as a phenomenon of consciousness. And at a higher level he interpreted substance, causality, in short, all the binding forms of the unity of nature which are normative for scientific knowledge, as forms of thought, as categories." Hua XXV, 386.]

7. [Translator's Note: Perhaps echoed in Hua III (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950), §51, in the Note: "the element of fact in the given order of the course of consciousness, in its differentiations (*Sonderungen*) into individuals and the teleology immanent in them."]
8. [Translator's Note: This immersion (*Vertiefung*) in the depths of transcendental subjectivity as the ultimate philosophical-theological procedure is Husserl's own in F I 24, 40b–41a. Likewise Husserl makes room for a form of phenomenology which is "reconstructive." Cf. Hua XV, pp. 593-596, 608–610, and 666 ff.]
9. Mainly in the *Vocation of Man*.
10. [Translator's Note: Husserl uses this term, *Zweckidee*, in various contexts which recall Fichte's thinking and/or which develop his notion of entelechy. See, e.g., Hua XXVII, 61, 88, 94, 97-98, 109. I have not found it used in Fichte in this systematic way. Fichte does use *Zweckbegriff* and especially *Endzweck* to develop a concept akin to what Husserl means by *Zweckidee* and entelechy. See, e.g., Fichte, *Werke*, ed. I.H. Fichte, Vol. II *Zur theoretischen Philosophie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), 658–660.]
11. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Werke: Auswahl in sechs Bänden*, ed., Fritz Medicus (Leibzig: 1908ff.), Vol. III, p. 557ff.
12. [Translator's Note: Husserl avails himself of this Nietzschean phrase for elucidating the transcendental reduction. Cf. the first paragraph of §76 of *Ideen I*. See Rudolf Boehm, *Vom Gesichtspunkt der Phänomenologie* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), XV, pp. 223, 237–241.]
13. *Werke*, ed. Medicus, Vol. III, p. 198.
14. *Werke*, ed. Medicus, Vol. III, p. 169.
15. *Werke*, ed. Medicus, Vol. III, p. 246.
16. *Werke*. ed. Medicus, Vol. V, p. 390.
17. *Werke*. ed. Medicus, Vol. V, p. 390.
18. [Translator's Note: That the divine will is more fundamental than the divine entelechy as the dynamic form of the world is also a theme in Husserl. See, e.g., Hua XV, 378ff.]
19. [Translator's Note: Husserl already had a similar critique of Kant in 1902; see Hua XXVIII, pp. 416–417. Later (e.g., in E III 4, 20) Husserl offers his own version of this absolute material value, what he calls universal ethical love. This is the culmination of ethical reflection. See also Hua XXVII, pp. 288, 332; cf. also Beilage II.]
20. [Translator's Note: Cf. Hua XXIII, pp. 541-542.]
21. [Translator's Note: Cf. A V 21, 107b.]
22. [Translator's Note: Husserl develops this theme in his own ethics under the rubrics of "call" and "truth of will." See especially A V 21.]
23. [Translator's Note: Again, in Husserl's own ethical theory, this aspect of Fichte's thought and his interpretation of Fichte are worked into his own theory of the "the truth of will," the categorical imperative and "absolute ought."]
24. [Translator's Note: Cf. Hua XXVII, pp. 65–66.]
25. [Translator's Note: Cf. Hua XIV, p. 174.]
26. *Werke*, ed. Medicus, Vol. V, p. 184.
27. [Translator's Note: Cf. Hua XXV, pp. 58–60; Hua XXVII, pp. 102–103.]
28. [Translator's Note: Ultimately Husserl's own view of the interplay of faith and perception/reason is more complicated than this. See especially Hua XXVII, pp. 63-68 and 100–103.]