C.

DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

We have on the one side power pure and simple and abstract wisdom, and on the other a contingent end to be carried out. Both are united, and wisdom is unlimited; but for this reason it is indeterminate, and because of this the end as real is contingent or finite. The mediation of the two sides to concrete unity, which is of such a kind that the notion of wisdom is itself the content of its end, already constitutes the transition to a higher stage. The main determination here is expressed by the question, What is wisdom? what is the end? It is an end which is inadequate to the power.

(a.) The subjectivity which is inherently power has no connection with sense; the natural or immediate element is in it negated; it is only for Spirit, for Thought. This Power, which exists for itself, is essentially One. That which we have called reality, Nature, is only something posited, negated, and passes away into independent self-existent Being, where there is no Many, no One and the Other. Thus the One is purely exclusive, having no Other beside it, and not suffering anything alongside of it which might have independence. This One is the wisdom of The All; everything is posited by means of it, but is for it merely something external and accidental. This is the sublimity of the One, of this Power, and of Power which is wise. Since, on the other hand, it takes on the form of definite existence, namely, self-consciousness, and as Being exists for an Other, the end also is only one, though it is none the less sublime, and still it is a limited end which is not yet determined by means of multiplicity, and is thus an infinitely limited end. Both of these aspects correspond with one another, the infinitude of the Power and the limited character of its actual end. On the one hand there is sublimity, and on
the other the opposite, an infinite limitedness or restrictedness. This is the first form in reference to the end. The One has what is infinite alongside of it, while, however, setting up for being the One.

So far as the relation between Nature and Spirit is concerned, the Religion of Sublimity means that the sensuous, the finite, the natural, what is spiritually and physically natural, has not yet been taken up into free subjectivity or transfigured within it. The characteristic of this stage is that free subjectivity is elevated to the condition of pure Thought, a form which is more adequate to express the content than the sensuous is. Here the natural element is dominated by this free subjectivity, in which the Other is merely ideal, and has no true lasting existence as against free subjectivity. Spirit is what raises itself, what is raised above the natural, above finitude. This is the Religion of Sublimity.

The Sublime is not, however, the Measureless, which, in order to determine itself and to take on a definite form, can make use only of what is immediately present and of silly distortions of it, and has to do this in order to produce a conformity with its inner nature. Sublimity, on the other hand, can do without immediate existence and its modes, and does not, like the other, get into a condition of poverty which forces it to lay hold of these modes in order to represent itself, but pronounces these to be a mere show or illusion.

(b.) The other characteristic or determination is that the natural or finite is transfigured in Spirit, in the freedom of Spirit. Its transfiguration consists in this, that it is a symbol of the spiritual in such a way that in this transfiguration of the physical-natural or spiritual-natural, the natural itself stands over against the spiritual as finite, as the other side of that essentiality, of that substantiality which we call God. This last is free subjectivity, in connection with which the finite is posited merely as a symbol, in which God, Spirit, appears. This is the mode
of present individuality, of Beauty. In respect of the determination of the end, this mode means that the end is not one only, but that there are many ends, and that the infinitely limited end is elevated to the condition of a real end. Here the real end is no longer exclusive, but allows much—all, in fact, the right of existence alongside of it, and a genial tolerance is here the fundamental characteristic. There are subjects of various sorts which have a valid existence alongside of each other, many unities from which definite existence gets the means it employs, and thus existence gets a certain friendly character attached to it. Just because there are many particular ends, multiplicity does not disdain to exhibit itself in immediate determinate existence. The multiplicity, the kind or variety, possesses universality in itself. The end permits the different kinds of things to have a valid existence alongside of itself; it is on terms of friendship with particularity and shows itself in it, and in its character, as particular end, it permits the means to have a valid existence alongside of itself, and manifests itself in it. It is at this point that the determination or category of Beauty comes in. Beauty is end existing potentially, which allies itself with immediate existence, and in this way establishes its own validity. Above the Beautiful and the particular end there floats the Universal in the form of a Power devoid of anything subjective, devoid of wisdom, indeterminate in itself, and this accordingly is Fate—cold necessity. Necessity is, indeed, that particular development of the Essence which allows its phenomenal manifestation or appearance to unfold itself in the form of independent realities, while the moments of this outward manifestation show themselves in the shape of distinct or differentiated forms. Implicitly, however, these moments are identical, and their existence is accordingly not to be taken seriously. It is only Destiny, the inner identity of the differences, which is to be taken seriously.

(c.) The third form of religion is equally represented
by a finite particular end, which in its particularity represents itself as universality, and expands itself so as to reach universality, but which is all the same still empirical and external. It is not the true universality of the Notion, but one which, comprising the world and the peoples of the world within itself, extends them so as to reach universality, while it at the same time loses its determinate character, and has for its end the cold abstract Power, and is in itself devoid of an end.

In external existence these three moments are represented by the Jewish, the Greek, and the Roman religions. Power, as subjectivity, determines itself as wisdom acting in accordance with an end; this end is, to begin with, still undetermined; particular ends come into existence, and finally an empirical universal end appears.

These religions correspond in reverse order to those preceding them. The Jewish religion corresponds to the Persian, the element of difference common to the two being that, regarded from this standpoint, the determinateness represents the inner nature of the Essence which is the end of self-determination. At an earlier stage, however, in the religions which precede, the determinateness had a natural character. In the Persian religion this was represented by light, this element being in its nature universal, simple, and physical. This was accordingly the final stage reached, taking the natural as a starting-point, Nature being thus comprehended in a unity which was similar to that of Thought. Here, in the Jewish religion, particularity is represented by a simple abstract end, namely, power, which is really only wisdom. Regarding the question from the second standpoint, we have in the Greek religion many particular ends and one Power above them; in the Hindu religion there are in the same way the many natural realities, and above them Brähma, the self-thinking One. Considering the matter from the third standpoint, we have an empirical universal end which is itself the selfless, all-destroying Destiny, not
true subjectivity, and corresponding to this we have power as individual empirical self-consciousness. Thus, too, in the Chinese religion there appears an individual existence which represents itself as the Universal pure and simple, as determining everything as God. The first mode of natural existence is self-consciousness, individual, natural. The natural, in its character as something single or individual, is what actually exists as, and is determined as, self-consciousness. Here, accordingly, the arrangement is the reverse of what we have in the Religion of Nature. In the present instance, what is primary is Thought, which is concrete in itself, simple subjectivity, which then advances so as to get determination within itself. In the other case, in the Religion of Nature, it was the natural immediate self-consciousness which was the primary element, and which finally embodied itself in the pictorial conception of light.

I.

THE RELIGION OF SUBLIMITY.

What this religion has in common with that of Beauty is the ideality it ascribes to the natural, which it brings into subjection to the spiritual, and further that in it God is consciously known as conscious Spirit, as Spirit whose determinations are rational and moral. God, however, in the Religion of Beauty has still a particular nature or content, or, to put it otherwise, He is merely moral Power in the manifested form of Beauty, and therefore in a manifestation which still takes place in a sensuous material, in the region of sensuous matter, the matter of the idea or ordinary conception: the region in which the manifestation takes places is not yet that of Thought. The necessity for rising higher to the Religion of Sublimity is to be found in the fact that the particular spiritual and moral forces are taken out of their state of
DEFINITE RELIGION

particularity and included within a spiritual unity. The truth of the Particular is the universal unity, which is concrete in itself in so far as it has the Particular within itself, and yet has this in itself in such a way that in its essence it is subjectivity.

The region for the play of this manifestation of reason, which, as subjectivity, is, so far as its content is concerned, universal, and is, so far as its form is concerned, free—the region in which pure subjectivity shows itself, is that of pure Thought. This pure subjectivity has been freed from the natural, and consequently from what is sensuous, whether this is found in the external world of sense or is a sensuous idea. It is the spiritual subjective unity, and it is this which first rightly gets from us the name God.

This subjective unity is not substance, but subjective unity; it is absolute Power, while the natural is merely something posited, ideal, and not independent. It does not manifest itself in any natural material, but in Thought. Thought is the mode of its definite existence or manifestation.

There is absolute power in the Hindu religion also, but the main point is that it be concretely determined within itself, and thus be the absolute wisdom. The rational characteristics of freedom, the moral characteristics, are united so as to form one characteristic, one End, and thus the characteristic of this subjectivity is holiness. Morality thus characterises itself as holiness.

The higher truth of the subjectivity of God is not the determination or characteristic of the Beautiful, in which the constituent element, the absolute content, is separated into particulars, but the characteristic of holiness; and the relation between these two determinations is similar to that between the animals and man: the animals have a particular character, but it is the character of universality which is the human moral rationality of freedom, and the unity of this rationality, a unity which has an
essential independent existence, is the true subjectivity, the subjectivity which determines itself within itself. This is wisdom and holiness. The content of the Greek gods, the moral Powers, are not holy, because they are particular and limited.

A.

THE GENERAL NATURE OF THE CONCEPTION.

The Absolute, God, is defined as the one subjectivity, pure subjectivity, and, as a consequence, as subjectivity which is universal in itself, or the reverse. This subjectivity, which is universal in itself, is clearly One only. The unity of God consists in this, that the consciousness of God is the consciousness of Him as One. The point here is not to show that the unity exists implicitly, that the unity lies at the basis of things, as is the case in the Indo-Chinese religion; for God is not posited as infinite subjectivity when His unity is merely implicit, and He is not known and does not exist for consciousness as subjectivity. God in the present case is, on the contrary, consciously known as a personal One, not as One, as in Pantheism. Thus the immediate natural mode of conceiving of God disappears, the mode, for instance, which appears in the Persian religion, in which He is thought of as light. Religion is conceived of as the religion of Spirit, but only so far as its basis is concerned, only as it exists in the region that specially belongs to it, that of Thought. This unity of God contains itself One Power, a Power which consequently is absolute, and within this all externality, and consequently all that belongs to the world of sense, that takes on the form of sense, or is a picture, disappears.

God is here without form. He does not exist in any external sensuous form. There is no image of Him. He does not exist for the sensuous idea, but, on the contrary, He exists only for thought. The infinite subjec-
tivity is the subjectivity which thinks, and, being thinking subjectivity, it exists only for thought.

(a.) God is defined as absolute power, which is wisdom. Power in its form as wisdom is, to begin with, reflected into itself as subject. This reflection into self, this self-determination of power, is the self-determination which is entirely abstract and universal, which does not yet particularise itself within itself, the determinate character being only determinateness in general. It is owing to this subjectivity which makes no distinction within itself that God is defined as One. Within this One all particularity has vanished. It is implied in this that natural things, the things which have a determinate particular character and constitute the world, have no longer any valid independent existence in their condition of immediacy. Independence is represented by One only. All else is merely something posited, dependent for its being on something else, something which is kept from existing by the One, for the One is abstract subjectivity, and all else is unsubstantial as compared with it.

(b.) The next point is the determination of the end followed out by the absolute Power. From one point of view, God is Himself His end. He is wisdom. And it is, to begin with, required of this determination that it be equal to the power. It is itself, however, merely a general end, or, to put it otherwise, wisdom is merely abstract, is merely called wisdom.

(c.) The determinateness, however, must not remain merely a determination within the Notion, but receive the form of reality also. This form is, to begin with, an immediate one. The end of God is, in fact, merely the first reality, and accordingly is a wholly single or individual end. The next step is that the end, the determinateness, should on its part be raised to the condition of concrete universality. We certainly have here pure subjectivity on the one side, but the determinateness is not yet equalised with it. This first end is thus limited,
but Man, self-consciousness, is the sphere in which it shows itself. The end must, as being a divine end, be universal, inherently and potentially universal; it must contain universality in itself. The end is thus merely human, and as yet naturally the family, which widens out into a nation. A definite nation becomes here the end set before itself by wisdom.

That God should be thus characterised as One seems to us a thought which is familiar, and not striking and important, because we are accustomed to this figurative idea of Him. The idea is formal, too, but of infinite importance, and it is not to be wondered at that the Jewish people put such a high value upon it, for the thought that God is one is the root of subjectivity, of the intellectual world, the way to truth. The essential character of absolute truth is contained in it; still it is not yet truth as truth, for development is a necessary quality of this latter, but it is the beginning of truth and the formal principle of the absolute harmony of the Absolute with itself. The One is pure power, and all that is particular is posited in Him as negative, and not as belonging to Him as such, but as inadequate to express Him, as unworthy of Him. In the religion of Nature we saw the determinateness under the aspect of natural existence, as, for example, light, and the self-consciousness of the Absolute appeared in this manifold manner. In the infinite Power, on the other hand, all this externality is annihilated. There is, therefore, an essence without form or representation which does not exist for the Other in any natural mode, but only for thought, for Spirit. This definition of the One is that formal definition of unity which forms the basis of the conception of God as Spirit, and, so far as self-consciousness is concerned, it is the root of its concrete, true content.

But it is, to begin with, nothing more than the root merely. For the point to be determined is not how many spiritual predicates—as, for example, wisdom,
goodness, mercy, are to be ascribed to the One, but what He does and really is. What we are concerned with is, the actual determination and reality. It must, therefore, be determined whether or not the action expresses the mode in which Spirit appears. If the activity is not of the kind which develops the nature of Spirit, then the subject may certainly pass for being Spirit so far as ordinary thought is concerned, but it is not itself true Spirit. The fundamental characteristic of activity here, however, is, to begin with, Power, which does not assume an outward form implying that the reality is its own reality, but rather its attitude to reality is still essentially a negative one.

B.

THE CONCRETE GENERAL IDEA OR POPULAR CONCEPTION.

(a.) The Determination of the Divine Particularisation.

First Determination.—In the divine act of judgment, God is wisdom; God's self-determination, His differentiation, or, to put it more definitely, His act of Creation, is contained in it. Spirit is simply what mediates self within self, what is active. This activity implies a distinguishing from self, an act of judgment, which, in its original meaning, is separation or division. The world is something posited by Spirit; it is made out of its nothing. The negative element in the world, however, is the affirmative element, the Creator, namely, in whom what is natural exists as the non-existent. The world, therefore, in its nothingness has sprung from the absolute fulness of the power of the Good. It has been created from its own nothingness, which, as being its Other, God is. Wisdom means that an end is present in the world, and determines it. This subjectivity, however, is what comes first, and is accordingly abstract to begin with, and con-
sequently the particularisation of God is not yet posited as being within Himself, but rather His act of judgment or separation means that He posits something, and what is thus posited and gets a definite character exists at first in the form of an immediate Other. The higher conception is certainly that of God's act of Creation within Himself, by which He is beginning and end in Himself, and thus has the moment of movement, which is here still outside of Him, in Himself, in His inner nature.

When wisdom is not abstract but concrete, and God is thought of as self-determining in such a way that He creates Himself within Himself, and preserves what is created within Himself, so that it is produced and known as permanently contained within Himself as His Son, then God is known as concrete God, truly known as Spirit.

Since, however, wisdom is as yet abstract, the act of separation, what is posited, is something which has Being, the separation or judgment has still the form of immediacy, but it has this only in so far as it is form, for God creates absolutely out of nothing. He alone is Being, what is positive. He is, however, at the same time the positing of His power. The necessity by which God is the positing of His power is the birthplace of all that is created. This necessity is the material out of which God creates; it is God Himself, and He therefore does not create out of anything material, for He is the Self, and not the immediate or material. He is not One as against an Other already existing, but is Himself the Other in the form of determinateness, which, however, because He is only One, exists outside of Him as His negative movement. The positing of Nature necessarily belongs to the notion or conception of spiritual life, of the Self, and is the sinking of intelligence into sleep. Since power is conceived of as absolute negativity, the Essence, i.e., what is identical with itself, is at first in a state of repose, of eternal calm and seclusion. But this very solitude in its
own self is merely a moment of Power, and not its totality. Power is in its very nature a negative relation to self, a mediation within self; and since it is negatively related to self, the abolition or annulling of abstract identity is the positing of difference, determinateness, i.e., it is the creation of the world. The element of nothing, out of which the world is created, is the absence of all difference, and it is in connection with this quality that Power, Essence, is first thought of. If, accordingly, it is asked where God got the material, the answer is, just in that simple relation to self. Matter is what is formless, what is identical with itself. This is merely a moment of the Essence, and is thus something different from absolute Power, and is accordingly what we call matter. The creation of the world, therefore, means the negative relation of the Power to itself, in so far as it is to begin with something which is defined as merely identical with self.

The creation by God is something very different from the act of proceeding from God, or from the idea of the world proceeding out of God. All peoples have had theogonies, or, what comes to the same thing, cosmogonies. In these the fundamental category is always procession, not the fact of something being created. It is out of Brahmā that the gods proceed, while in the cosmogonies of the Greeks, the highest, the most spiritual gods are those which have finally proceeded from some source, which have been the last so to proceed. This poor category of procession now disappears, for the Good, Absolute Power, is a Subject.

This procession does not express the true character of what is created. What thus proceeds is what exists, what actually is, and in such a way that the Ground or Essence from which it proceeds is thought of as the unessential element which has disappeared in something higher. What proceeds out of God is not thought of as something created, but as something independent, self-subsistent, not as something which has no inherent in-
dependence. This, therefore, is the form taken by the Divine self-determination, the mode of particularisation. It cannot blunder, for wisdom is necessary to the very idea of it. It is not, however, any kind of particularisation of God in Himself, otherwise God would be known as Spirit. The particularisation, just because God is One, attaches to the other aspect of existence. This particularisation is, to begin with, the Divine act of characterisation in general, and is thus Creation. This positing of the world is not transitory, but, on the contrary, what proceeds out of God preserves the character of something posited, of the creature, in fact. Thus what is created has upon it the mark of something which has no independence. This is the fundamental characteristic, and one which remains attached to it because God is conceived of as Subject, as infinite Power. Here Power exists only for the One, and thus it follows that what is particular is merely something negative, something posited, as compared with the subject.

Second Determination. — This determination means that God is hypothetically Subject. If He is not, then Creation is a vague popular conception which readily suggests the mechanical and technical methods of production used by man, and this is an idea which we must keep out of our minds. God is the First: His act of creation is an eternal creating, in which He is not a result, but that which originates. When He is conceived of in a higher way, namely, as Spirit, He is the self-creating, and does not proceed out of Himself, being both beginning and result. Here, however, God is not conceived of as Spirit. Human production, technical production, is an external process. The Subject, what is First, becomes active, and connects itself with something other than itself, and thus comes to stand in an external relation to the material which has to be manipulated, which offers resistance and has to be overcome. Both actually exist as objects which have a mutual relation to each
other. God, on the other hand, creates absolutely out of nothing, since there is nothing which was before Him.

The mode of production, therefore, in connection with which He is Subject, is intuitive, is infinite activity. In the case of human production, I am consciousness, I have an end, and know what it is, and I have, too, accordingly the material, and know that my relation to it is a relation to an "Other." Intuitive production, on the contrary, the production of Nature, belongs to the conception of Life. It is an inward act, inner activity, which has no reference to something actually existing. It is life-force, the eternal production of Nature, and Nature, speaking generally, is something posited, something created.

God is in reference to the world the totality of His determinateness, of His negation, and in reference to the totality of immediate Being, He is what is pre-supposed, the subject which remains absolutely first. Here the fundamental characteristic of God is subjectivity, which relates itself to itself, and as inherently existing permanent subjectivity it is what is first.

The derivative character of the Greek gods, who represent the spiritual element, is something which belongs to their finitude. It is this which gives them their conditional character, in accordance with which their own nature is considered as dependent on something previously existing, as is the case with the finite spirit of Nature.

This subjectivity, however, is the absolutely First, the Beginner of things, its conditional character being done away with; but it is only something which begins, and this does not mean that the subjectivity is characterised as result and as concrete Spirit.

If what was created by the absolute Subject were itself, then the difference would in that case be done away with and absorbed in this difference. The first Subject would be the last, something which resulted from itself. But this is a characteristic we have not yet got, and all we
can say is that this absolute Subject is something which begins merely—that is first or primary.

*The third determination of God in relation to the world.*

—This is expressed by what we call the attributes of God. These represent His determinate character, *i.e.*, inasmuch as we have seen that there is a particularisation of God, God's self-determination, and that this self-determination is the creation of the world, it follows that along with this there is posited the fact of a relation on the part of God to the world, or to put it otherwise, the attributes are the determinate element itself, only known in the Notion of God.

The One is something which has got determinate character, which is known as being, as not returning into God, the Other is God's being made determinate as a determinate quality of God. It is this that we are in the habit of calling by the name of attributes, God's relations to the world, and to say that we know only this relation of God to the world and do not know God Himself, is to use an unfortunate expression. It is just this which is His own determinate character, and it is this consequently which is represented by His own attributes.

It is only when things are represented in an external way and from the point of view of the senses, that anything can be said *to be*, and to be for self, in such a way that its relations to other things, its attributes, are distinguished from its existence, for it is just these which constitute its own peculiar nature. The manner in which a man stands related to others is just his nature. The acid is nothing else than the particular character of its relation to the base—that is the nature of the acid itself. If we understand the relation in which an object stands to other things, we understand the nature of the object itself.

These distinctions, therefore, are of a very inferior character, since they directly coincide as being the product of an understanding which does not know them, and is not aware what it possesses in these distinctions. This
determinateness as something external, immediate, as a determinateness of God Himself, is His absolute power, which is wisdom, the definite moments of which are goodness and righteousness.

Goodness consists in the fact that the world is: Being does not belong to it, as Being is here reduced to the condition of a moment, and is only a Being which has been posited or created. This act of dividing, of differentiation, represents the eternal goodness of God. What is thus distinguished from God has no right to be; it is external to the One, something manifold, and because of this, something limited, finite, whose essential character is not to be, but the goodness of God consists just in the fact that it is. Inasmuch as it is something which has been posited, it also passes away, is only appearance. God only is Being, the truly real; Being which excludes any of its elements, Being outside of God, has no right of existence.

God can be a Creator in the true sense only in so far as He is subjectivity, for as such He is free, and His determinate character, His self-determination, is set free. It is only what is free that can have its determinations standing over against itself as free and can give them freedom. This differentiation, whose totality is represented by the world, this Being, is The Good.

The Being of the world, however, is only the Being of Power, or, to put it otherwise, the positive reality and independence or self-existence of the world is not its own self-existence, but the self-existence of Power. The world accordingly must, in relation to the Power, be thought of as something incomplete in itself. The one side is represented by the manifoldness of the differences, the infinite realm of definite existence, the other side accordingly by the substantiality of the world, though this quality does not attach to the world itself, but is rather the identity of the Essence with itself. The world does not maintain itself independently; on the contrary, its Being-for-self, its real existence, is the
Power which maintains itself in the differences, inasmuch as it remains Being-for-self, and thus represents the Being of the world. The world is thus divided within itself; regarded from one side it is dependent, selfless difference, and regarded from the other side it is its own Being.

The manifestation of the nothingness, of the ideality of this finite existence, of the fact that Being is here not true independence—this manifestation in the form of Power, is Righteousness, and in this justice is done to finite things. Goodness and righteousness are not moments of Substance. These characteristics exist in Substance in a state of being, and they also are immediately present in it as not being, as becoming.

Here the One is not thought of as Substance, but as the personal One, as Subject, and here the determination of the end is the determinateness of the Notion itself. The world has to be, and so, too, it has to change, to pass away. Here righteousness is thought of as determination of the Subject in its self-differentiation from these determinations which belong to it, from this world which is its own world.

Creation, preservation, passing away are, in the ordinary conception of them, separated in time, but in the Notion they are essentially moments only of one process, namely, of the process of Power. The identity of Power with itself is thus the Nothing out of which the world has been created, being both the subsistence of the world and the cancelling and absorbing of this subsistence or independent existence. This identity of Power which presents itself in the Being of things, too, is both the Being of things and their Not-Being. In so far as goodness is concerned, the world exists only as having no justification for its existence in itself, as upheld and maintained in a contingent way, and in this fact is, at the same time, contained its negativity, which owes its existence to righteousness.
The characteristics indicated are certainly characteristics of the Notion itself, but the subject which possesses them has not its real nature in them. The fundamental characteristics are the One and Power, and the Notion, the inmost nature of the subject, is posited as still existing independently of the attributes. If they really belonged to it, then they would themselves be Totality, for the Notion is the absolute goodness, it shares with itself its own characteristics. In the case of their belonging to the Notion, it would be further implied that they themselves were the whole Notion, and thus it would be for the first time truly real; in which case, however, the Notion would be posited as Idea and the subject as Spirit, in which goodness and righteousness would be totalities.

But although goodness and righteousness contain the element of difference, they are not thought of as being the abiding character of Power. Power, on the contrary, is by its very nature what is without definite character, what is undetermined, i.e., it shows itself essentially powerful as against these very differences; its goodness passes over into righteousness, and vice versa. Each being posited for itself excludes the other, while the very nature of Power consists in this, that it simply does away with or cancels the determinateness.

Righteousness is the moment of negation, i.e., it makes manifest the nothingness of things. Righteousness thus understood is a characteristic, just as origination and passing away are in Siva. It simply expresses the general aspect of the process, the aspect of contingency, the nothingness of which is made plain. It does not express negation as an infinite return into self, which would be the characteristic of Spirit. Negation is here nothing more than righteousness.

(b) The Form of the World.

The world thus regarded is prosaic; it exists essentially as a collection of things. In the East, and in Greek
life particularly, a feeling of delight arises from the friendly and joyous character of the relation in which Man stands to Nature, since Man, in so far as he is related to Nature, is related to the Divine. By taking up this generous attitude he spiritualises what is natural, makes it into something Divine, gives it a soul.

This unity of the Divine and the natural, this identity of the ideal and the real, is an abstract characterisation, and is easily reached. The true identity is that which is found in infinite subjectivity, which is not conceived of as neutralisation, as a kind of mutual blunting of the characteristics of the two elements, but as infinite subjectivity, which determines itself, and sets its determinations free in the form of a world. At this stage these determinations thus set free are, in their character as things, at the same time unsubstantial or dependent, and this is indeed their true nature. They are not gods, but natural objects.

These particular moral Powers, which the higher Greek gods essentially are, possess independence only in form, because their content, owing to its particular character, is unsubstantial. This is a false form; the Being of these unsubstantial things, which are immediate regarded from the present standpoint, is really conceived of as something formal, as something unsubstantial, which comes to have Being not in the shape of absolute divine Being, but Being which is abstract, one-sided, and since it gets the character of abstract Being, it has attached to it the categories of Being, and being finite, the categories of the Understanding.

We are in the presence of prosaic things when the world thus exists for us, in the presence of external things, existing in accordance with the manifold connection of the Understanding as expressed by ground and consequence, quality, quantity, and all such-like categories of the Understanding.

Nature is here undeified, natural things have no sub-
stantiality or independence in themselves, and the Divine is only in the One. It might well seem to be a matter for regret that Nature should in any religion be undeified, and should get the character of what has no divine element in it. We are wont rather to extol the unity of the ideal and the real, the unity of Nature and God, and where natural things are considered to be freely determined as substantial and divine, it is the custom to call this the identity of ideality and reality. This is certainly the Idea, but such a determination of identity is so far very formal, it is cheaply got, and it is to be found everywhere. The main point is the further determination of this identity, and the true one is to be found only in what is spiritual, in God, who in a real way determines Himself, so that the moments of His Notion are at the same time themselves present as totality. Natural things, so far as their particular existence is concerned, have, as a matter of fact, an implicit existence; looked at through their Notion, their relation to Spirit, to the Notion, is an external one, and so too Spirit as finite, and appearing as this particular form of life, is itself external. Life, it is true, is essentially something inward, but the totality referred to, in so far as it is merely life, is external relatively to the absolute inwardsness of Spirit; abstract self-consciousness is equally finite. Natural things, the sphere of finite things, purely abstract Being, represent something which in its nature is external to itself. It is here at this stage that things get the character of externality; they appear in accordance with their Notion in their true nature. If regret be felt that such a position is assigned to Nature, it must at the same time be granted that this beautiful union of Nature and God holds good for fancy only, not for reason. Even those who object so strongly to the undeifying of Nature, and extol that identity, will all the same certainly find it very difficult to believe in a Ganga, a cow, a monkey, a sea, &c., as God. It is here, on the contrary, that a
foundation is laid for a more rational way of looking at things and at their connection.

This, however, is not as yet the place at which to give to this form of conscious thought theoretic completeness and make it knowledge. In order to do this, there must exist a concrete interest for things, and the Essence must be conceived of not merely as universal, but also as determinate Notion. The definite theoretic view of things cannot exist alongside of the popular idea of abstract wisdom and of one limited end.

The relation of God to the world in general is thus defined as His immediate manifestation in it in a particular, individual way, for a definite end in a limited sphere, and it is at this point that the definite conception of miracles comes in. In the earlier religions there are no miracles; in the religion of India everything has been in a deranged state from the very start. The idea of miracle comes in first in connection with the thought of opposition to the order of Nature, to the laws of Nature even when these have not as yet been discovered, but when there is only the consciousness of a natural connection between things of a general character. It is here we first meet with the miraculous, and the idea which is formed of it is that God manifests Himself in some individual thing, and does this at the same time in opposition to the essential character of this thing.

The true miracle in Nature is the manifestation of Spirit, and the true manifestation of Spirit is fundamentally the Spirit of Man and his consciousness of the rationality of Nature, his consciousness that in these scattered elements, and in these manifold contingent things, conformity to law and reason are essentially present. In this religion, however, the world appears as a complexity of natural things which affect each other in a natural way, and stand in an intelligible connection with each other, and the necessity for miracles is present so long as that connection is not conceived of as the
objective nature of things, i.e., so long as God's manifestation in them is not thought of as eternal universal laws of Nature, and so long as His activity is not thought of as essentially universal. The rational connection which is first reached at this stage is only objective connection, and what it means is that the individual thing as such exists in its finiteness for itself, and is consequently in an external relation.

Miracle is still conceived of as an accidental manifestation of God; the universal absolute relation of God to the natural world is, on the other hand, sublimity. We cannot call the infinite Subject conceived of in itself and in its relation to itself, sublime, for so thought of, it is in its essential nature absolute and holy. The idea of sublimity first comes in in connection with the manifestation and relation of this Subject to the world, and when the world is thought of as a manifestation of the Subject, though as a manifestation which is not affirmative, or as one which, while it is indeed affirmative, has yet its main characteristic in this, that what is natural, what is of the world, is negated as inadequate to express the Subject, and is known as such.

Sublimity is therefore this particular appearing and manifestation of God in the world, and it may be defined thus. This act of manifestation shows itself at the same time as sublime, as raised above this manifestation in reality. In the Religion of Beauty there is a reconciliation of the signification with the material, of the sensuous mode and Being for an "Other." The spiritual manifests itself entirely in this external way. This external mode is a symbol of what is inner, and this inner something is completely known in its external form.

The sublimity of the manifestation, on the other hand, directly destroys reality, the matter and material which belong to it. In His manifestation God directly distinguishes Himself from it, so that it is expressly known to be inadequate to manifest Him. The One has not therefore His complete Being and essential existence in the
externality of the manifestation as the gods of the Religion of Beauty have, and the inadequacy of the manifestation is not something of which there is no consciousness, but, on the contrary, it is expressly posited along with consciousness as inadequacy.

It is not accordingly enough to constitute sublimity that the content, the Notion, be higher than the outward Form, even if this latter be exaggerated and stretched beyond its natural measure, but what manifests itself must also be the Power which is above the outward form. In the religion of India the representations of the Divine are devoid of measure, and yet they are not sublime but are rather a distortion, or, it may be, they are not distorted, as, for instance, the cow and the ape, which express the entire power of Nature, yet the signification and the outward form are not proportionate to each other; they are not sublime, however, for indeed it is this want of mutual proportion which is the greatest defect. It is accordingly necessary that the Power be at the same time put above the outward form.

Man in a state of natural consciousness can have natural things present before him, but his spirit does not suit with such a content. The mere act of looking around gives nothing sublime, but rather the glance towards heaven which is above and beyond what lies around. This sublimity is in a special sense the character of God in relation to natural things. The Old Testament Scriptures are extolled because of the presence in them of this sublimity. "And God said, Let there be light, and there was light." Here we have one of the sublimest passages. The Word represents the greatest possible absence of effort, and this breathing is here at the same time light, the world of light, the infinite pouring forth of light; and thus light is degraded to the rank of a word, to something so transitory as a word. God is further represented as using the wind and the lightning as servants and messengers, Nature is so obedient to Him. It
is said, "From Thy breath the worlds proceed; before Thy threatenings they flee away; if Thou openest Thine hand, they are filled with good; if Thou hidest Thy face, they are troubled; if Thou holdest in Thy breath, they pass away into dust; if Thou sendest it forth, they spring up again." Sublimity consists in this, that Nature is represented as thus entirely negated, in subjection, transitory.

C.

THE END GOD WORKS OUT IN THE WORLD.

First Determination.—The determination of the end appears here as the essential one that God is wise, to begin with—wise in Nature generally. Nature is His creature, and He lets His power be known in it, though not His power only, but His wisdom as well. This wisdom reveals itself in what it produces by the presence of arrangement in accordance with an end.

This end has rather the character of something indeterminate, superficial; the conformity to an end is rather of an external kind, "Thou givest to the beast its food." The true end and the true realisation of the end are not present within Nature as such, but rather they are essentially to be found in consciousness. He manifests Himself in Nature, but His essential appearing is that He appears in consciousness, in His reflection or reappearance, in such a way that in self-consciousness it reappears that His end is just to be known by consciousness, and that He is an end for consciousness.

Sublimity, to begin with, gives only the general idea of power, and not as yet that of an end. The end is not only the One, the truth rather being that only God Himself can be His end, and this means that His Notion becomes objective for Him, and that He possesses Himself in the realisation. This is the universal end in general. If, accordingly, turning our attention to the world, to
Nature, we here seek to regard it as the end of God, then we see that it is His power only that is manifested in it, it is only His power that becomes objective to Him in it, and wisdom is as yet quite abstract. When we speak of an end, it must not be thought of as simply power; it must have a really determinate character. Spirit is, in fact, the region in which it can be present, and since God is end in Spirit as consciousness, in Spirit which is posited over against Him, and here, therefore, in the finite spirit as such, His end in the finite spirit is His representation, His recognition. God here has the finite spirit over against Him. Being-other, or otherness, is not as yet posited as having absolutely returned into itself. The finite spirit is essentially consciousness. God must, therefore, be an object of consciousness as being the Essence, i.e., in such a way as to be acknowledged and extolled. It is the glory of God which is, to begin with, His end. God’s reflex presence in self-consciousness, taken generally, is not yet known. God is only recognised, but if He is also to be really known or cognised, then it is necessary that He, as Spirit, should posit differences in Himself. Here He has as yet only the abstract characterisations referred to.

Thus at this stage the thought that religion, as such, is the end, is an essential characteristic, which means that God becomes consciously known in self-consciousness, that He is object in it, and has an affirmative relation to it. He is God as being infinite power and subjectivity in Himself. The second point is that He manifests Himself, and that this should be essentially in another spirit, which, as finite, stands in an objective relation to Him. Thus the characteristic which comes in here is the acknowledgment and exaltation of God, the glory of God, His universal glory, for not only the Jewish nation, but the whole earth, all peoples, all nations are to praise the Lord. This end, namely, that He should be recognised, known, honoured by consciousness, may, to start
with, be called the theoretic end. Its more definite form is that of the practical end, the peculiarly real end, which realises itself in the world, but always in the spiritual world.

Second Determination.—This essential end is the moral end, morality, signifying that Man, in what he does, has present to his mind what is in accordance with law, what is right. This element of law of what is right is the Divine element, and in so far as it belongs to the world, and is present in finite consciousness, it is something which has been posited by God.

God is the Universal. The man who guides himself and his will in accordance with this universal is the free man, and thus represents the universal will, and not his own particular morality. The doing of what is right is here the fundamental characteristic, walking before God, freedom from selfish ends, the righteousness which has worth before God.

Man does what is thus declared to be right in reference to God with a view to the glory of God. This right-doing has its seat in the will, in the inner nature of man; and, in contrast to this exercise of will in reference to God, we have the natural state of existence, of Man, and of what acts.

Just as we saw that in Nature there was a broken up or disjointed state of things, that God existed independently while Nature had Being, but was yet something in subjection, so too we see exactly the same distinction in the human spirit; we have right-doing as such, then, again the natural existence of Man. This, however, is equally something determined by means of the spiritual relation of the will, just as Nature in general is something posited by the absolute Spirit.

The natural existence of Man, his outward worldly existence, is placed in direct relation to what is inward. If this will of his is a substantial, essential will, action is right action; and so, too, Man's external existence
ought to be in keeping with this something which is inward and right. It can go well with Man only according to his works, and he must not only conduct himself morally in a general way, respect the laws of his country, and sacrifice himself for his country, happen what may, but there arises a definite demand that it should also go well with whoever does right.

An essential point here is that real existence, definite Being in an external form, be made to correspond with, brought into subjection to, and determined in accordance with, what is inner and right. This essential condition enters here in consequence of, and on the basis of, the fundamental relation of God to the natural finite world.

There is here an end, and one which must be carried out, namely, this difference, which must at the same time come to be in a state of harmony, so as to show that natural existence governs itself, and bears witness to what is essential, to what is spiritual. So far as Man is concerned, he must be determined, governed, by what is truly inward, by right-doing.

In this way the well-being of Man is divinely guaranteed, but it is so guaranteed only in so far as it is in conformity with the Divine, the moral, divine law. This is the band of necessity, which, however, is no longer blind, as we shall see it is in other religions, where it is only the empty indeterminate necessity from which the Notion is absent, so that the Concrete is outside of it. The gods, the moral Powers, are subject to necessity, but the necessity is not characterised by the presence in it of what is moral and right.

Here necessity is concrete, in the sense that what has essential Being, Being in and for itself, gives laws, wills the Right, the Good, and as a consequence of this, this Being has an affirmative definite Being which is adequate to it, an existence which is a state of well-being or welfare. It is this kind of harmony of which Man is conscious in this sphere of thought.
It is on this that is founded the belief that it must, nay, that it ought, to go well with him. He is an end for God, and he is this as being a whole. And yet he, as constituting a whole, is himself something differentiated or distinct, since he has the power of willing and an external existence. The conscious subject now knows that God is the bond of this necessity, that He is this unity which brings about a state of well-being proportionate to the well-doing, and that this connection exists, for the divine universal will is at the same time the will which is determined in itself, and has consequently the power to bring about that connection.

The consciousness that these are thus joined together constitutes that faith, that confidence, which is a fundamental and praiseworthy trait of the Jewish people. The Old Testament Scriptures, the Psalms especially, are full of this confidence.

This, too, is the line of thought which is represented in the Book of Job, the only book the connection of which with the standpoint of the Jewish people is not sufficiently recognised. Job extols his innocence, finds his destiny unjust, he is discontented, i.e., there is in him a contradiction—the consciousness of the righteousness which is absolute, and the want of correspondence between his condition and this righteousness. It is recognised as being an end which God has that He makes things go well with the good man.

What the argument points to is that this discontent, this despondency, ought to be brought under the control of pure and absolute confidence. Job asks, "What doth God give me as a reward from on high? Should it not be the unrighteous man who is rejected thus?" His friends answer in the same sense, only they put it in the reverse way, "Because thou art unhappy, therefore we conclude that thou art not righteous." God does this in order that He may protect man from the sin of pride.

God Himself at last speaks: "Who is this that talks
thus without understanding? Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?" Then comes a very beautiful and magnificent description of God's power, and Job says, "I know it; he is a man without knowledge who thinks he may hide his counsel." This subjection is what is finally reached; on the one hand, there is the demand that it should go well with the righteous, and on the other, even the feeling of discontent when this is not the case, has to be given up. It is this resignation, this acknowledgment of God's power, which restores to Job his property and the happiness he had before. It is on this acknowledgment of God's power that there follows the re-establishment of his happiness. Still, at the same time, this good fortune is not regarded as something which can be demanded by finite man as a right, independent of the power of God.

This confidence in God, this unity, and the consciousness of this harmony of the power, and at the same time of the wisdom and righteousness of God, is based on the thought that God is determined within Himself as end, and has an end.

We have further to consider in this connection this fact, that Spirit becomes inward, the movement of Spirit within itself. Man must do right. That is the one absolute command, and this doing of what is right has its seat in his will. Man is by this means thrown back upon his inner nature, and he must occupy himself in thus considering his inner life, and finding out whether it is righteous, whether or not his will is good.

This examination into and anxiety about what is wrong, the crying of the soul after God, this descent into the depths of the spirit, this yearning of the spirit after what is right, after what is in conformity with the will of God, is something specially characteristic of this form of religion.

This end further appears as being at the same time limited. The end is, that men should know and acknow-
ledge God, that what they do they should do for the glory of God; that what they will should be in accordance with God's will, and that their will should be a true will. This end has, at the same time, a limitation attached to it, and we have to consider in how far this limitation belongs to the essential nature of God, to what extent the conception, the ordinary idea of God itself, still contains this limitation.

If the ordinary or popular idea of God is limited, those further realisations of the divine conception in human consciousness are limited also. What is always most essential, but is also most difficult, is to understand the presence of the limitation in One, and to recognise that it is at the same time a limitation of the Idea, and in such a way that this latter does not yet appear as the absolute Idea.

God, as the one who determines Himself in His freedom and according to His freedom in such a way that what is spiritual is free, is wisdom; but this wisdom, this end, is at first merely end and wisdom in general. The wisdom of God, His self-determination, have not yet received their development. This development within the Idea of God is first found in the religion in which the nature of God is entirely revealed.

The defect of this Idea is that though God is the One, He is this in Himself only in the determinateness of His unity, and is not what eternally develops itself within itself. There is not as yet any developed determination. What we call wisdom is so far something abstract—abstract universality.

The real end which we have is the first end. It exists as an end of God in Spirit as actual, and thus it must have universality in itself, it must be a divine and true end in itself, and one which has substantial universality. A substantial end in Spirit means that the spiritual individuals know themselves to be one, and act towards each other as one and are in unity. The end is
a moral one, and it finds its sphere in real freedom. It is that part of thought in which what is practical comes into play, an end in actual consciousness. It is, however, a first end, and the morality connected with it is of the immediate natural kind. The end is thus the family and the connection of the family. It is this one particular family exclusive of all others.

The real immediate first end of divine wisdom is thus still quite limited, quite particular, just because it is the first end. God is absolute wisdom, but He is this in the sense of being entirely abstract wisdom, or, to put it otherwise, the end in the divine notion is one which is as yet purely general, and is consequently an end devoid of content. This indeterminate end thus devoid of content, changes in actual existence into immediate particularity, into the most perfect limitation; or, in other words, the state of potentiality in which wisdom still exists is itself immediacy, naturalness.

God's real end is thus the family, and in fact this particular family, for the idea of many single families already gives proof of the extension of the thought of singleness by means of reflection. We have here a noteworthy, and absolutely rigid contrast—indeed, the most rigid possible contrast. God is, on the one hand, the God of heaven and of earth, absolute wisdom, universal power, and the end aimed at by this God is at the same time so limited that it concerns only one family, only this one people. All peoples, it is true, ought also to acknowledge Him and praise His name, but His actual work and that which has been really accomplished consists of this particular people only, regarded in their general condition and definite existence, in their inner and outer, political and moral actually existing condition. God is thus only the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God who has brought us out of Egypt. Since God is only One, He is present also only in one universal spirit, in one family, in one world. The families as families come
first, those which were brought out of Egypt are the nation, and here it is the heads of the family who constitute the definite element of the end. Universality is thus still something natural, and the end is accordingly only human, and is therefore the family. Religion is thus patriarchal, and it is accordingly the family which expands into the people. A nation means a people, because, to begin with, it has its origin in Nature. This is the limited end, and in reference to all others it is exclusively the divine end.

The five Books of Moses start with the creation of the world, and immediately after we come upon the Fall, which has to do with the nature of man as man. This universal element present in the creation of the world, and next that fall of man, and of man in his generic character, are ideas which have had no influence on the form subsequently taken by the Jewish religion. We have merely this prophecy, the universal element in which did not become a truth for the Israelitish people. God is only the God of this people, not the God of men, and this people is God’s people.

It may be further remarked, with the view of making more generally intelligible the connection between the universal wisdom of God in itself and the completely limited nature of the real end, that when man wills the universal good, and has this as his end, he has made his arbitrary will the principle of his resolves and his acts. For this universal good, this universal end, does not contain within itself the Other, the Particular. When, however, it is necessary to act, then this real end demands something determinate, and this determinateness lies outside of the Notion, since the latter has no such determinateness in itself, but is still abstract, and the particular end is for this reason not yet sanctified, because it has not yet been taken up into the universal end of the Good.

In politics, if it is only universal laws which are to hold sway, then the governing element is force, the arbi-
trary will of the individual. The law is real only in so far as it is made particular, for it is through its being made particular that the universal first becomes something living.

The other peoples are shut out from this single real end. The People has its own peculiar nationality, and consists of certain families and the members of these. This privilege of belonging to the People, and consequently of standing to God in this relation, rests on birth. This naturally demands a special constitution, special laws, ceremonies, and worship.

The peculiarity connected with the end is further developed so as to include the possession of a special district. This district or soil must be divided amongst the different families, and is inalienable, so that the excluding of other peoples results in gaining this wholly empirical and external Present. This exclusion is, in the first instance, not polemical, but, on the other hand, it is the special possession which is the reality, the individual enjoyment of this individual people, and the relation of the individual people to the almighty, all-wise God. It is not polemical, i.e., the other peoples can also be brought into this relation to adore God in this way. They ought to glorify the Lord, but that they should come to do this is not a real end. The obligation is only ideal and not practical. This real end appears first in Mohamme-danism, where the particular end is raised to the rank of a general one, and thus becomes fanatical.

Fanaticism, it is true, is found amongst the Jews as well, but it comes into play only in so far as their possession, their religion, is attacked, and it comes into play then because it is only this one end which is by its very nature exclusive and will tolerate no accommodation to anything different, no fellowship, no intercourse with it.

Third Determination.—Man is exalted above all else in the whole creation. He is something which knows, perceives, thinks. He is thus the image of God in a
sense quite other than that in which the same is true of the world. What is experienced in religion is God, He who is thought, and it is only in thought that God is worshipped.

In the religion of the Parsis we had dualism, and the idea of contrast implied in this we have in the Jewish religion as well. The contrast or opposition does not, however, occur in God, but is found in the spirit which is His “Other.” God is Spirit, and what He has produced, namely, the world, is also Spirit, and it is in this latter that He is in Himself the “Other” of His essence. What is involved in finitude is, that in it difference appears as division. In the world God is at home with Himself; it is good, for the Nothing or non-existence which belongs to it, and out of which the world has been created, is the Absolute itself. The world, however, as representing this first act of judgment, of separation, on God’s part, does not get the length of being absolute contrast. It is only Spirit which is capable of being this absolute contrast, and it is this which gives it its depth. The contrast or opposition exists within the other spirit, which is consequently the finite spirit. This is the place where the contest between good and evil goes on, and it is the place, too, in which this fight must be fought out. All these characteristics arise out of the nature of the Notion. This opposition is a difficult point, for it constitutes the contradiction, which may be stated thus: the Good is not contradictory in virtue of its own nature, but rather it is by means of evil that contradiction first enters, and it occurs only in evil. But then the question arises: How has evil come into the world? At this stage such a question has both meaning and interest. In the religion of the Parsis this question cannot occasion any difficulty, for there the Evil exists quite as much as the Good. Both have sprung from something which is devoid of all definite character. Here, on the other hand, where God is power and the one Subject, and where everything depends for its existence
solely on Him, evil is a contradiction, for God is certainly the absolute Good. An old pictorial representation of this, namely, the Fall, has been preserved in the Bible. This well-known account of how evil came into the world is in the form of a myth, and appears at the same time in the guise of a parable. Of course when a speculative idea, something true, is thus represented in a sensuous figure, in the form of something which has actually happened, it can hardly miss having certain traits about it which don't fittingly express the truth itself. You find the same thing in Plato when he speaks in pictorial language of the Ideas, for there, too, the inadequacy of the picture to express the truth is apparent. This is how the narrative runs:—After the creation of Adam and Eve in Paradise, God forbade the first human beings to eat of a certain tree. The serpent, however, misleads them, and gets them to eat of it by saying, "You will become like God." God then imposes a severe penalty on them, but at the same time says, "See, Adam is become as one of us, for he knows what is good and evil." Looked at from this particular side, man, according to God's declaration, has become God, but regarded from the other side, this means that God has cut off man's chance of reaching Him by this path, inasmuch as He drives him out of Paradise. This simple story may, to begin with, be taken as embodying something like the following meaning. God laid down a command, and man, impelled by a boundless feeling of pride which led him to wish to be equal to God (a thought which came to him from the outside), transgresses this command, and for his miserable silly pride it was ordained that he should be severely punished. God laid down that command formally only, with the view of putting him in circumstances in which his obedience might be proved.

According to this explanation, everything takes place in accordance with the ordinary finite laws of cause and effect. God, undoubtedly, forbids evil, but such a pro-
hibitation is something wholly different from the prohibition to eat of a certain tree. What God wills or does not will must represent His true eternal nature. Such a prohibition is further thought of as having been imposed only on a single individual, and man justly rebels against being punished for guilt that is not his own—he will only answer for what he has done himself.

On the other hand, in the story, regarded as a whole, there is a deep philosophical meaning. It is Adam, or man in general, who appears in this narrative. What is here related concerns the nature of man himself, and it is not a formal childish command which God lays on him, for the tree of which Adam is not to eat is called the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and thus the idea of a tree with an outward definite form disappears. Man eats of it, and he attains to the knowledge of good and evil. The difficulty, however, is that it is said God forbade man to reach this knowledge, for it is just this knowledge which constitutes the character of Spirit. Spirit is Spirit only through consciousness, and it is just in this knowledge that consciousness in its highest form is found. How, then, could this prohibition have been given? Cognition, knowledge, represents this two-sided dangerous gift. Spirit is free, and to this freedom good as well as evil is referred, and it thus contains the power of arbitrary choice to do what is evil. This is the negative side attaching to the affirmative side of freedom referred to. Man, it is said, was in a state of innocence; this is, in fact, the condition of the natural consciousness, but it must be done away with as soon as the consciousness of Spirit actually appears. That represents eternal history, and the nature of man. He is at first natural and innocent, and incapable, consequently, of having moral acts attributed to him. In the child there is no freedom, and yet it belongs to the essential character of man that he should once more reach innocence. What is his final destiny is here represented as his primitive condi-
tion—the harmony between man and the Good. The defect in this pictorial representation is that this unity is described as a condition of immediate Being. It is necessary to pass out of this condition of original naturalness, but the state of separation or disunion which then arises has to pass into a state of reconciliation again. Here this idea of reconciliation is represented by the thought that man ought not to have passed beyond that first condition. In the whole of this pictorial account, what is inward is expressed in terms of what is outward, and what is necessary in terms of what is contingent. The serpent says that Adam will become like God, and God confirms the truth of this, and adds His testimony that it is this knowledge which constitutes likeness to God. This is the profound idea lodged in the narrative.

But further, a punishment is next inflicted on man. He is driven out of Paradise, and God says, “Cursed be the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat what it brings forth to thee; thorns and thistles shall it bear to thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread, and thou shalt return unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.”

We have to recognise that here we have the consequences of finitude; but, on the other hand, the greatness of man just consists in the fact that he eats his bread in the sweat of his brow, and that through his own activity, his work, and the exercise of his understanding, he wins sustenance for himself. Animals have the happy lot, if you like to call it so, of being supplied by Nature with what they need. Man, on the other hand, elevates what is necessary to this natural life to the rank of something connected with his freedom. This is just the employment of his freedom, though it is not the highest form in which he employs it, for that consists rather in knowing and willing the Good. The fact that man regarded from the natural side is also free, is involved in his nature, and is
not to be considered as in itself punishment. The sorrow of the natural life is essentially connected with the greatness of the character and destiny of man. For him who is not yet acquainted with the loftier nature of Spirit, it is a sad thought that man must die, and this natural sorrow is, as it were, for him what is final. The lofty nature and destiny of Spirit, however, just consists in the fact that it is eternal and immortal; still, this greatness of man, this greatness of consciousness, is not yet contained in this narrative, for it is said: God said, "And now, lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever" (iii. 22). Then further (v. 19), "Till thou return unto the ground whence thou wast taken." The consciousness of the immortality of Spirit is not yet present in this religion.

In the entire narrative of the Fall these grand features are present in what has the appearance of being an illogical form, owing to the pictorial style in which the whole is presented to us. The advance out of the merely natural life, and the necessity for the entrance of the consciousness of good and evil, constitute the lofty thought to which God Himself here gives utterance. What is defective in the account is that death is described in such a way as to leave the impression that there is no place for consolation in regard to it. The fundamental note of the account is that man ought not to be natural, and in this is contained the thought expressed in true theology, that man is by nature evil. Evil consists in resting in this natural state; man must advance out of this state by exercising his freedom, his will. The further development of this thought accordingly involves that Spirit should once more attain to absolute unity within itself, to a state of reconciliation, and freedom is just what contains this turning back of Spirit into itself, this reconciliation with itself. Here, however, this conversion or turning back has not yet taken place; the difference has not yet been taken up into God, i.e., has not yet reached
a state of reconciliation. The abstraction of evil has not yet disappeared.

It has to be observed further that this story ceased to have a living interest for the Jewish people, and that it did not receive any further development in the Books of the Hebrews. If we except some allusions in the later apocryphal books, it is not mentioned, speaking generally, in the others. For a long time it lay unworked, and it was in Christianity that it was first to attain its true significance. Still it cannot at all be said that man's conflict within himself is something which did not exist amongst the Jewish people. On the contrary, it constitutes an essential characteristic of the religious spirit amongst the Hebrews, but it was not conceived of in the speculative sense as implying that it arises from the nature of man himself, being represented rather as contingent, as taking place in single individuals. In contrast to the sinner and the man who is in conflict with himself, we get the picture of the righteous man, in whom evil and the conflict with it are represented as not being an essential moment in his life, but rather righteousness is thought of as consisting in the doing of God's will, and in being steadfast in the service of Jehovah by observing the moral commandments connected alike with the precepts of ritual and the requirements of state law. Still the conflict of man within himself is apparent everywhere, especially in the Psalms of David. Sorrow cries out of the innermost depths of the soul conscious of its sinfulness, and as a consequence we find the most sorrowful prayers for pardon and reconciliation. This deep sorrow is thus undoubtedly present, but it appears rather as belonging to the single individual than as something which is known to be an eternal moment of Spirit.

These are the principal moments of the religion of the One, so far as they concern particularisation and the determination of an end on the part of the One. This latter determination brings us to worship.
D.

WORSHIP.

God has essentially a relation to self-consciousness, since it is the finite spirit which constitutes the sphere in which His end appears. We have now to consider the religious sentiment or feeling of religion as seen in this self-consciousness. The mediation which it needs, in so far as it is feeling, is the positing of the identity, which is potentially posited, and is thus the mediating movement. This feeling represents the most inward movement of self-consciousness.

1. Self-consciousness brings itself into relation with the One, and is thus, to begin with, intuition, pure thought of the pure Essence as pure power and absolute Being, alongside of which nothing else of equal value can be put. This pure thought, therefore, as reflection into self, as self-consciousness, is self-consciousness with the character of infinite Being for self, or freedom, but freedom devoid of all concrete content. This self-consciousness is thus as yet distinct from real consciousness, and nothing of all the concrete characteristics of spiritual and natural life, of the fulness of consciousness, of the impulses, inclinations, and of all that belongs to the realm of spiritual relations, nothing of all this has as yet been taken up into the consciousness of freedom. The reality of life has still a place outside of the consciousness of freedom, and this last is not yet rational, it is still abstract, and no full, concrete, divine consciousness is as yet in existence.

Since, therefore, self-consciousness exists only as consciousness, while, however, in the way of an object for the simplicity of thought there exists as yet no corresponding object, and since the determinateness of consciousness has not yet been taken up into it, the Ego is an object for itself only in its abstract state of unity with itself only as immediate particularity. Self-conscious-
ness is accordingly devoid of expansion and extension, devoid of all concrete specification, and God as infinite power is also without determinate character in Himself, and there is no third thing, no definite form of existence in which they might meet. So far it is a condition of unmediated relation, and the two contrasted elements—the relation to the One in pure thought and intuition, and abstract return into self, Being for self,—are immediately united. Since, then, self-consciousness, as distinguished from its object, which is pure thought and can only be grasped in thought, is empty, formal self-consciousness, naked and devoid of specific character in itself, and since, further, all real concrete specification belongs to power only, in this absolute contrast the pure freedom of self-consciousness is turned into absolute absence of freedom, or, in other words, self-consciousness is the self-consciousness of a servant in relation to a master. The fear of the Lord is the fundamental characteristic of the relation which here exists.

I have a general feeling of fear produced by the idea of a Power above me, which negates my value as a person, whether that value appears in an outward or in an inward way as something belonging to me. I am without fear when, on the one hand, in virtue of possessing an invulnerable independence, I disregard the force above me, and know myself to be power as against it in such a way that it has no influence over me; and, on the other hand, I am without fear too when I disregard those interests which this Power is in a position to destroy, and in this way remain uninjured even when I am injured. Fear has commonly a bad meaning attached to it, as if it implied that the person who experiences fear did not wish to represent himself as power, and was not capable of doing so. But the fear here spoken of is not the fear of what is finite or of finite force. The finite is contingent power, which, apart from any fear felt, can seize and injure me; but, on the other hand, the fear
here spoken of is the fear of the Unseen, of the Absolute, the counterpart of my consciousness, the consciousness of the self which is infinite as opposed to me the finite self. Before the consciousness of this Absolute, as being the one single purely negative Power, special forces of any kind disappear, everything which has the mark of the earthly nature upon it simply perishes. This fear, in the form of this absolute negativity of oneself, is the elevation of consciousness to the pure thought of the absolute power of the One. And this fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, which consists in not allowing the particular, the finite by itself, to have a valid existence as something independent. What has a valid existence can have this only as a moment in the organisation of the One, and the One is the abrogation of all that is finite. This wise fear is the one essential moment of freedom, and consists in being freed from all that is particular, in breaking away from all accidental interests, and in general, in the feeling on man’s part of the negativity of all that is particular. It is accordingly not a particular fear of any particular thing, but, on the contrary, it consists in the positing of this particular fear as a thing of nought; it is deliverance from fear. Thus fear is not the feeling of dependence, but rather it is the stripping oneself of dependence of every kind; it is pure surrender of self to the absolute Self, in contrast to which and into which the particular self melts away and disappears.

In this way, however, the subject is only in the infinite One. Absolute negativity, however, is relation to self, affirmation; by means of absolute fear the Self accordingly exists, and exists in its self-surrender, in the absolutely positive. Fear in this way changes into absolute confidence, infinite faith. At another stage confidence can take the form of a state in which the individual relies upon himself. This is the stoical freedom in chains. Here, however, freedom does not as yet
take on this form of subjectivity, but rather self-consciousness has to sink itself in the One, while this latter, again, represented as the Other, is the principle of repulsion, in which self-consciousness regains its self-certainty. This process can be conceived of under the following form.

The state of servitude is, in fact, self-consciousness, reflection into self and freedom, which, however, is devoid of all general extension and rationality, and finds its determinateness, its content, in the immediate sensuous self-consciousness. It is the "I" as this particular individual, in immediate particularity, which is accordingly end and content. In the relation in which he stands to his Lord the servant finds his absolute, essential self-consciousness, and in view of Him he annihilates everything in himself. It is, however, just because of this that he regains his position as existing absolutely for himself, and his particularity or individuality just because it has been taken up into that intuition of the Absolute and is made to form its concrete side, is, owing to this relation, absolutely justified. The fear in which the servant regards himself as nothing, gains for him the restoration of his justification. But because the servile consciousness rests obstinately on its particularity, and because its particularity has been taken up into the unity immediately, it is exclusive, and God is—-

2. The exclusive Lord and God of the Jewish people.

It need not surprise us that an Oriental nation should limit religion to itself, and that this religion should appear as absolutely connected with its nationality, for we see this in Eastern countries in general. The Greeks and the Romans were the first to adopt foreign forms of worship, and all kinds of religion were introduced amongst the latter, and did not rank as national. In Oriental countries, however, religion is essentially closely connected with nationality. The Chinese, the Persians, have their State religion, which is for them only. Amongst
the Hindus birth determines for every individual even his rank and his relation to Brähma, and accordingly they do not in any way demand that others should adopt their religion; in fact, amongst the Hindus, such a demand has no meaning whatever, since, according to their ideas, all the various peoples of the earth belong to their religion, and foreign nations are reckoned collectively as belonging to a particular caste. Still this exclusiveness is rightly regarded as more striking in the case of the Jewish people, for such strong attachment to nationality is in complete contradiction with the idea that God is to be conceived of only in universal thought, and not in one particular characterisation. Amongst the Persians God is The Good. That is also a universal characteristic; but it is itself still in the condition of immediacy, consequently God is identical with light, and that is a form of particularity. The Jewish God exists only for Thought, and that stands in contrast with the idea of the limitation of God to the nation. It is true that amongst the Jewish people, too, consciousness rises to the thought of universality, and this thought is given expression to in several places. Psalm cxvii. 1: "O praise the Lord, all ye nations, praise him, all ye peoples. For his grace and truth are great toward us to all eternity." The glory of God is to be made manifest amongst all peoples, and it is in the later prophets particularly that this universality makes its appearance as a higher demand. Isaiah makes God even say, "Of the heathen who shall honour Jehovah will I make priests and Levites;" and a similar idea is expressed also in the words, "In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." All this, however, comes later. According to the dominant fundamental idea, the Jewish people are the chosen people, and the universality is thus reduced to particularity. But as we have already seen above in the development of the Divine end how the limitation attached to this is based on the limitation
which is still involved in the characterisation of God, so
now this limitation is explained for us from the nature of
the servile consciousness; and we see too, now, how this
particularity arises from the subjective side. This hon-
ouring and recognition of Jehovah is something which is
peculiar to them, those servants, and they have them-
selves the consciousness that it is peculiar to them.

This harmonises, too, with the history of the people.
The Jewish God is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and
of Jacob, the God who brought the Jews out of Egypt,
and there is not the slightest trace of the thought that
God may have done other things as well, and that He
has acted in an affirmative way amongst other peoples
too. Here, therefore, it is from the subjective side,
from the side of worship, that the idea of particularity
comes in, and in any case it can be said that God is
the God of those who honour Him, for it is God's
nature to be known in the subjective spirit, and to
know Himself there. This is a moment which essen-
tially belongs to the idea of God. The act of knowing,
of acknowledging, belongs essentially to this characterisa-
tion or determination. This often comes out in what is
for us a distorted way, when, for instance, God is said
to be mightier and stronger than the other gods, exactly
as if there were gods besides Him; for the Jews, however,
these are false gods.

There is this particular nation which honours Him,
and so He is the God of this nation, its Lord, in fact.
It is He who is known as the Creator of heaven and
earth, He has set bounds and limits for everything and
bestowed on everything its peculiar nature, and so too He
has given to man his proper place and his rights. This
expresses the characterisation according to which He as
Lord gives His people laws, laws which have to do with
the entire sphere of their actions, both the universal
laws, the Ten Commandments—which are the universal,
ethical, legal, fundamental, characteristics of lawgiving
and morality, and which are not held to be laws given by reason, but rather laws written down by God—and also all the rest of the State laws and regulations. Moses is called the lawgiver of the Jews, but he was not to the Jews what Lycurgus and Solon were to the Greeks, for these two gave as men their own laws. He only made the laws of Jehovah known; it was Jehovah Himself who, according to the story, engraved them on the stone. Attached to the most trifling regulations, the arrangement of the tabernacle, the usages in connection with sacrifices, and everything relating to all other kinds of ceremonial, you find in the Bible the formula "Jehovah saith." All law is given by the Lord, and is thus entirely positive commandment. There is in it a formal, absolute authority. The particular elements in the political system are not, speaking generally, developed out of the universal end, nor is it left to man to give it its special character, for the Unity does not permit human caprice, human reason, to exist alongside of it, and political change is in every instance called a falling away from God; but, on the other hand, the particular laws, as being something given by God, are regarded as eternally established. And here the eternal laws of what is right, of morality, are placed in the same rank and stated in an equally positive form with the most trifling regulations. This constitutes a strong contrast to the conception which we have of God. Worship is now the service of God; the good man, the righteous man, is he who performs this service, by keeping and observing both the moral commandments and also the ceremonial laws. This is the service of the Lord.

The people of God is accordingly a people adopted by covenant and contract on the conditions of fear and service. That is to say, the self-conscious community is no longer an original and immediate unity in union with the Essence, as is the case in the Religion of Nature. The external form of the Essence in the Religion of Nature is only a pictorial representation of Nature, an
outer covering which does not truly separate the two sides of what constitutes the religious relation, and is therefore only an unessential separation of the two, only a superficial distinction. The present standpoint, on the contrary, is based in the first instance on absolute reflection into self as abstract Being-for-self, and it is here accordingly that the mediation of the relation between self-consciousness and its absolute Essence comes in. The self-consciousness does not, however, represent man as man in the sense of universality. The religious relation is something special, which, regarded from the point of view of man, may be called contingent, for all that is finite is external to Absolute Power, and contains in it no positive character. This particularity of the religious relation is not, however, a particularity amongst others, but is rather a separate, infinite preference. Because of the character which thus attaches to the relation, the latter finds expression in the thought that this people has been adopted on the condition of its having the fundamental feeling of its dependence, i.e., of its servitude. This relation between the infinite Power and what has independent Being is accordingly not one which is posited essentially and originally, or has come into existence only through the love of God to man, but rather this unity has been established in an external way through a contract. And, in fact, this adoption of the People is something which has taken place once for all, and occupies the place of what in revealed religion in its completed form is known as redemption and reconciliation.

Closely connected with the representation of God as the Lord is the fact that the Jewish people gave themselves wholly up to His service. It is this which explains, too, that marvellous steadfastness which was not a fanaticism of conversion like Mohammedanism, which is already purified from the idea of nationality and recognises believers only, but a fanaticism of stub-
bornness. It rests entirely on the abstraction of one Lord; the idea of vacillation comes into the mind only when various interests and points of view exist alongside of each other, and in such a struggle it is possible to take one side or the other, but in this state of concentration of thought on one Lord, the mind is completely held fast to one side. The consequence of this is that in view of the existence of this firm bond there is no freedom. Thought is simply bound on to this unity, which is the absolute authority. Many further consequences follow from this. Amongst the Greeks, too, it is true, certain institutions were held to have divine authority, but they had been established by men; the Jews, on the other hand, made no such distinction between the divine and the human. It was owing, too, to this absence of the idea of freedom that they did not believe in immortality, for even though it is perhaps possible to point to certain traces of belief in it, still those passages in which they occur are always of a very general character, and had not the slightest influence on the religious and moral points of view from which things were regarded. The immortality of the soul is not as yet an admitted truth, and there is accordingly no higher end than the service of Jehovah, and so far as man himself is concerned, his aim is to maintain himself and his family in life as long as possible. Temporal possessions, in fact, are consequent upon service, not something eternal, not eternal blessedness. The conscious perception of the unity of the soul with the Absolute, or of the reception of the soul into the bosom of the Absolute, has not yet arisen. Man has as yet no inner space, no inner extension, no soul of such an extent as to lead it to wish for satisfaction within itself, but rather it is the temporal which gives it fulness and reality. According to the Law, each family receives a property which must not be alienated, and in this way the family is to be provided for. The aim of life consequentlly was mainly the preservation of this bit of land.
This expresses the essential character of the family, together with the land which belongs to it and from which it derives its subsistence. The possession of a country is what self-consciousness of this kind receives from its God. It is consequently that very confidence before referred to which is the absolutely limited constitutive element of the individual family existence. Just because man in the absolutely negative condition of self-surrender exists in what is purely positive, and consequently is once more in a condition of immediacy, confidence, as expressing the surrender of finite interests, turns into the surrender of the surrender, and thus comes to represent in turn the realised finite individual, his happiness and possessions. These possessions and this people are identical, inseparable. God's people possess Canaan. God has made a covenant with Abraham, the one side of which is constituted by this possession, and it is the affirmative in this sphere of empirical particular interests. Both are inseparable, the special possession and the confidence, the piety. The possession consequently gets an infinitely absolute authorisation, a divine authorisation; and yet at the same time the title to the possession does not take the form of a juridical right, of a property; this latter, as being different from possession, is not applicable here. Property has its source in personality, in this very freedom of the single individual. Man is essentially a holder of property in so far as he is a person, but the possession, as expressing the empirical aspect of property, is entirely free to take any form, this being left to chance. What I possess is a matter of accident, a matter of indifference; when I am recognised as a holder of property, I am a free subjectivity and the possession is a matter of indifference. Here, on the contrary, this definite possession as such is identical with the feeling of confidence, and it is consequently this possession to which an absolute title attaches. The idea of property does not come in here,
and so the idea of free-will does not appear either. God, the absolute Idea, and then property, and possession, represent three different stages. Here the uniting middle term, property, drops away, and the possession is taken up into the divine will in an immediate form. It is this empirical individual possession which is to have value as such and as thus authorised, and it is taken out of the reach of the free act of designation on the part of the individual, who cannot sell it but can only pledge it for some time, and always only until the year of Jubilee.

The other side, namely, the negative relation, corresponds to the affirmative side. The recognition of Power as constituting the negative side must also be defined empirically or externally in reference to property. Particular acts of conduct, real ways of acting, must in the same way have their negative side as the acknowledgment of the Lord. There must be a service, not simply fear, but an act of surrender in particular things. This is the other side of the covenant, which, on the one hand, has possession as its effect, but, on the other, demands service also, so that just as this particular country is attached to this particular nation, the nation itself is bound by the obligation of rendering the service required by the Law. These laws, looked at from one side, are family laws, have reference to family conditions, and have a moral content; but looked at from the other side, the main point about them is that what is inherently moral in them is regarded as something which has been laid down in a purely positive way, and so naturally we have joined on to this a large number of external accidental regulations which are simply to be observed. The irrationality of the service corresponds to the irrationality of the possession, and we thus have an abstract obedience which does not require any inwardness in respect of any definite character belonging to it, since its justification for existing is an abstract one. Just because God is absolute
power, all actions are of an indeterminate character, and for this reason they get their determinate character in an entirely external and arbitrary way. The keeping of the commandment which demands service, obedience to God, is the condition upon which the nation continues in the state in which it is. This is the other aspect of the covenant. It is possible for individuals, or for the whole nation, to fall away by self-will from the laws, but this is a falling away merely from definite commandments and from ceremonial service, and not a falling away from what is original or fundamental, for this latter is something which has the authority of what ought to be. Accordingly the penalty attached to disobedience is not an absolute penalty, but is merely external misfortune, namely, the loss of the possession, or its diminution and curtailment. The penalties which are threatened are of an external earthly sort, and have reference to the undisturbed possession of the land. Just as the obedience demanded is not of a spiritual and moral sort, but is merely the definite blind obedience of men who are not morally free, so also the penalties have an external character. The laws, the commands, are to be followed and observed merely as if by slaves or servants.

If we consider those penalties which are threatened in the form of frightful curses, the thorough mastery which this nation attained to in the matter of cursing is worthy of notice; and yet these curses have reference only to what is external, and not to what is inward and moral. In the third Book of Moses, in the twenty-sixth chapter, we read:—

"If ye shall despise My statutes, and will not do all My commandments, and break My Covenant, I will visit you with terror, consumption, and the burning ague, that shall consume the eyes and cause sorrow of heart. Ye shall sow your seed in vain, and your enemies shall eat it; and they that hate you shall reign over you, and ye shall flee when none pursueth you. And if ye will not
yet for all this hearken unto Me, then I will punish you seven times more for your sins. And I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass; and your toil and labour shall be lost, so that your land shall not yield her increase, and the trees shall not yield their fruits.

"And if ye walk contrary to Me, and will not hearken unto Me, I will bring seven times more plagues upon you, according to your sins. I will also send wild beasts among you, which shall eat your children, and tear your cattle, and make you few in number; and your highways shall be desolate. And if ye will not be reformed by Me by these things, but will walk contrary to Me, then will I punish you yet seven times for your sins. And I will bring a sword upon you that shall avenge the quarrel of My covenant. And though ye are gathered together within your cities, yet will I send the pestilence among you, and will deliver you into the hand of the enemy. Then will I break the staff of your bread, so that ten women shall bake in one oven, and they shall deliver you your bread again by weight; and when ye eat, ye shall not be satisfied.

"And if ye will not for all this hearken unto Me, then I will walk contrary unto you also in fury, and will chastise you yet seven times, so that ye shall eat the flesh of your sons and daughters. And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images, and cast your carcasses upon your idols, and My soul shall abhor you, and I will make your cities waste, and bring your sanctuaries unto desolation; and I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours. And I will bring the land into desolation, so that your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it. And I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you."

We have already seen that amongst the Jews the place of evil is in the subjective spirit, and that the Lord is not engaged in a conflict with evil, but that He punishes evil. Evil accordingly appears as an external accident,
and this is how it is represented in the story of the Fall, according to which it enters in from the outside, in that man is deceived by the serpent.

God punishes evil as something which ought not to be. It is good only that ought to be, since it is what the Lord has enjoined. There is here as yet no freedom, and there is not even freedom to find out what the divine and eternal law is. The characteristics of the Good, which are undoubtedly the characteristics of reason as well, derive their worth from the fact that they are rules laid down by the Lord, and the Lord punishes any transgression of these; this is the wrath of God. The relation in which the Lord here stands to the Good expresses merely the idea of something that ought to be. What He ordains is what ought to be, is law. To the Lord belongs the exercise of penal righteousness; the conflict between good and evil occurs within the subject as being finite. An element of contradiction is thus present in finite consciousness, and consequently there enters in a feeling of contrition, of sorrow, caused by the fact that the Good is only something which ought to be.

3. The third aspect of worship or cultus is reconciliation. It has reference essentially only to the particular faults of separate individuals, and is brought about by means of sacrifice.

Here sacrifice is not intended simply to signify that the offerer is symbolically renouncing his finitude, and preserving his unity with God, but it signifies more definitely the act of acknowledgment of the Lord, a testifying that He is feared; and it has the still further signification of being an act whereby what of the finite remains has been redeemed and ransomed. Man cannot look on Nature as something which he can use according to his own arbitrary desires; he cannot lay hold of it directly, but he must get whatever he wishes to have through the mediation of something foreign to himself. Everything is the Lord's, and must be bought back from
Him; and thus it is that the tithe is ordained, and that the first-born has to be redeemed.

The expiation for sins accordingly takes place in a peculiar way, namely, by bringing in the idea that the punishment which has been merited, the merited manifestation of the nullity of him who has lifted himself up in sinfulness, can be transferred to what is offered in sacrifice. This is sacrifice. The individual makes it plain that his standing before God has no worth. It is thus that the idea arises that the due manifestation of the sinner's nothingness is transferred to what is offered, since God acknowledges the sacrifice, and in this way gives the self a positive standing, or, in other words, a standing in itself.

The externality which thus attaches to the sacrifice arises from the fact that the expiation is thought of as being punishment, and not as purification as such; rather it is looked on as being an injury done to the evil will in this sense that the will is supposed to suffer damage. Closely connected with this idea is the fact that it is the blood specially which is offered up by being sprinkled on the altar. For if it is life which is to be yielded up as representing the highest of all earthly possessions, it follows that something must be surrendered to God which is really living, and the blood, in which the life of the animal is supposed to be, is given back to the Lord. We saw that amongst the Hindus the whole animal world was held in honour. Here again it is deprived of this honour, but the blood is still regarded as something inviolable and divine; it is held in respect, and must not be eaten by men. Man does not yet possess the feeling of his concrete freedom which leads him to regard life simply as life, as something inferior and subordinate to what is higher.
The Transition to the Stage which follows.

Speaking generally, we, as a matter of fact, find that here we are in the region of free subjectivity, but still the essential characteristic which belongs to free subjectivity has not yet been fully carried right through the totality of the religious consciousness in the Religion of Sublimity. God was characterised for Thought as substantial Power, and as the Creator, but in this character He is, to begin with, merely the Lord of His creatures. Power is thus the cause which differentiates itself, but it is something which merely puts forth its authority over, exercises its lordship over, that in which it thus differentiates itself.

A further stage of progress accordingly is reached, when it is seen that this "Other" is something free—free from external restraint, and God becomes the God of free men, who, even while rendering Him obedience, are actually free in their relation to Him. This standpoint, if we look at it in an abstract way, contains within it the following moments: God is a free, absolute Spirit, and manifests Himself by setting His "Other" over against Himself. What is thus posited by Him is His image, for the subject creates only itself, and that which it becomes by self-determination is again nothing else than itself. But in order that it may be really determined, or get a specific nature as Spirit, it must negate this "Other," and return to itself, for then only when it knows itself in the "Other" is it free. But if God knows Himself in the "Other," it follows that the "Other" has an actual independent existence, is for itself, and knows itself to be free.

This represents the release of the "Other" as being now something free and independent. Thus freedom is found first of all in the subject, and God is still characterised as Power, which is for itself, has real existence, and releases the subject. The differentiation or further
characterisation which is thus reached seems, in accordance with what has been stated, to consist simply in this, that the creatures are no longer merely in a state of service, but rather find their freedom in the very act of rendering service. This moment of the freedom of subjects or persons for whom God is, and which is wanting in the standpoint of the Religion of Sublimity which we have been considering, we have already seen in a lower stage of thought, in the sphere of the Religion of Nature, in the Syrian religion, namely.

In the higher stage, to which we now pass, what in the lower was represented in a natural immediate way is transferred to the pure region of Spirit, and is ascribed to its inner mediation. In the religion of sorrow or pain we saw that God loses Himself, that He dies, and exists only by means of the negation of Himself. This act of mediation is the moment which is again to be taken up here. God dies, and from this death He rises again. That is the negation of Himself which we, on the one hand, conceive of as the “Other” of Himself, as the world; and He Himself dies, which means that in this death He comes to Himself. In this way, however, the “Other” is represented as freely existing for itself, and accordingly the mediation and rising again belong to the other side, the side of what has been created.

Considered thus, it seems as if the conception of God Himself underwent no change, but that the change is only in the aspect in which the “Other” is regarded. That it is just here where freedom comes in, and that it is this side, namely, that of the “Other,” which is free, is to be explained from the fact that in the finite, this otherness of God dies away, and so the Divine appears again in the finite in an actual way, or for itself. Thus what is of the world is known as something which has the Divine in it, and the Being-other or otherness which at first is characterised only as negation, is again negated, and is the negation of negation within itself.
This is the kind of mediation which belongs to freedom. Freedom is not pure negation, it is not merely an act of flight and surrender. Freedom of that sort is not yet the true affirmative freedom, but is negative freedom only. It is the negation of what is in a merely natural state in so far as this itself exists as something negative, which first gives the affirmative determination of freedom. Since the "Other," namely, the world, finite consciousness, with its servitude and contingent character, is negated, it follows that in this act of mediation the determination of freedom is to be found. The elevation or exaltation of Spirit is thus this particular elevation above the state of mere naturalness, but it is an elevation in which, if it is to become freedom, the subjective spirit must also be free in its own nature, for itself. This accordingly is at first seen only in the subject or individual. "God is the God of free men."

It is, however, equally true that any further determination or characterisation takes place quite as much within the nature of God. God is Spirit, but He is Spirit in any essential sense only in so far as He is known to be the self-diremption of Himself, the producer of differentiation within Himself, the eternal act of creation, and in such a way that this creation of an "Other" is a return to Himself, a return to the knowledge of Himself. It is thus that God is a God of free men. Since it belongs to the essential character of God Himself that He should be in His very nature the "Other" of Himself, and that this "Other" is a determination or quality within His own nature, so that He thereby returns to Himself and the human element is reconciled to God, it follows that we thus get the determination which is expressed by saying that Humanity is itself in God. Thus man knows that what is human is a moment of the Divine itself, and consequently he stands in a free relation to God. For that to which he stands related as to his own essential being has the essential characteristics of humanity in itself, and
thus, on the one hand, man is related, as it were, to the negation of his merely natural life, and, on the other hand, to a God in whom the human element is itself affirmative and an essential characteristic. Man thus, as occupying such a relation to God, is free. What exists in men as concrete individuals is represented as being something divine and substantial, and man in all that constitutes his essential nature, in all that has any value for him, is present in what is Divine. Out of his passions, says one of the ancients, man has made his gods, i.e., out of his spiritual powers.

In these powers self-consciousness has its essential attributes for its object, and knows that in them it is free. It is not, however, particular individual subjectivity which has itself as its object in these essential characteristics, and which is conscious that the well-being of its particular nature is based on them. This is the case in the religion of the One where it is only this immediate definite existence, this particular natural existence of the particular subject or individual, which is the end, and where it is the individual, and not his universality, which constitutes what is essential; and where, further, the servant has his own selfish aims. Here, on the other hand, self-consciousness has for its object its specific nature, its unsali city as manifested in the divine powers. Self-consciousness is consequently raised above the need of making any absolute claim to have its immediate individuality recognised, it is raised above the need of troubling about this, and it finds its essential satisfaction in a substantial objective Power. It is only the Moral, what is universal and rational, which is held to be in and for itself essential, and the freedom of self-consciousness consists of the essentiality of its true nature and its rationality. The sum and substance of the phase upon which the religious spirit has now entered may be expressed thus. God is in His own nature the mediation which man expresses. Man recognises himself in God
and God and man say of each other—That is spirit of my spirit. Man is Spirit just as God is Spirit. He has also, it is true, finitude and the element of separation in him, but in religion he discards his finitude since his knowledge is the knowledge of himself in God.

We accordingly now pass to the Religion of Humanity and Freedom. The first form of this religion, however, is itself infected with the element of immediacy and naturalness, and thus we shall see the Human existing in God under what are still natural conditions. The inward element, the Idea, is indeed potentially what is true, but it has not yet been raised above the state of nature, which is the first and immediate form of its existence. The human element in God expresses His finitude only, and thus this religion, so far as its basis is concerned, belongs to the class of finite religions. It is, however, a religion of spirituality, because the mediation which, as separated and divided up into its moments, constituted the foregoing transition stages, is now put together so as to form a totality, and constitutes the foundation of this religion.

II.

THE RELIGION OF BEAUTY.

This Religion of Beauty, as has been already indicated, is seen in a definitely existing form in the religion of the Greeks, which, both in its inner and outer aspects, presents us with an infinite amount of inexhaustible material, beside which, owing to its sympathetic attractiveness, its grace, and charm, one would fain linger. Here, however, we cannot enter into details, but must confine ourselves to the essential characteristics of its notion or conception.

We must thus (A.) indicate the notion or conception of this sphere of religious thought; then (B.) consider the
outward form of the Divine in it; and (C.) its form of worship as the movement of self-consciousness in relation to its essential powers.

A.

THE GENERAL CONCEPTION OR NOTION.

The fundamental characteristic here is subjectivity as the self-determining Power. This subjectivity and wise power we have already met with under the form of the One who is as yet undetermined within Himself, and whose end, as it appears in the sphere of reality, is accordingly the most limited possible. The next stage, now, is that this subjectivity, this wise power or powerful wisdom, particularises itself within itself. This stage, just in consequence of this, is, on the one hand, the lowering of universality, of abstract unity and infinite power, to a condition of limitation within a circle of particularity, though, on the other hand, again, it at the same time involves the elevation of the limited individuality of the real end as against universality. In the region of the particular, what shows itself here is both of these movements, and this accordingly is the general characteristic of this stage. We have next to consider the fact that from one point of view, the determinate notion, the content of the self-determining Power, which is a particular content owing to its being in the element of subjectivity, makes itself subjective within itself. There actually are particular ends; they make themselves subjective, to begin with, on their own account, and so we get a definite sphere composed of a number of particular divine subjects. Subjectivity, as end, is self-determination, and hence it has particularisation in it—particularisation, in fact, as such, in the form of a world of concretely existing differences which exist as so many divine forms. Subjectivity in the Religion of Sublimity has already a definite end,
namely, the family, the nation. But this end is only realised in so far as the service of the Lord is not neglected. Through this latter requirement, which implies the abrogation of the subjective spirit so far as the determinate end is concerned, this end becomes a universal one. Thus if, on the one hand, through the breaking up of the one subjectivity into a multiplicity of ends, subjectivity is lowered to the condition of particularity, on the other hand, the particularity is set over against universality, and these differences in this way here become divine, universal differences. This particularity of the ends is thus the coming together of the abstract universality and the individuality of the end—their happy mean. This particularity thus constitutes the content of universal subjectivity, and in so far as it is posited in this element it gives itself a subjective form as a subject. With this we enter upon a really ethical stage, for when we have the Divine penetrating the determinate relations of Spirit in an actual form, determining itself in accordance with the substantial unity, we have what is ethical. And at the same time the real freedom of subjectivity also comes into existence, for the definite content is something which the finite self-consciousness has in common with its God. Its God ceases to be a "Beyond," and has a definite content which on its determinate side is elevated to essentiality, and through the abolition and absorption of the immediate individuality or singleness has become an essentially existing content.

As regards the constituent element as such, the content that is, the substantial principle, as has been shown in the context, is just rationality, the freedom of Spirit, essential freedom. This freedom is not caprice, and must be clearly distinguished from it; it is essential, substantial freedom, the freedom which in its determinations determines itself. Since freedom, as self-determining, is the principle or basis of this relation, what we
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have here is concrete rationality which contains essentially moral principles.

That freedom is just this, namely, the desiring or willing of nothing except itself, the desiring of nothing else than freedom, and that this is the true moral element from which moral determinations spring, or, in other words, that the formal element of self-determination changes round into the content, is a thought which cannot here be further followed up.

While morality constitutes the essential basis, still what comes first is morality in its immediacy. It is the rationality above referred to as absolutely universal or general, and thus still in its impersonal or substantial form. The rationality is not yet one subject, and has not yet left the virgin unity in which it is morality, and raised itself to the unity of the subject, or, in other words, has not plunged into itself.

Absolute necessity and the spiritual human embodiment are still separate. Determinateness, it is true, is posited in a general way, but this determinateness is, on the one hand, abstract, and on the other is left free to take on determinateness in manifold shapes, and is not yet taken back into that unity. That it should ever be so taken back would be due to the circumstance that the determinateness has developed into an infinite opposition or antithesis—as in the Religion of Sublimity—and has gone on increasing till it became infinite; for it is only when it has reached this extreme that it becomes at the same time capable of attaining to unity in itself. The entire circle of the gods, as these take on a definite form, must itself be taken up into and placed within the sphere of necessity as in a pantheon. But it is only capable of this, and is only worthy of attaining this, when its manifoldness and diversity become generalised into simple difference. Not till this happens is it adequate to that element, and so immediately identical in itself. The different spirits must be conceived of as
Spirit in such a way that Spirit is made to stand out distinctly as representing their essentially universal nature.

2. Because the unity of necessity is not yet carried back to the ultimate point of infinite subjectivity, the spiritual and essentially moral determinations appear as disconnected or lying outside of one another; the content is the fullest possible, but its constituent parts are disconnected.

Ethics in general must be distinguished from morality and ethics as the Greeks understood them; and by ethics in general is meant the subjectivity of ethics, that subjectivity which can give account of its principles and has an ethical intention, an ethical design and aim.

Morality is here as yet the substantial Being, the true Being of what is moral, but not as yet the knowledge of it. So far as the objective import is concerned, this means that just because one subjectivity, the particular reflection into self, is not yet present—and just in virtue of this fact—the moral content has no connecting element in it, its basis being constituted by the Ἴδη, the essentially spiritual powers, the universal powers of the moral life, and chiefly of the practical life, life in the State, and, in addition to this, justice, bravery, the family, oaths, agriculture, science, and so on.

Closely connected with the fact that what is moral has no inner connection as it appears in these particular forms, is that other want of connection, namely, that the natural appears as something opposed to these spiritual powers. The determination of immediacy, which has this disconnected condition as its consequence, involves the further idea that the natural forces, the sky, the earth, rivers, the division of time, appear as opposed to the spiritual forces.

3. The last form of determinateness is that of the antithesis between essential self-consciousness and the finite self-consciousness, between the essential spirit and
the finite spirit. In this determinateness the form of the natural outward embodiment of subjectivity comes into view, the natural outward form is imagined by self-consciousness as something divine, and this divinity accordingly stands over against self-consciousness.

B.

THE OUTWARD FORM OF THE DIVINE.

(a.) The Conflict of the Spiritual and the Natural.

Since the fundamental determination is spiritual subjectivity, the power of Nature cannot be considered as being the essential power in its own right. Yet it is one of the particular powers, and as the most immediate is the first of those through whose abrogation the other spiritual powers first originate. We have seen the nature of the power of the One, and how His real and actual sublimity first resulted from creation. This one fundamental principle, as the self of the Absolute, is wanting here. Thus the starting-point here is within the sphere of what is immediately natural, which cannot at this stage appear as if created by the One. The unity in which these particular forms of the powers of Nature repose is not spiritual, but is, on the contrary, an essentially natural unity, chaos, in fact.

"But first of all," sings Hesiod, "was Chaos" (Theog. v. 116). Chaos is thus itself something posited, but what the positing agent is we are not told. It is only said that it came into being. For the fundamental principle here is not the self, but rather the selfless, the necessity, of which it can only be said that it is. Chaos is the moving unity of the immediate, but it itself is not yet subject, particularity; hence it is not said of it that it begets, but as it only comes into being itself, so this necessity comes into being in turn out of it, namely, the
wide extended earth, the shades of Tartaros, the night of Erebos, as also Eros, adorned beyond all with beauty. We see the totality of particularity originating here; the earth, the positive element, the universal basis; Tartaros, Erebos, Night, the negative element, and Eros, the uniting and active element. The particular elements are now themselves productive; the earth produces the heavens out of itself, brings forth the hills without fructifying love, the desolate Pontus, but when united with the sky bears Oceanos and its rulers. She further brings forth the Cyclopes, the forces of Nature as such, while the earlier children, natural things, themselves exist as subjects. The Earth and the Sky are thus the abstract powers which, by fructifying themselves, cause the sphere of natural particular things to come into existence. The youngest child is the inscrutable Cronos. Night, the second moment, brings forth all that from the natural side has the moment of negation within itself. Thirdly, these particular forms unite in a reciprocal relation, and beget the positive and negative. All these are conquered later on by the gods of spiritual subjectivity; Hecate alone remains in the form of Fate or Destiny as representing the natural side.

The primary power, that which rules over this circle of natural forces, is the abstraction in general out of which they have risen, Uranos; and inasmuch as he is power only as positing his abstraction, so that this last is alone what has valid worth, he drives away all his children. But the main offspring of Heaven is inscrutable Time, the youngest child. This latter conquers Uranos through the cunning of the Earth. Everything here is in the form of a subjective end, and cunning is the negative of force. But inasmuch as the particular forces make themselves free, and set up on their own account, Uranos calls them by a name suggestive of punishment, calls them Titans, whose wrong-doing is one day to be avenged on them.

These particular natural forces are also personified, but
this personification is, so far as they are concerned, superficial only; for the content of Helios, for example, or of Oceanos, is something natural, and not superficial Power. Thus, if Helios is represented in human fashion as active, what we have is the empty form of personification. Helios is not god of the sun, not the sun-god (the Greeks never express themselves thus), and Oceanos is not the god of the sea in such a way that the god and that over which he rules are distinguished from each other; on the contrary, these powers are natural powers.

The first moment in this natural sphere is thus Chaos posited together with its moments by abstract necessity; the second is the period of begetting under the rule of Uranos, in which these abstract moments which have proceeded out of chaos are the productive element; the third is the period of the sovereignty of Cronos, when the particular natural powers, themselves just born, give birth in turn to something else. In this way what is posited is itself the positing factor, and the transition to Spirit is made. This transition shows itself more definitely in Cronos, in that he himself brings about the downfall. He is sovereign pre-eminently through the abrogation of the immediate divine forms. But he himself is immediate, and thereby presents the contradiction of being, while in himself immediate, the abrogation of immediacy. He begets the spiritual gods out of himself; yet in so far as they are at first merely natural, he does away with them, and swallows them up. But his abrogation of the spiritual gods must itself be abrogated, and this is accomplished in its turn through cunning working against the natural force of Cronos. Zeus, the god of spiritual subjectivity, lives. Thus over against Cronos there appears his Other, and there arises, in fact, the conflict between the natural powers and the spiritual gods.

However much, then, this breaking up may take place, representing a state of things in which the natural powers
make their appearance as independent, still the unity of the spiritual and the natural—and this is what is essential—appears more and more clearly, and this unity is, moreover, not the neutralisation of the two, but is, on the contrary, that form in which the spiritual is not only the predominant element, but is also the ruling and determining factor, and in which the natural is ideal and brought into subjection.

The Greeks have expressed the consciousness of this subjugation of the natural powers by the spiritual element by telling how Zeus, through a war, founded the sovereignty of the spiritual gods, conquered the nature-power, and hurled it from its throne. It is spiritual powers accordingly that rule the world.

In this war of the gods we find the whole history of the Greek gods and their nature expressed. With the exception of this war, they have done nothing; and even when they take up the cause of an individual, or say that of Troy, this is no longer their history nor the historical development of their nature. But the fact that they, as representing the spiritual principle, attained to mastery over the natural and conquered it, is what constitutes their essential act, and forms the essential element in the ideas of the Greeks regarding them.

The natural gods are thus subdued, driven from their throne; the spiritual principle is victorious over the religion of nature, and the natural forces are banished to the borders of the world, beyond the world of self-consciousness, but they have also retained their rights. They are, while nature-powers, at the same time posited as ideal, or as in subjection to the spiritual element, so that they constitute a determination in what is spiritual, or in the spiritual gods themselves. This natural moment is still present in these gods, but is in them only as a kind of reminiscence of the nature element, only as one of their aspects.

To these old gods, however, belong not only nature-
powers, but also Dike, the Eumenides, the Erinyes; the Oath too and Styx are counted as amongst the ancient gods. They are distinguished from the later ones by this, that although they are what is spiritual, they are spiritual as a power existing only within itself, or as a rude undeveloped form of Spirit. The Erinyes are those who judge only inwardly, the oath is this particular certainty in my conscience, its truth lies, even if I take it outwardly, within myself. We may compare the oath with conscience.

Zeus, on the contrary, is the political god, the god of laws, of sovereignty, of laws definitely recognised, however, and not of the laws of conscience. Conscience has no legal authority in the State. If men appeal to conscience, one man may have one kind of conscience and another another, and thus it is positive law alone which has authority here. In order that conscience may be of the right kind, it is necessary that what it knows as right should be objective, should be in conformity with objective law, and should not merely dwell within. If conscience is right, then it is this as something recognised by the State, when the State has an ethical constitution.

Nemesis is likewise an ancient deity. It is merely the formal element which brings down what is lofty, what exalts itself; it is the merely levelling principle, envy, the putting down of what is distinguished or exalted, so that it may be on a level with other things. In Dike we have merely strict abstract justice. Orestes is prosecuted by the Eumenides and is acquitted by Athene, by the moral law, by the State. Moral law or justice is something different from bare strict justice; the new gods are the gods of moral law.

But the new gods have themselves in turn a double nature, and unite in themselves the natural and the spiritual. In the real view of the Greeks the natural element or nature-power was undoubtedly not the truly
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independent or self-sufficing element. On the contrary, this latter was found only in spiritual subjectivity. Subjectivity as such which is full of content, the subjectivity which determines itself in accordance with ends, cannot have in it a merely natural content. Greek imagination did not, accordingly, people Nature with gods after the fashion of the Hindus, for whom the form of God seems to spring out of all natural forms. The Greek principle is rather subjective freedom, and hence the natural is clearly no longer worthy to constitute the content of the divine. But, on the other hand again, this free subjectivity is not yet the absolutely free subjectivity, not the Idea, which would have truly realised itself as Spirit, i.e., it is not yet universal infinite subjectivity. We are only at the stage which leads to this. The content of free subjectivity is still particular; it is spiritual indeed, but since Spirit has not itself for its object, the particularity is still natural, and is even still presented as the one essential characteristic in the spiritual gods.

Thus Jupiter is the firmament, the atmosphere (in Latin we have still the expression sub jove frigido), what thunders; but besides being this natural principle, he is not only the father of gods and men, but also the political god, representing the law and morality of the State, that highest power on earth. He is, moreover, in addition to this, a many-sided moral power, the god of hospitality in connection with the old customs at a time when the relationship of the different states was not as yet well defined, for hospitality had essentially reference to the moral relationship of citizens belonging to different states.

Poseidon is the sea, like Oceanos, Pontus; he restrains the wildness of the elements, but he is also included amongst the new gods. Phœbus is the god who has knowledge, and, in accordance with analogy and substantial logical definition, he corresponds to the light and is the reflex or reminiscence of the sun-power.
The Lycian Apollo has a direct connection with light, and the ideas connected with him come from Asia Minor: in the East the natural element, light, gets greater prominence. Phoebus decrees the pestilence in the Greek camp, and this is immediately connected with the sun. Pestilence is the effect of the hot summer, of the heat of the sun. The representations, too, of Phoebus have attributes and symbols that are closely connected with the sun.

The same divinities that were at an earlier stage Titanic and natural appear afterwards possessed of a fundamental characteristic which is spiritual and which is the ruling one, and in fact there has been a dispute as to whether there was any natural element left at all in Apollo. In Homer Helios is undoubtedly the Sun, but is at the same time brightness as well, the spiritual element which irradiates and illumines everything. But even at a later period, Apollo still has something of his natural element left, for he was represented with a nimbus round his head.

This is what we find to be the case generally, though it may not be particularly noticeable in the case of the individual gods. Perfect consistency is, however, not to be found here. An element appears at one time in a stronger and more pronounced form, and at another in a weaker form. In the Eumenides of Æschylus the first scenes are laid before the temple of Apollo. There we have the summons to worship, and first of all the worshippers are invited to adore the oracle-giver (Γαῖα), the principle of Nature, then Θείας, already a spiritual power, though, like Dike, belonging to the ancient gods; next comes Night and then Phoebus—the oracle has passed over to the new gods. Pindar too speaks of a similar succession in reference to the oracle. He makes Night the first oracle-giver, then comes Themis, and next Phoebus. We thus have here the transition from natural forms to the new gods. In the sphere of Poetry, where these doctrines
originates, this is not to be taken historically as something so fixed as to preclude the possibility of there being any deviation from it.

Thus too the noise, the rustling of leaves, the light noise of suspended cymbals, which represent the first form in which the oracle was given, are mere natural sounds. It is not till a later period that a priestess appears who in human sounds, if not actually in clear and distinct sounds, gives forth the oracle. Similarly the Muses are first nymphs, springs, waves, the noise or murmuring of brooks. In every case the starting-point is some aspect of Nature, natural powers which are transformed into a god with a spiritual character. Such a transformation shows itself also in Diana. The Diana of Ephesus is still Asiatic, and is represented with many breasts and covered with images of animals. She has, in fact, as the basis of her character, natural life, the producing and nourishing power of Nature. On the other hand, Diana of the Greeks is the huntress who kills animals. She does not represent the idea of hunting generally, but the hunting of wild animals. And indeed by the bravery of spiritual subjectivity these animals, which in the earlier spheres of the religious spirit were thought of as having an absolute claim to exist, are subdued and killed.

Prometheus, who was also reckoned amongst the Titaus, is an important and interesting figure. Prometheus is the power of Nature, but he is also the benefactor of men, for he taught them the first arts. He brought down fire from heaven for them; the power to kindle fire already implies a certain amount of civilisation; it means that man has already got beyond his primitive barbarism. The first beginnings of civilisation have thus been preserved in grateful remembrance in the myths. Prometheus also taught men to offer sacrifice in such a way that they too might have something of the offering. The animals, it was supposed, did not
belong to men, but to a spiritual power, i.e., men formerly ate no flesh. He, however, took the whole offering from Zeus, that is to say, he made two heaps, one of bones, over which he threw the skin of the animal, and another of the flesh, and Zeus laid hold of the first.

Sacrifice thus became a feast in which the gods had the entrails and the bones. This same Prometheus taught men to seize animals and use them as their means of sustenance; animals, it was formerly thought, should not be disturbed by men, and were held in high respect by them. Even in Homer mention is made of the sun-cattle of Helios, which were not to be interfered with by men. Amongst the Hindus and the Egyptians it was forbidden to slaughter animals. Prometheus taught men to eat flesh themselves and to leave to Jupiter only skin and bones.

But Prometheus is a Titan. He is chained to the Caucasus, and a vulture constantly gnaws at his liver, which always grows again—a pain which never ceases. What Prometheus taught men had reference only to such acquirements as conduce to the satisfaction of natural wants. In the mere satisfaction of these wants there is never any sense of satiety; on the contrary, the need is always growing and care is ever new. This is what is signified by this myth. In a passage in Plato it is said that Prometheus could not bring Politics to men, because the science of politics was preserved in the citadel of Zeus. The idea is thus here expressed that this science belonged to Zeus as his own peculiar property.

It is, indeed, gratefully mentioned that Prometheus makes life easier for men by introducing arts and handicrafts; but, spite of the fact that these are connected with the powers of the human mind, he still belongs to the Titans, for these arts are not in any sense laws, nor have they any moral force.

If the gods represent spiritual particularity looked at from the side of Substance, which breaks itself up so as to
form them, as a consequence of this, on the other hand, the limitedness of the particular is advanced to substantial universality. We thereby get the unity of the two; we have the divine end made human, and the human end elevated to the divine. This gives us the heroes, the demi-gods. Specially significant in this respect is the figure of Hercules. He has human individuality; he has worked very hard, and by his virtue he has obtained heaven. The heroes are thus not gods straight off; they have first by labour to put themselves into the rank of the Divine. For the gods of spiritual individuality, although now at rest, are yet what they are only through their struggle with the Titans. This potentiality or inherent nature of theirs gets an explicit form in the heroes. Thus the spiritual individuality of the heroes is higher than that of the gods themselves; they are actually what the gods are implicitly; they represent the carrying into effect of what is implicit, and if they have also to struggle and work, this is a working off of the natural element which the gods still have in themselves. The gods come out of the powers of Nature; the heroes, again, come out of the gods.

Since the spiritual gods are thus the result reached through the overcoming of the powers of Nature, though they exist in the first instance only through these, they have their development or becoming in themselves, and manifest themselves as concrete unity. The powers of Nature are contained in them as their basis, although this, their implicit nature, is likewise transfigured. Hence, in the case of the gods, we have this reminiscence or echo of the natural elements, a feature which Hercules does not possess. There are, indeed, several signs that the Greeks themselves were conscious of the presence of this difference. In Æschylus, Prometheus says that he placed his consolation, his confidence, and satisfaction in the fact that a son would be born to Zeus who would hurl him from his throne. This prophecy of the overthrow of the
rule of Zeus, to be accomplished through the manifested unity of the divine and the human which belongs to the heroes, is expressed also by Aristophanes; for Bacchus says to Hercules, "When Zeus dies and goes, thou wilt succeed him."

(b.) *Formless Necessity.*

The unity which binds together the plurality of the particular gods is at first superficial only. Zeus rules them in fatherly, patriarchal fashion, which implies that the ruler does in the end what the others on the whole wish, while these give their assent to all that occurs. But this sovereignty is not serious. The higher absolute unity, in the form of absolute Power, stands over them as their pure and absolute power. This power is Fate or Destiny, simple necessity.

This unity, as being absolute necessity, has universal determinateness within it. It is the fulness of all determinations; but it is not developed in itself, the fact rather being that the content is divided in a particular way among the many gods who issue forth from this unity. It is itself empty and without content, despises all fellowship and outward embodiment, and rules in dread fashion over everything as blind, irrational, unintelligible power. It is unintelligible because it is the concrete alone of which we can form an intelligent conception; but this necessity is still abstract, and has not yet developed so as to have the conception of an end, has not yet reached definite determinations.

Necessity, accordingly, essentially relates itself to the world. For determinateness is a moment in necessity itself, and the concrete world is developed determinateness, the kingdom of finitude, of definite existence generally. Necessity has at first a merely abstract relation to the concrete world, and this relation is the external unity of the world, equality or uniformity simply, which is without any further determination in itself, and is
incomprehensible—Nemesis, in short. It brings down what is high and exalted, and thus establishes equality. But this equalising is not to be understood as meaning that when what pushes itself forward or is too high is brought down, what is low is, in its turn, raised up. On the contrary, that which is low is as it was meant to be; it is the finite which has no particular claims, and no kind of infinite value in itself to which it could appeal. It is thus not too low. It has in it power, however, to rise above the common lot and the ordinary limit of finitude, and when it thus acts in opposition to uniformity it is again thrust down by Nemesis.

If we now directly consider the relation of the finite self-consciousness to this necessity, we see that under the pressure of its iron power it is to have only an obedience without inward freedom. But one form of freedom is at least present when we look at the matter from the side of feeling. The Greek who has within him the feeling of the necessity calms his soul with that. It is so; there is nothing to be done against it; with this I must content myself; just in this feeling that I must be content with it, that this even pleases me, we have the freedom which is implied in the fact that it is mine.

This mental attitude implies that man has this simple necessity before him. In that he occupies the standpoint, "It is so," he has set all that is particular on one side, has made a renunciation of and abstracts from all particular ends and interests. The vexation, the discontent which men feel consists just in this, that they stick to a definite end, and will not give this up; and then if things do not fit in with this end, or, as may happen, go quite contrary to it, they are dissatisfied. There is then no harmony between what is actually present and what men wish to have, because they have the "ought to be" within themselves—"That ought to be."

Thus discontent, division, are inherently present; but
those who occupy the standpoint referred to cling to no aim, no interest, as against actually existing circumstances. Misfortune, discontent, is nothing but the contradiction implied in the fact that something is contrary to my will. If the particular interest is given up, then by this act I have retreated into this pure rest, into this pure Being, into this "is."

There is here no consolation for man, but then it is not necessary. He requires consolation when he desires compensation for some loss; but here he has renounced the inner root of worry and discontent, and has wholly given up what is lost, because he has the power which enables him to look into necessity. It is, accordingly, nothing but a false illusion to imagine that consciousness is annihiliated when brought into relation to necessity—that it relates itself to something which is absolutely beyond its own world, and finds in it nothing having a relationship with itself. Necessity is not one person, and accordingly consciousness does not exist in it on its own account, for itself, or in other words, it is not an individual or selfish oneness in its immediacy. In relation to that which is one person it is independent, wishes to be independent, to be for itself, and to stand on its own basis. The servant or vassal, in performing his service, in his condition of subjection, has fear, and in doing any base act against his master he has a self-seeking design. But in relation to necessity the subject appears as something which does not exist independently, or as determined for itself, it has, on the contrary, surrendered itself, retains no end for itself, and the revering of necessity is just this indeterminate attitude of self-consciousness, this attitude which is wholly devoid of the element of opposition. What we now-a-days call fate is just the opposite of this attitude of self-consciousness. We speak of just, unjust, merited fate. We use the word fate by way of explanation, that is, as suggesting the reason of any condition in which individuals are, or of the fate of
individuals. Here there is an external union of cause and effect by which an inherited evil, an ancient curse that rests on his house, breaks out in the individual. In such cases fate implies that there exists some sort of reason, but a reason that is at the same time away beyond the present, and fate is here nothing but a connection of causes and effects, of causes, which, so far as the person is concerned upon whom the fate falls, should be finite causes, and where there is nevertheless a hidden connection between that which the sufferer is in himself and that which befalls him as something unmerited.

The perception of and reverent regard for necessity is, on the other hand, the direct opposite of the foregoing. In it that mediation and the superficial reasoning about cause and effect are done away with. We cannot speak of a belief in necessity as if necessity were something essentially existing, or were a connection of relations, such as that of cause and effect, and as if it thus stood opposed to consciousness in some objective outward form. On the contrary, the expression "it is necessary" directly presupposes the abandonment of all argumentative reasoning, and the shutting up of the spirit within simple abstraction. Noble and beautiful characters are produced by this attitude on the part of the human spirit, which has thus given up that which, as the saying goes, fate wrests from us. It produces a certain grandeur and repose and that free nobility of soul which is also found amongst the ancients. This freedom is, however, only of the abstract kind, which merely stands above the concrete and particular, but does not actually come to be in harmony with what is definite, i.e., it is pure thought, Being, Being-within-self, the relinquishment of the particular. In the higher forms of religion, on the contrary, there exists the consolation that the absolute end and aim will be reached even in misfortune, so that the negative changes round into the affirmative. "The sufferings of the present are the path to bliss."
DEFINITE RELIGION

Abstract necessity, as this abstraction of thought and of the return into self, is the one extreme; the other extreme is the singularity or individual existence of the particular divine powers.

(c.) Posited necessity or the particular gods, their appearance and outward form.

The divine particular powers belong to what is implicitly universal, to necessity, but they come out from it because it is not yet posited for itself as the Notion and determined as freedom. Rationality and the rational content are still in the form of immediacy, or, in other words, subjectivity is not posited as infinite subjectivity, and the individuality hence appears as external. The Notion is not yet revealed, and its definite existence as it here presents itself does not yet contain the content of necessity. But it is at the same time made plain that the freedom of the particular is merely the semblance of freedom, and that the particular powers are held within the unity and power of necessity.

Necessity is not in itself anything divine, or at least is not the divine in a general sense. We may indeed say that God is necessity, i.e., it is one of His essential qualities, though it may be one which is still imperfect, but we cannot say that necessity is God. For necessity is not the Idea, but rather abstract Notion. But Nemesis, and still more these particular powers, are already divine in as far as the former has a relation to definitely existing reality, while these powers again are in themselves characterised as distinguished from necessity, and consequently as distinguished from one another, and are contained in necessity as the unity of the wholly universal and particular.

Accordingly, because particularity is not yet tempered by the Idea, and necessity is not the fully concrete measure of wisdom, unlimited contingency of content makes its appearance in the sphere of the particular gods.
(a.) The contingency of form or outward embodiment.—
The twelve principal gods of Olympus are not arranged
in accordance with the Notion, and they do not constitute
any system. One moment of the Idea, it is true, plays a
leading part, to begin with, but it is not carried out in
detail.

The divine powers of necessity being separate from
it, are external and thus unmediated, merely immediate
objects, natural existing things, such as sun, sky, earth,
sea, mountains, men, kings, and so on. But they are
also still held fast by necessity, and thus the natural
element in them is abrogated. If no advance were made
beyond the thought that these powers were, in their
natural immediate form of existence, divine essentially
existing beings, this would be a reversion to the Religion
of Nature, in which light, or the sun, or some particular
king is as immediate, God, while the inner element, the
universal, has not yet reached that moment of the relation
which, nevertheless, necessity essentially and absolutely
contains in itself, since in the latter the immediate is
merely something posited and abrogated.

But even if it is abrogated and preserved, the element
of Nature is still a determinate characteristic of the partic-
ular powers, and because it is incorporated in self-con-
scious individuals it has become a fruitful source of
contingent determinations. The determination of time,
the year, the division of the months, still hang so much
about the concrete gods that some, as Dupuis, for example,
have even tried to make them into calendar gods. The
idea, too, of the productive power of Nature, of beginning
to be and ceasing to be, is seen to be operative within the
sphere of the spiritual gods in the many points of agree-
ment still existing between these gods and Nature. But
when thus lifted up into the self-conscious form of these
gods, those natural characteristics appear as contingent,
and are changed into characteristics of self-conscious
subjectivity, whereby they lose their original meaning.
The right to search for so-called philosophemes or philosophical ideas in the actions of these gods, must be freely granted. For instance, Zeus feasted with the gods for twelve days amongst the Ethiopians; Juno hung between heaven and earth, and so on. Ideas such as these, as also the endless number of amours ascribed to Zeus, have undoubtedly their primary source in an abstract conception which had reference to natural relations, natural forces, and to the regular and essential element in these, and thus we have the right to search after the conceptions aforesaid. These natural relations are, however, at the same time degraded to the rank of contingent things, since they have not retained their original purity, but are changed into forms which are in conformity with subjective human modes of thought. Free self-consciousness no longer concerns itself about such natural characteristics.

Another source of contingent determinations is the Spiritual itself, spiritual individuality and its historical development. The god is revealed to man in what befalls himself or in the fate of a state, and this becomes an event which is regarded as an action of the god, as revealing the goodwill or enmity of the god. We get an infinitely manifold, but at the same time a contingent content, when any event, such as good fortune or bad fortune, is elevated to being the action of a god, and serves to determine more definitely and in individual instances, the actions of the god. As the God of the Jews gave a particular land to the people and led their fathers out of Egypt, so a Greek god is conceived of as having done this or the other thing which happens to a people, and which they look on as divine or as a self-determination of the divine.

We have further to take into consideration also the locality in which, and the time at which, the consciousness of a god first began. This element of origin within defined limits, united with the joyousness of the Greek character, is the source of a number of delightful stories.
Finally, the free individuality of the gods is the main source of the manifold contingent content ascribed to them. They are, if not infinite, absolute spirituality, at least concrete subjective spirituality. As such, they do not possess an abstract content, and there is not only one quality in them, on the contrary, they unite in themselves several characteristics. Did they possess only one quality this would be merely an abstract inner element, or simply a certain signification, and they themselves would be merely allegories, i.e., would be concrete in imagination merely. But in the concrete fulness of their individuality they are not tied down to the limited lines and modes of operation belonging to one exclusive quality. On the contrary, they can now go about freely in what are voluntary but are at the same time arbitrary and contingent directions.

So far we have considered the embodiment of the divine as it is based in the implicit or potential nature belonging to it, i.e., in the individual nature of these deities, in their subjective spirituality, in their chance appearances in time and place, or as it occurs in the involuntary transformation of natural determinations into the manifestation of free subjectivity. This embodiment has now to be considered as it appears in its perfected form united with consciousness. This is the manifestation of the divine powers which is for "Other," that is, for subjective self-consciousness, and is known and embodied in the conception consciousness forms of it.

(β.) The manifestation and conceiving of the divine.— The actual form which the god attains to in his appearance and manifestation to the finite spirit, has two sides. The god, that is to say, appears in externality, and owing to this a division, a separation, takes place which determines itself in such a way that the manifestation has two sides, one of which pertains to the god and the other to the finite spirit. The side which pertains to the god is his self-revelation, his showing of himself. Locked
at from this side, all that belongs to self-consciousness is passive reception. The mode of this manifestation is one which exists pre-eminently for Thought; what is eternal is taught, given, and its existence does not depend on the caprice of the individual. Dreams, the oracle, are manifestations of this kind. The Greeks embodied this idea in all kinds of forms. For instance, a divine image fallen from heaven, or a meteor, or thunder and lightning, are reckoned as a manifestation of the divine. Or it may be this manifestation, as the first and as yet inarticulate proclamation of the divine to the consciousness, is the rustling of the trees, the stillness of the woods in which Pan is present.

Since this stage is only the stage of freedom and rationality in their first form, the spiritual power either appears in outward guise—and this is the basis of that natural aspect which still attaches to this standpoint—or if the powers and laws that make themselves known to the inward thought of man are spiritual and moral, they are this to begin with because they are, and it is not known whence they come.

The manifestation is now the boundary-line of both sides, which separates them and at the same time relates them to each other. At bottom, however, the activity belongs to both sides, and the true comprehension of this undoubtedly constitutes a serious difficulty. This difficulty also appears again later on in connection with the idea of the grace of God. Grace enlightens the heart of man, it is the Spirit of God in man, so that man can be regarded in relation to its work in him as passive, and in such a way that it is not his own activity which is manifested in his actions. In the Notion, however, this double activity is to be conceived of as one. Here in the present stage, this unity of the Notion is not yet made explicit, and the side of productive activity, which belongs to the subject as well, appears as independent and separate in this way, namely, that the subject pro-
duces the manifestation of the divine consciously as its own work.

It is self-consciousness which grasps, interprets, gives form to what was, to begin with, abstract, whether it is inward or outward, and produces it in the form in which it is held to be God.

The manifestations in Nature or any particular immediate and external element, are not manifestations in the sense that the Essence is only to be regarded as a thought within our minds—as, for instance, when we speak of the forces of Nature and of its outward effects. Here it does not lie in the natural objects themselves, does not lie in the objectivity in them as such that they exist as manifestations of what is inward. As natural objects they exist only for our sense-perception, and for this they are not a manifestation of the universal. Thus it is not, for example, in light as such that thought, the universal, announces its presence. In the case of natural existence we must on the contrary first break through the husk behind which thought, that which is the inward element in things, hides itself.

What is necessary is that the natural, the external, should in itself and in its externality be directly exhibited as abrogated and taken up into something higher, and as being in its own nature manifestation, so that it has only meaning and significance as the outward expression and organ of thought and of the universal. Thought must be for sense-perception, that is, what is revealed is on the one hand the sensuous mode of truth, while on the other hand that which is perceived by the senses is at the same time thought, the universal. It is necessity that has to appear in a divine fashion, i.e., in definite existence as necessity in immediate unity with this concrete existence. This is posited necessity, i.e., definitely existing necessity, which exists as simple reflection into itself.

Imagination is now the organ with which self-con-
sciousness gives outward form to the inwardly abstract or to the external, which is at first something having immediate Being, and posits it as concrete. In this process the natural loses its independence and is reduced to being the outward sign of the indwelling spirit, in such a way that this latter alone is essentially allowed to appear.

The freedom of Spirit here is not yet the infinite freedom of thought; the spiritual essences are not yet in the element of Thought. Did man exercise thought in such a way that pure thought constituted the basis, there would be for him only one God. Just as little, however, does man come upon his essential beings as present immediate natural forms; on the contrary, he brings them forward into existence for idea or figurative thought, and this bringing of them forward as representing the middle stage between pure thought and the immediate perception of Nature, is imagination or fancy.

In this way the gods are formed by human imagination, and they originate in a finite fashion, being produced by the poet, by the muse. They have this finitude essentially in themselves, because so far as the content is concerned they are finite, and in virtue of their individuality have no connection with each other. They are not discovered by the human mind as they are in their essentially existent rational content, but in so far as they are gods. They are made, invented, but are not fictitious. They certainly come forth out of the human imagination in contrast to what actually exists, but they do this as essential forms, and this product of the mind is at the same time recognised as being what is essential.

It is in this sense we are to understand the remark of Herodotus that Homer and Hesiod made their gods for the Greeks. The same might be said of every priest and wise "ancient" who was capable of understanding and explaining the presence in the natural of the divine and of the essentially existing powers.
When the Greeks heard the roaring of the sea at the funeral of Achilles, Nestor came forward and explained it as meaning that Thetis was taking part in the mourning. Thus, too, in the case of the pestilence, Calchas says that Apollo had brought it about because he was angry with the Greeks. This interpretation just means that an embodiment is given to natural phenomena, that they get the form of a divine act. What takes place within the mind is similarly explained. According to Homer, for instance, Achilles would like to draw his sword, but he calms himself and restrains his anger. This inward prudence is Pallas, who represses anger. In this interpretation originated those innumerable charming tales and the endless number of Greek myths which we possess.

From whatever side we consider the Greek principle, the sensuous and natural element is seen to force its way into it. The gods as they issue out of necessity are limited, and they have also still traces of the natural element in them, just because they reveal the fact that they have sprung from the struggle with the forces of Nature. The manifestation by which they announce themselves to self-consciousness is still external, and the imagination which gives shape and form to this manifestation does not yet elevate their starting-point into the region of pure thought. We have now to see how this natural moment is wholly transfigured into a beautiful form.

(γ.) The beautiful form of the divine powers.—In absolute necessity determinateness is reduced to the unity of immediacy, “it is so.” But this means that the determinateness, the content, is rejected, and the stability and freedom of the feeling which keeps to this sensuous perception consists only in the fact that it abides firmly by the empty “is.” But definitely existing necessity is for immediate perception, and indeed exists for it in its character as natural determinate existence which in its determinateness takes itself back into its simplicity, and
actually exhibits in itself this act of withdrawal or taking of itself back. Determinate existence, which is only this process, is in the state of freedom, or, to put it otherwise, determinateness exists as negativity, as reflected into itself, and as sinking itself into simple necessity. This determinateness which relates itself to itself is subjectivity.

For this process of concretely existing necessity the reality is accordingly the spiritual, the human form. This is a sensuous and natural object and thus exists for immediate perception, and it is at the same time simple necessity, simple reference to self, in virtue of being which it plainly announces the presence of thought. In every instance of its contact with reality, of its externalisation, it is directly decomposed, dissolved, and merged in simple identity; it is an externalisation, a manifestation, which is really the externalisation of Spirit.

This relationship is not easily grasped, namely, that the fundamental determination and the one side of the Notion is absolute necessity, while the side of reality in virtue of which the Notion is Idea, is the human form. The Notion must, above all, have actual reality. This determination accordingly is more directly involved in necessity itself, for it is not abstract Being, but what is actual and determinate, determinate in and for itself. Thus the determinateness, just because it is at the same time natural, external, reality, is further directly taken back into simple necessity, so that it is this necessity which exhibits itself in this variegated sensuous element. It is only when it is no longer necessity but Spirit, which constitutes the Divine, that the latter comes to be regarded as existing wholly in the element of thought. Here, however, the moment of external perceptibility still remains, in which, spite of its material character, simple necessity nevertheless exhibits itself. This is only the case when we have the human form, because it is the form of the spiritual, and only in it can reality be taken back for consciousness into the simplicity of necessity.
Life generally is this infinitude of free existence, and as what is living is it this subjectivity, which reacts against the immediate determinateness and posits it as identical with itself in feeling. But the life of the animal, that is, the actual existence and externalisation of its infinitude, has plainly a merely limited content, is sunk in merely particular conditions. The simplicity to which this determinateness is taken back is a limited and merely formal one, and the content is not adequate to this its form. For thinking man, on the other hand, the spiritual is expressed in his particular conditions also; this expression of it lets us see that man even in any one limited condition is at the same time above it, transcends it, is free, and does not go outside of himself, continues to be at home with himself. We can very easily judge whether a man in the act of satisfying his wants behaves like an animal or like a man. The human element is a delicate fragrance which spreads itself over every action. Besides, man has not only this element of mere life, but has likewise an infinite range of higher ways of expressing himself, of higher deeds and ends, the constituent element of which is just the Infinite, the Universal. Thus man is that absolute reflection into self which we have in the conception of necessity. It properly belongs to physiology to get a knowledge of the human organism, of the human form as the only form truly adequate for Spirit, but as yet it has accomplished little in this regard. Aristotle long ago expressed the truth that it is only the human organisation which is the form of the spiritual, when he pointed it out as being the defect in the idea of the transmigration of souls, that according to this theory the bodily organisation of human beings was of a merely accidental kind.

The individual actual man still essentially has, however, in his immediate existence the element of immediate natural life, which makes its appearance as something temporary and fleeting, as that which has fallen away
from universality. In accordance with this element of
finitude, there emerges a discordance or want of harmony
between that which man implicitly, in his real nature is,
and what he actually is. The impress of simple necessity
is not stamped on all the features and parts of the in-
dividual man. Empirical individuality and the expression
of simple inwardness are mingled together, and the ideality
of the natural, freedom and universality are, owing to the
conditions of the merely natural life and because of a
number of natural needs which come into play, obscured.
Looked at from this point of view, from which an "Other"
appears in man, the appearance of the outward form does
not correspond with simple necessity, but the fact that
on his existence in all its shapes and parts the stamp of
universality, of simple necessity is impressed—which
Goethe appropriately called *significance*, as representing
the essential character of classic art—renders it necessary
that the form should be planned only in Spirit, should
be produced only out of it, and brought into existence
only by its mediation, that it should in short be ideal
and a work of art. This is something higher than a
natural product. We are, no doubt, in the habit of
saying that a natural product is the more excellent,
just because it is made by God, while a work of art is
made only by man, as if, forsooth, natural objects did
not also owe their existence to immediate natural finite
things, to seeds, air, water, light; as if the power of God
lived only in Nature and not also in what is human, in
the realm of the spiritual. If the real truth is that
natural products only flourish under the conditions sup-
plied by what for them are external and contingent
circumstances, and under their influence, an influence
which comes from without, then in the work of art it is
the necessity which appears as the inward soul and as
the notion of externality. That is to say, necessity does
not here mean that objects are necessary in themselves
and have necessity as their predicate, but that necessity
is the subject, that which manifests itself in its pre-
dicate, in external existence.

If in this process the manifestation belongs to the
subjective side, so that God appears as something made
by man, still that is merely one moment. For this
posing of God, the making of His existence dependent
on man, is, on the other hand, mediated by the abrogation
of the individual self, and thus it was possible for the
Greeks to see their god in the Zeus of Phidias. The
artist did not give them in an abstract way something
which was his own work, but presented to them the
appropriate and peculiar manifestation of the essential,
the outward form of actually existing necessity.

The form given to the god is thus the ideal form.
Previous to the time of the Greeks there was no true
ideality, nor was it possible for it to appear at any
subsequent time. The art of the Christian religion is
indeed beautiful, but ideality is not its ultimate principle.
We cannot get at the element of defect in the Greek
gods by saying that they are anthropopathic, a category of
finitude under which we may put the immoral element,
as, for example, the stories of the amours of Zeus, which
may have their origin in older myths based on what is
as yet the natural way of looking at things. The main
defect is not that there is too much of the anthropopathic
in these gods, but that there is too little. The mani-
festation and the aspect of the definite existence of the divine
do not yet advance so far as immediate actuality, in the
form of a definite individual; that is, as this definite man.
The truest, most proper form is necessarily this, that the
absolute Spirit which exists for itself should advance to
the point at which it shows itself as individual empirical
self-consciousness. This characteristic, consisting thus
in advance to the sensuous definite individual, is not
yet present here. The form made by man in which the
divinity appears has, it is true, a material side, but this
has still such pliability that it can be perfectly adapted
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to the manifested content. It is only when separation in God advances to its ultimate limit and appears as man, as a particular empirical self-consciousness, that this sensuousness, this externality, is, so to speak, set free as sensuousness, that is to say, the conditionateness of externality and its want of suitability to express the Notion actually come to light in the god. Here matter, the sensuous, has not yet this form. On the contrary, it keeps true to its content. As the god, though spiritual, universal power, issues out of Nature, he must have the natural as the element of his embodiment, and it must be made plain that it is just the natural which is the mode of the expression of the divine. The god thus appears in stone, and the material is still held to be adequate to the expression of the god as god. It is only when the god appears and reveals himself as a definite individual that Spirit, the subjective knowledge of Spirit as Spirit, is seen to be the true manifestation of God, and it is not till then that sensuousness is set free, that is to say, it is no longer blended with the god, but shows itself to be inadequate as his form; the sensuousness, the immediate individuality, is nailed to the cross. In this process of inversion, it is also shown, however, that this self-alienation, or self-emptying of God in the human form, is only one side of the divine life, for this self-emptying, this manifestation, is taken back again in the One who then for the first time becomes Spirit for thought and for the Church. This single, existing, actual man is done away with and taken up into something higher, and appears as a moment, as one of the persons of God in God. Thus only is man as a definite individual man truly in God, and thus the manifestation of the divine is absolute, and its element is Spirit itself. The Jewish idea that God essentially exists for thought alone, and the sensuousness of the Greek form of beauty, are equally contained in this form of the divine, and as being taken up into something higher, are freed from the limitation attaching to them.
At this stage, in which the divine still requires the sensuous for its essential representation, it appears as a multiplicity of gods. In this multiplicity, it is true, necessity presents itself as simple reflection into self, but this simplicity is only form, for the matter in which it exhibits itself is still immediacy, the element of Nature, not the absolute matter, namely, Spirit. It is thus not Spirit as Spirit that is here represented; the truth rather being that the spiritual existence goes ahead of the consciousness of the content, for this latter is not yet itself Spirit.

C.

WORSHIP OR CULTUS.

This is here a very big subject. Worship essentially means that the empirical consciousness elevates itself, and that man gives himself the consciousness and feeling of the indwelling of the divine within him, and of his unity with the divine. If the work of art is the self-revelation of God and the revelation of the productivity of man as the positing of this revelation by the abrogation of his particular knowledge and will, on the other hand, the work of art equally involves the fact that God and man are no longer beings alien to one another, but have been taken up into a higher unity. The positing or bringing out of what is implicit in the work of art is here accordingly worship, and this latter is hence the relationship whereby the external objectivity of God is, relatively to subjective knowledge, abrogated, and the identity of the two set forth. In this way the external divine existence, as something divorced from existence within the subjective spirit, is abrogated, and thus God is, as it were, called to mind within the sphere of subjectivity. The general character of this worship consists in this, that the subject has an essentially affirmative relationship to his god.
The moments of worship are as follows: (a.) Inner feeling or subjective attitude. The gods are duly recognised and revered; they are the substantial powers, the essential, real content of the natural and spiritual universe, the Universal. These universal powers, as exempt from contingency, are recognised by man just because he is thinking consciousness. Thus the world no longer exists for him in an external and contingent fashion, but in the true mode. We thus hold in respect duty, justice, knowledge, political life, life in the State, family relationships. They represent what is true, the inner bond which holds the world together, the substantial element in which the rest exists, the valid element, what alone holds its ground against the contingency and independence which act in opposition to it.

This content is the objective in the true sense, i.e., what is absolutely and essentially valid and true, not in the external objective sense, but within subjectivity also. The substance of these powers is the moral element peculiar to men, their morality, their actual and valid power, their own substantiality and essentiality. The Greek people are hence the most human people; with them everything human is affirmatively justified and developed, and the element of measure is present in it.

This religion is essentially a religion of humanity, that is, the concrete man, as regards what he actually is, as regards his needs, inclinations, passions, and habits, as regards his moral and political relations, and in reference to all that has value in these and is essential, is in his gods in presence of his own nature. Or, to put it otherwise, his god has within him the very content composed of the noble and the true, which is at the same time that of concrete man. This humanity of the gods is what was defective in the Greek view, but it is at the same time its attractive element. In this religion there is nothing incomprehensible, nothing which cannot be understood; there is no kind of content in the god which
is not known to man, or which he does not find and know in himself. The confidence of a man in the gods is at the same time his confidence in himself.

Pallas, who restrained the outbreak of wrath in the case of Achilles, is his own prudence. Athene is the town of Athens, and is also the spirit of this particular Athenian people; not an external spirit or protecting spirit, but the spirit who is living, present, actually alive in the people, a spirit immanent in the individual, and who in her essential nature is represented as Pallas.

The Erinys are not the Furies represented in an outward way. On the contrary, they are meant to suggest that it is man’s own act and his consciousness which torment and torture him, in so far as he knows this act to be something evil in himself. The Erinys is not only an external Fury who pursues the matricide Orestes, but suggests rather that it is the spirit of matricide which brandishes its torch over him. The Erinys are the righteous ones, and just because of that they are the well-disposed, the Eumenides. This is not a euphemism, for they really are those who desire justice, and whoever outrages it has the Eumenides within himself. They represent what we call conscience.

In the OEdipus at Colonus, OEdipus says to his son, "The Eumenides of the father will pursue thee." Eros, love, is in the same way not merely the objective, the god, but is also as power the subjective feeling of man. Anacreon, for instance, describes a combat with Eros. "I also," he says, "will now love; long ago Eros bade me love, but I would not follow his command. Then Eros attacked me. Armed with breastplate and lance, I withstood him. Eros missed, but after that he forced his way into my heart." "But," thus he concludes, "what is the use of bow and arrow? the combat is within me." In thus recognising the power of the god, and in this reverential attitude, the subject is absolutely within the sphere of his own nature. The gods are his own emotions.
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The knowledge the subject has of the gods is not a knowledge of them merely as abstractions away beyond the sphere of reality. On the contrary, it is a knowledge which includes the knowledge of the concrete subjectivity of man himself as something essential, for the gods are likewise within him. Here we have not that negative relation, where the relation of the subject to what is above it, even if it is the highest form of relation, is merely the sacrifice, the negation of its consciousness. The powers here are friendly and gracious to men, they dwell in man's own breast; man gives them reality, and knows their reality to be at the same time his own. The breath of freedom pervades this whole world, and constitutes the fundamental principle for this attitude of mind.

But the consciousness of the infinite subjectivity of man is still wanting, the consciousness that moral relations and absolute right attach to man as such, that man, just because he is self-consciousness, possesses in this formal infinitude the rights as well as the duties of the human race. Freedom, morality, is the substantial element in man, and to know this as the substantial element, and to posit in it his own substantiality, is what constitutes the value and the dignity of man. But it is the formal subjectivity, self-consciousness as such, the inherently infinite individuality, and not the merely natural and immediate individuality, which contains the possibility of that value, i.e., the real possibility, and the one on account of which the individual himself has infinite rights. Now, because in the natural morality of the untutored man the infinitude of formal subjectivity is not recognised, man as such does not attain to that absolute value according to which he has worth in and for himself, whatever be his inward qualifications, whether born in this or the other place, whether rich or poor, whether belonging to this people or to that. Freedom and morality have still a special, particular form, and the essential right of man is still
affected by what is contingent, so that it is essentially at this stage that slavery is found to exist. It is still a matter of accident whether a man is a citizen of this particular State or not, whether he is free or is not free. And because, further, the infinite opposition is not yet present, and because the absolute reflection of self-consciousness into itself, that climax of subjectivity, is still wanting, morality as individual conviction and rational insight is not yet developed.

Nevertheless, in morality, individuality is in a general sense taken up into universal substantiality, and thus there here enters in—if at first only as a faint semblance, and not yet as the absolute demand of Spirit—the idea of the eternal nature of the subjective, individual spirit, the idea of immortality. The demand for the immortality of the soul could not make its appearance at any of the earlier stages already considered, either in the religion of Nature or in the religion of the One. In the former, the immediate unity of the spiritual and the natural is the fundamental idea, and Spirit is not yet self-conscious, or for itself. In the latter, Spirit is, it is true, self-conscious and exists for itself, but it is still unrealised; its freedom is still abstract, and its Being is still a natural form of existence, the possession of a particular land and its welfare. But that is not Being as the determinate existence of Spirit within itself; it does not yet imply full satisfaction in the spiritual. The duration is only the duration of the race, of the family, of natural universality, in short. But here self-consciousness is complete and realised in itself; it is spiritual. Subjectivity is taken up into universal essentiality and is thus known as essentially Idea; and here we meet with the conception of immortality. But this consciousness becomes more definite when morality appears on the scene; self-consciousness goes down into itself, and hence it will recognise that only as good, true, and right which it finds to be in harmony with itself and its thought. With Socrates and Plato accordingly
the question of the immortality of the soul is the one expressly raised, while before their day this idea was considered more as a merely general one, and as one which had not absolute value in and for itself.

As infinite subjectivity, the absolute point of the unity of the Notion, is still wanting to self-consciousness, it is still wanting also to its essentialities, to what represents for it real existence. This unity is found within that which we have come to know as its necessity; but this lies outside the circle of the particular, substantial, essential beings. The particular essential beings, like man as such, have no absolute justification, for any justification they have they possess only as a moment of necessity, and as rooted in this absolute unity which is reflected into itself. They are many, though of divine nature, and this their scattered and manifold character is at the same time a limitation, so that divine nature is not attributed to them in any really serious sense. Above the many substantial essential beings there floats the ultimate unity of absolute form—necessity, and self-consciousness, which is in relation to the gods, is at the same time freed by this necessity from them, so that their divinity is at one time taken in a serious sense and at another in an opposite sense.

This religion has, speaking generally, the character of absolute joyousness; self-consciousness is free in relation to its essential beings, because they are its own, though at the same time it is not chained to them, since absolute necessity floats above them too, and they go back into it, just as consciousness with its particular ends and needs also sinks itself in it.

The feeling accordingly of subjective self-consciousness in relation to necessity is this sense of repose which abides in the region of calm, in this freedom, which is, however, still an abstract freedom. It is so far an escape, a flight, but it is at the same time freedom, inasmuch as man is not overcome, weighed down by outward misfortune.
Whoever has this consciousness of independence may be indeed outwardly worsted, but he is not conquered or overcome.

Necessity has its own sphere; it has reference only to the particular element of individuality in so far as a collision of spiritual powers is possible, and the individuals are affected by necessity and are brought into subjection to it. Those individuals are in a special way in subjection to necessity and have a tragic interest attaching to them, who raise themselves above the ordinary moral conditions, and who seek to accomplish something special for themselves. This is the case with the heroes who through their own acts of will are separated from others; they have interests which go beyond the ordinary peaceful circumstances in which the government and action of God proceed. They are those who will and act in a special way of their own; they stand above the Chorus, above the calm, steady, harmonious, ordinary moral course of life. This last is exempt from the influence of destiny, restricts itself to the ordinary sphere of life, and rouses none of the moral powers against it. The Chorus, the people, viewed in one aspect, has its particular side too; it is subject to the common lot of mortals, namely, to die, to suffer misfortune and such-like, but an issue of this kind is the common lot of mortal men, and represents the course of justice relatively to the finite. That the individual should suffer some accidental misfortune, that he should die, is something which belongs to the order of things.

In Homer, Achilles weeps over his early death, and his horse weeps over it too. That would be regarded in our day as a silly thing for a poet to mention. But Homer could attribute to his hero this foreknowledge, for it cannot alter anything in his life and actions; it simply is so for him, and otherwise he is what he is. The thought can indeed make him sad, but only momentarily; things are so, but this disturbs him no further;
he may indeed be sad, but he cannot be vexed or annoyed. Vexation is the sentiment of the modern world; the feeling of vexation or annoyance presupposes an end, a demand on the part of modern freewill, which considers itself warranted and justified in indulging this feeling if any such end should not be realised. Thus the modern man easily gets into the mood in which he loses heart with regard to everything else, and does not even seek to reach other things he might quite well have made his aim if otherwise unsuccessful. All else that belongs to his nature and destiny he abandons, and in order to revenge himself destroys his own courage, his power of action, all those ends of destiny to which he might otherwise have quite well attained. This is vexation; it could not possibly have formed part of the character of the Greeks or of the ancients, the truth being that their grief regarding what is necessary is of a purely simple kind. The Greeks did not set before themselves any end as absolute, as essential, any end the attainment of which ought to be warranted; their grief is therefore a grief of resignation. It is simple sorrow, simple grief, which has for this reason the element of serenity in it. No absolute end is lost for the individual; here, too, he continues to be at home with himself, he can renounce that which is not realised. *It is so*; and this means that he has withdrawn himself into abstraction, and has not set his own Being in opposition to what is. The liberation here is the identity of the subjective will with that which *is*; the subject is free, but only in an abstract fashion.

The heroes, as was remarked, bring about an alteration in the course of simple necessity, in this way, namely, that an element of division comes in, and the higher, really interesting element of division, so far as Spirit is concerned, is that it is the moral powers themselves which appear as divided and as coming into collision.

The removal of this state of collision consists in this, that the moral powers which are in collision, in virtue
of their one-sidedness, divest themselves of the one-sidedness attaching to the assertion of independent validity, and this discarding of the one-sidedness reveals itself outwardly in the fact that the individuals who have aimed at the realisation in themselves of a single separate moral power, perish.

Fate is what is devoid of thought, of the Notion, something in which justice and injustice disappear in abstraction; in tragedy, on the other hand, destiny moves within a certain sphere of moral justice. We find this truth expressed in the noblest form in the Tragedies of Sophocles. Fate and necessity are both referred to there. The destiny of individuals is represented as something incomprehensible, but necessity is not a blind justice; on the contrary, it is recognised as the true justice. And just because of this these Tragedies are the immortal spiritual productions of moral understanding and comprehension, the eternal patterns or models of the moral Notion. Blind destiny is something unsatisfying. In these Tragedies justice is grasped by thought. The collision between the two highest moral powers is set forth in a plastic fashion in that supreme and absolute example of tragedy, Antigone. In this case, family love, what is holy, what belongs to the inner life and to inner feeling, and which because of this is also called the law of the nether gods, comes into collision with the law of the State. Creon is not a tyrant, but really a moral power; Creon is not in the wrong; he maintains that the law of the State, the authority of government, is to be held in respect, and that punishment follows the infraction of the law. Each of these two sides realises only one of the moral powers, and has only one of these as its content; this is the element of one-sidedness here, and the meaning of eternal justice is shown in this, that both end in injustice just because they are one-sided, though at the same time both obtain justice too. Both are recognised as having a value of their own in the untroubled course of morality.
Here they both have their own validity, but a validity which is equalised. It is only the one-sidedness in their claims which justice comes forward to oppose.

We have another example of collision in the case of Ædipus, for instance. He has slain his father, is apparently guilty, but guilty because his moral power is one-sided; that is to say, he falls into the commission of his horrible deed unconsciously. He, however, is the man who has solved the riddle of the Sphinx; he is the man distinguished for knowledge, and so a kind of balance is introduced in the shape of a Nemesis. He, who is so gifted in knowledge, is in the power of what is unconscious, so that he falls into a guilt which is deep in proportion to the height on which he stood. Here, therefore, we have the opposition of the two powers, that of consciousness and unconsciousness.

To mention still another case of collision. Hippolytus becomes unfortunate because he pays honour to Diana only, and despises Love, which accordingly revenges itself on him. It is an absurdity to ascribe to Hippolytus another amour, as is done in the French version of the story by Racine, for in that case what he suffers is no punishment of Love with any pathos in it, but is merely a certain misfortune arising from the fact that he is enamoured of one maiden, and gives no heed to another woman; for though the latter is indeed his father's wife, still the moral hindrance implied in this is obscured by the love he has for Aricia. The real cause of his destruction is the injury he has done by his neglect of a universal Power as such; it is nothing moral, but is, on the contrary, something particular and accidental.

The conclusion of this Tragedy is reconciliation, rational necessity, the necessity which here begins to mediate itself; it is justice which is in this way satisfied with the maxim, "There is nothing which is not Zeus," that is, eternal justice. Here there is an active necessity, but it is one which is completely moral; the
misfortune endured is perfectly clear; here there is nothing blind and unconscious. To such clearness of insight and of artistic presentation did Greece attain at her highest stage of culture. Yet there remains here something unsolved in that the higher element does not appear as the infinitely spiritual power; we still have here an unsatisfied sorrow arising from the fact that an individual perishes.

The higher form of reconciliation would be that the attitude of one-sidedness should be done away with in the Subject, that the subject should have the consciousness of his wrong-doing, and that he should in his own heart put away his wrong-doing. To recognise this his guilt, his one-sidedness, and to discard them, is not, however, natural to this sphere of thought. This higher point of view makes the outward punishment, namely, natural death, superfluous. Beginnings, faint echoes of this reconciliation, do undoubtedly make their appearance here, but nevertheless this inward change or conversion appears more as outward purification. A son of Minos was slain in Athens, and its purification was thus rendered necessary. This deed was declared to be undone. It is Spirit which seeks to render what has been done undone.

In the Eumenides Orestes is acquitted by the Areopagus; here we have, on the one hand, the greatest possible crime against filial piety, while on the other we see that he did justice to his father, for he was not only head of the family, but also of the State. In one action he both committed a crime and at the same time acted in accordance with perfect and essential necessity. Acquittal just means that something is made undone, made as though it had not happened.

In the case of Œdipus Coloneus reconciliation is hinted at, and more particularly the Christian idea of reconciliation. He is taken into favour by the gods, the gods call him to themselves. In the present day we
demand more, since with us the idea of reconciliation is of a higher kind, and because we are conscious that this conversion can occur in the inner life, whereby that which is done can be rendered undone.

The man who is "converted" gives up his one-sidedness; he has extirpated it himself in his will, which was the permanent seat of the deed, the place of its abode; that is, he destroys the act in its root. It is congenial to our way of feeling that tragedies should have conclusions which have in them the element of reconciliation.

(b.) Worship as Service.—If the real point accordingly is that subjectivity should consciously pronounce its identity with the divine which confronts it, then both parts must give up something of their determinateness. God comes down from his throne of the universe and delivers Himself up, and man must, in the act of receiving the gift, accomplish the negation of subjective self-consciousness—that is, he must acknowledge God or take the gift with an acknowledgment of the essentiality which is in it. The service of God is consequently a reciprocal giving and receiving. Each side gives up something of the particularity which separates it from the other.

1. The outward relation of the two sides to one another in its most extreme form is that God has in Himself a natural element, and exists independently relatively to self-consciousness in an immediate definite fashion; or, to put it otherwise, God has His existence in an external, natural manifestation. In this relation the service of God is on the one side an acknowledgment that natural things are an Essence in themselves. On the other side, the deity offers itself up, sacrifices itself in the power of Nature in which it appears, and allows itself to be taken possession of by self-consciousness.

If then the divine powers give themselves up as gifts of Nature and graciously offer themselves for use, the
service in which man comes to have a consciousness of unity with his powers has the following signification:—

As for those fruits, those springs, which exist in Nature, they allow themselves to be used and drawn upon without hindrance, or to be laid hold of and used as nourishment. These gifts fall freely into the lap of man; man eats the gifts, drinks the wine, and gets from them invigoration and stimulus, and this invigoration in which they are an element, is their work, the effect they produce. In this relationship it is not a case of mere reciprocal action, the melancholy, continuous, self-producing uniformity of what is mechanical. On the contrary, these gifts are rendered honourable because man eats them and drinks of them; for to what higher honour can natural things attain than to appear as the inspiring force of spiritual action? Wine inspires, but it is man who first exalts it to the rank of an inspiring and power-giving agent. So far the relationship of bare need disappears. In connection with the sense of need man gives thanks to the gods for the receiving of the gifts, and these needs presuppose a separation which it is not in the power of man to do away with. Need, strictly so called, first makes its appearance owing to property and the retention of something by one will, but man does not stand in such a relation of need to the gifts of Nature; on the contrary, they have to thank him that they come to be something, that anything is made of them; without him they would rot and dry up and pass away in uselessness.

The sacrifice which is connected with the enjoyment of these natural gifts has not here the sense of the offering up of what is inward or of the concrete fulness of Spirit; on the contrary, it is just this very fulness which is affirmed and enjoyed. Sacrifice in this case can only signify that acknowledgment of the universal Power which expresses the theoretical giving up of a part of what is to be enjoyed, i.e., the acknowledgment
here is a useless and aimless kind of giving up, a renunciation which is not practical and has not reference to the self; as, for example, the pouring out of a bowl of wine. The sacrifice is itself at the same time the enjoyment of the thing; the wine is drunk, the meat is eaten, and it is the power of Nature itself whose individual existence and external form are offered up and destroyed. Eating means sacrifice, and sacrifice just means eating.

Thus this higher sense of sacrifice and the enjoyment found in it attach themselves to all the actions of life; every occupation, every enjoyment of daily life is a sacrifice. Worship is not renunciation, not the offering up of a possession, of something belonging to oneself, but is rather idealised, theoretical and artistic enjoyment. Freedom and spirituality are spread over the entire daily and immediate life of man, and worship is in short a continuous poetry of life.

The worship of these gods is accordingly not to be called service in the proper sense of the word, as something having reference to a foreign independent will from whose chance decision is to be obtained what is desired. On the contrary, the act of adoration itself already implies a previous granting of something, or, in other words, it is itself enjoyment. It is, therefore, not a question of calling a power back to oneself from its place beyond what is here and now, nor of renouncing what, on the subjective side of self-consciousness, constitutes the separation, in order that man may be receptive of the power. It is thus not a question of deprivation or renunciation, or of the laying aside of something subjective belonging to the individual, nor does the idea of anguish, of self-tormenting, of self-torture come in here. The worship of Bacchus or of Ceres is the possession, the enjoyment of bread and wine, the consumption of these, and is therefore itself the immediate granting of these things. The Muse to which Homer appeals is in the same way his genius, and so on.
The universal powers, however, in this case certainly retire farther into the background again, so far as the individual is concerned. The spring allows itself to be drawn upon unhindered, and the sea allows itself to be freely frequented, but it also rises in storm; it and the stars are not only not serviceable to man, but inspire fear, and are a source of disaster. Nor is the Muse always gracious to the poet either; she goes away and serves him badly, though, properly speaking, the poet really appeals to her only when he is composing his poem, and the appeal to and praise of the Muse is itself Poetry. Even Athene—Spirit, God—is unfaithful to herself. The Tyrians bound their Hercules with chains, so that he should not desert their city, which represented his reality and actual real existence; and yet Tyre fell. But such estrangement on the part of men from their essentiality or embodiment of essential Being does not lead to absolute division, not to that inward laceration of heart which would compel men to draw down their deity, so to speak, by the force of spirit to themselves in worship, and with which the lapse into magic would be connected. The individual cannot go on living in endless opposition to these particular powers, because as particular ends they lose themselves in necessity, and are themselves surrendered in this necessity.

Service hence consists in the fact that the universal powers are given a place of honour on their own account and are duly acknowledged. Thought grasps the essential, substantial element of its concrete life, and hence is neither sunk in a state of torpor in the empirical details of life and dissipated amongst these, nor does it turn from these merely to the abstract One, to the infinite "Beyond." On the contrary, just because Spirit sets before itself the true element, the Idea of its manifold existence, it is, in the very act of acknowledging and doing reverence to this universal, in the state of enjoyment, and remains in the presence of its own nature.
This presence of Spirit in its essentialities is on the one hand its truly valuable, thinking, theoretic relationship, and on the other hand is that happiness, joyousness, and freedom which is securely conscious of itself in this state, and is here in presence of its self, or together with its own self.

2. Service as a certain relationship to the gods on their spiritual side does not mean either that man appropriates these powers for the first time, or that man for the first time becomes conscious of his identity with them. For this identity is already present, and man finds these powers already realised in his consciousness. The spiritual in a definite form, as right, morality, law, or in the form of universal essential beings, such as Love, Aphrodite, attains actual existence in individuals, moral individuals, who know and love. They are the will, the inclination, the passion of these individuals themselves, their own willing, active, life. Consequently what is left for worship to do is merely to acknowledge these powers, to revere them, and together with this, to raise the identity into the form of consciousness, and to make it into theoretic objectivity.

If we compare this objectivity with our idea, we at the same time lift the universal out of our immediate consciousness and think it. We can also go on to raise these universal powers into the sphere of the ideal and give them spiritual form. But when it comes to offering prayer or bringing sacrifices to such creations, we reach the point at which we abandon the material view referred to. We cannot go so far as to give those images, which yet are no mere fancies but real powers, individual separate independence and ascribe personality to them as over against ourselves. Our consciousness of infinite subjectivity as something universal absorbs those particular powers and reduces them to the level of beautiful pictures of fancy, whose substance and significance we are indeed able to appreciate, but which cannot be held by us to have true independence.
In Greek life, however, poetry, the thinking imagination, is itself the essential Service of God. Viewed from one side, these powers split up ad infinitum, and, although they constitute an exclusive circle, just because they are particular powers they themselves come almost to have the infinitude of the qualities belonging to them when they are thought of as actually existing. What a number of particular relations are comprised in Pallas, for instance! Viewed from the other side, again, we see that it is the human, sensuous-spiritual form in which the ideal is to be represented, and as a consequence of all this, this representation is inexhaustible, and must ever continue to go on and renew itself, for the religious sense is itself this continuous transition from empirical existence to the ideal. There is here no fixed, spiritually definite doctrinal system, no doctrine; we have not truth as such in the form of thought; on the contrary, we see the divine in this immanent connection with reality, and hence always raising itself up anew and producing itself in and out of this reality. If this active production is brought to perfection by art, imagination has reached its ultimate fixed form, so that the ideal is set up, and then we find that there is a close connection between this and the decay of religious life.

So long, however, as the productive force which characterises this standpoint is fresh and active, the highest form of the assimilation of the divine consists in this, that the subject makes the god present through himself, and makes the god manifest in his own self. Because in this connection the recognised subjectivity of the god at the same time remains on one side as a "Beyond," this representation of the divine is at the same time the acknowledgment and the adoration of his own substantial essentiality. Thus accordingly the divine is revered and acknowledged when it is represented in festivals, games, plays, songs—in art, in short. For any one is honoured in so far as a lofty idea is formed of him, and in so far
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too as this idea is made visible through action and is allowed to appear outwardly in his conduct.

Now since the nation in the productions of art, in the honour paid in songs and festivals, allows the idea of the divine to appear in itself, it has its worship in itself, i.e., it directly shows what is really its own excellence; it shows the best it has, that which it has been capable of making itself. Men adorn themselves; pageantry, dress, adornment, dance, song, battle—all are connected with the desire to show honour to the gods. Man shows his spiritual and bodily ability and skill, his riches; he exhibits himself in all the glory of God, and thus enjoys the manifestation of God in the individual himself. This characterises festivals even yet. This general description may suffice to show that man allows the idea of the gods to appear to him through himself, and that he represents himself in the most splendid possible way, and thus shows his reverential recognition of the gods. High honour was ascribed to the victors in battle; they were the most honoured of the nation; on festive occasions they sat beside the Archons, and it even happened that in their lifetime they were revered as gods, inasmuch as they had given outward manifestation to the divine in themselves through the skill which they had shown. In this way individuals make the divine manifest in themselves. In practice individuals honour the gods, are moral—that which is the will of the gods is what is moral—and thus they bring the divine into the sphere of actual reality. The people of Athens, for example, who held a procession at the festival of Pallas, represented the presence of Athene, the spirit of the people, and this people is the living spirit which represents and exhibits in itself all the skill of Athene and all that is done by her.

3. But man may be ever so certain of his immediate identity with the essential powers, and may thoroughly appropriate divinity to himself and rejoice in its presence
in him, and in the presence of himself in it; he may continue to absorb those natural gods, and represent the moral gods in morality and in the life of the State, or he may in practice live a godly life and bring into view the outward embodiment and manifestation of divinity in festivals in his own subjectivity; still there yet remains for consciousness a "Beyond," that is to say, the entire particular element in action and in the circumstances and relations of the individual, and the connection of these relations with God. Our belief that Providence in its action reaches even to the individual, finds its confirmation in the fact that God has become man, and this in the actual and temporal mode within which consequently all particular individuality is comprehended, for it is owing to this that subjectivity has received the absolute moral justification by which it is subjectivity of the infinite self-consciousness. In the beautiful form given to the gods, in the images, stories, and local representations connected with them, the element of infinite individuality, of particularity in its most extreme form, is doubtless directly contained and expressed, still it is a particularity which in one aspect of it is one of the chief defects charged against the mythology of Homer and Hesiod, while in another aspect these stories belong so specially to the gods represented that they have no reference to other gods or to men, just as amongst men each individual has his own particular experiences, doings, circumstances, and history, which belong wholly and entirely to his particular life. The moment of subjectivity does not appear as infinite subjectivity, it is not Spirit as such which is contemplated in the objective forms given to the divine; and wisdom is what must constitute the fundamental characteristic of the divine. This, as working in accordance with ends, must be comprised within one infinite wisdom, within one subjectivity. The truth that human things are ruled over by the gods is thus no doubt involved in that
religion, but in an indeterminate, general sense, for it is just the gods who are the ruling powers in all that concerns man. The gods too are certainly just, but justice, so far as it is one Power, is a titanic power and pertains to the ancient gods. The beautiful gods have a valid existence of their own in their particular forms and come to be in collision, and these collisions are only settled by equal honour being given to all—a method, however, which certainly gives no immanent settlement.

From gods such as these, in whom the absolute return into self has not made its appearance, the individual could not look for absolute wisdom and ordered design in connection with what happened to him in life. Man, however, still feels the need of having above his particular acts and particular lot, an objective determining principle. He does not possess this in the thought of divine wisdom and Providence so as to be able to trust it in general, and for the rest to depend upon his own formal knowledge and will, and to await the absolute and entire consummation of these, or else to seek some compensation for the loss and failure of his particular interests and ends, or for his misfortune, in an eternal end.

When the particular interests of man, his happiness or misery, are concerned, we find that this outward element in what happens still depends on whether a man does this or that, goes to this or that other place. This is his act, his decision, which he, however, in turn knows to be contingent. As regards the circumstances which I actually know, I can doubtless decide one way or other. But besides these thus known to me, others may exist through which the realisation of my end is completely defeated. In connection with these actions I am thus in the world of contingency. Within this sphere knowledge is accordingly contingent; it has no relation to what is ethical, and truly substantial, to the duties to country, the State, and so on; man cannot, however, get to know this contingent element. The decision conse-
quently cannot so far have anything fixed about it, nor be in any way grounded in the nature of things, but in deciding I know at the same time that I am dependent on what is other than myself, on what is unknown. Now, since neither in the divine nor in the individual is the moment of infinite subjectivity present, it does not fall to the individual to take the final decision of himself, to perform of himself the final act of will, for instance, to give battle to-day, to marry, to travel; for the man is conscious that objectivity does not reside in this willing of his, and that it is formal merely. To satisfy the longing for this completion and to add on this objectivity, a direction from without is required coming from one higher than the individual, that is, the direction of an external, decisive, and definite sign. It is the inner free will which, that it may not be mere free will, makes itself objective, i.e., makes itself inalienably into what is other than itself and accepts the external free will as higher than itself. It is, speaking generally, some power of Nature, a natural phenomenon, which now decides. The man, amazed at what he sees, finds in such a natural phenomenon something relative to himself, because he does not yet see in it any objective essential significance, or, to put it otherwise, he does not see in Nature an inherently perfect system of laws. The formal rational element, the feeling and the belief in the identity of the inward and outward, lies at the basis of his conception, but the inward element of Nature, or the universal to which it stands related, is not the connection of its laws; on the contrary, it is a human end, a human interest.

When, accordingly, any one wills anything, he demands, in order actually to take his resolution, an external objective confirmation or assurance; he asks that he should know his resolution to be one which is a unity of the subjective and objective, one which is assured and ratified. And here this ratification is the unexpected, something which happens suddenly, a materially significant,
unconnected change in things, a flash in a clear sky, a bird rising up in a wide uniform horizon, and which breaks in upon the indeterminateness of the inner irresolution. This is an appeal to what is inward, an appeal to act suddenly, and to come to a determination within the mind in a chance way without a knowledge of the connection and grounds, for this is just the point at which the grounds or reasons stop short, or at which they are in fact absent.

The outward phenomenon which is nearest at hand for the accomplishment of the end in view, namely, the finding out of what is to determine action, is a sound, a noise, a voice, ὀμφη, whence Delphi has got the name ὀμφαλος, a supposition which is certainly more correct than that which would find in it the other meaning of the word, namely, the navel of the earth. In Dodona there were three kinds of sounds—the sound produced by the movement of the leaves in the sacred oak, the murmuring of a spring, and the sound coming from a brazen vessel struck by rods of brass moved by the wind. At Delos the laurel rustled; at Delphi the wind which blew on the brazen tripod was the principal element. It was not till later on that the Pythia had to be stupefied by vapours, when in her raving she emitted words without any connection, and which had first to be explained by the priest. It was the priest, too, who interpreted dreams. In the cave of Trophonius the inquirer saw visions, and these were interpreted to him. In Achaia, as Pausanias relates, there was a statue of Mars, and the question was spoken into its ear, after which the questioner went away from the market with his fingers in his ears. The first word heard by him after his ears were opened was the answer, which was then connected with the question by interpretation. To the same class of signs belong also the questioning of the entrails of sacrificial animals, the signification of the flight of birds, and several other such purely external rites. Animals were slaughtered in sacri-
fice till auspicious tokens were got. In the case of the oracles, two things went to constitute the verdict—the outward word and the explanation. With regard to the former, the mind took up a receptive attitude, but with regard to the latter, its attitude, as being the interpreter, was an active one, for the outward element in itself was supposed to be indeterminate. (Αἱ τῶν δαμόνων φωναὶ ἀναφθείροι εἰσὺν.) But even as representing the concrete expression of the decision of the god, the oracles have a double meaning. Man acts in accordance with them while taking the words in one of their aspects. The other meaning, however, appears in opposition to the first, and so man comes into collision with the oracle. The oracles just mean that man shows himself to be ignorant, and shows that the god has knowledge; as ignorant, man accepts the utterance of the god who has knowledge. He consequently does not represent the knowledge of something revealed, but the absence of the knowledge of this. He does not act with knowledge in accordance with the revelation of the god, which, as being general, has no inherent determinate meaning, and thus, where there is a possibility of two meanings, it must be ambiguous. The oracle says, “Depart, and the enemy will be conquered.” Here both enemies are “the enemy.” The revelation of the divine is general, and must be general; man interprets it as one who is ignorant, he acts in accordance with it. The action is his own, and thus he knows himself to be responsible. The flight of birds, the rustling of oaks, are general signs. To the definite question, the god, as representing the divine in general, gives a general answer, for it is only what is general, and not the individual as such, that is included in the end aimed at by the gods. The general is, however, indeterminate, ambiguous, capable of a double meaning, for it comprises both sides.

(c.) What came first in worship was religious sentiment; then, secondly, we had worship as service, the concrete relationship, where, however, negativity as such
has not yet appeared. The third form of the service of God is the divine service of reconciliation. The gods must be realised in the soul, in the subject, which is hypothetically estranged, i.e., negatively determined relatively to the divine, and in opposition to it. The agreement cannot take place in the immediate way characteristic of the foregoing form; on the contrary, it demands a mediation—in which that must be sacrificed which was formerly held to be fixed and independent. This negative element, which must be yielded up in order that the estrangement and alienation of the two sides may be removed, is of a twofold kind. In the first place, the soul, in its character as the natural or untutored soul, is negative relatively to Spirit; the second negative element is accordingly the positive-negative element, so to speak, that is, any misfortune whatever, and more definitely, in the third place, a moral misfortune or crime, the extreme alienation of the subjective self-consciousness relatively to the divine.

I. The soul in its natural state is not as it should be; it ought to be free Spirit, but the soul is Spirit only through the abrogation of the natural will, of the desires. This abrogation, this subjection of itself to what is moral, and the habituation to this so that the moral or spiritual becomes the second nature of the individual, is, above all, the work of education and culture. The thought of this reconstruction of man's nature must accordingly come into consciousness at this standpoint, because it is the standpoint of self-conscious freedom, and come into it in such a way as to show that this change or conversion is recognised as requisite. If this training and conversion are represented as essential moments, and as essentially living, we get the idea of a road which the soul has to traverse, and as a consequence we get the idea of some outward arrangement in which it is supplied with the pictorial representation of this road. But if the course followed by this conversion, this self-negation and dying
to self, is to be set forth for perception or pictorial contemplation as absolute and essential, it must be beheld in the divine objects themselves. The need for this has, as a matter of fact, been obviated by means of a process which, in the pictorial representation of the world of the gods, has been carried out in the following way.

It is a fact intimately connected with the adoration of the many divinities,—which, however, just because they are many are limited divine beings,—that there is also a transition to the universality of the divine power. The limited character of the gods itself leads directly to the idea of a transcendence, a rising above them, and to the attempt to unite them in one concrete picture, and not merely in abstract necessity, for the latter is not anything objective. As yet this transcendence cannot here be the absolute inherently concrete subjectivity as Spirit, but neither can it be the return to the pictorial representation or perception of the power of the One and to the negative service of the Lord. On the contrary, the One which is the object for self-consciousness at this standpoint is a unity which is in a concrete fashion all-embracing; it is universal Nature as a whole, or, a totality of gods, the content of the sensuous-spiritual world united in a material fashion. Inasmuch as self-consciousness cannot advance to infinite subjectivity, which as Spirit would be inherently concrete, the perception or picturing of substantial unity is something already present so far as this stage is concerned and preserved from the older religions. For the older original religions are the definite nature-religions, in which this Spinozism, namely, the immediate unity of the spiritual and the natural, constitutes the foundation. But further, the older form of religion, however much it may be locally defined and limited in its outward representation and in the mode in which it is conceived of, is, before it reaches its developed form, still inherently indefinite and general. Each local god in its deter-
omination of locality has at the same time the significance of universality, and since this is firmly clung to as against the splitting up and particularisation into characters and individualities developed in the Religion of Beauty, it is in what is rude and primitive, in what is unbeautiful and uncultured, that the service of a deeper, inner universal, maintains itself, a universal which is at the same time not abstract thought, but which, on the contrary, retains in itself that external and contingent form.

This older religion may, on account of its simplicity and substantial intensity, be called deeper, purer, stronger, more substantial, and its meaning may be termed a truer one, but its meaning is essentially enveloped in a kind of haze, and is not developed into thought, that is, is not developed into that clearness which marks the particular gods in whom the day of Spirit has dawned, and which have in consequence attained to character and spiritual form. The service of this deeper and universal element involves, however, in it, the opposition of this deeper and universal element itself to the particular, limited, and revealed powers. It is, regarded from one side, a return from these to what is deeper, more inward, and so far higher, the bringing back of the many scattered gods into the unity of Nature, but it also involves the antithesis which is expressed by saying that this deeper element is as opposed to clear self-consciousness, to the serenity of day and rationality, something dull and torpid, unconscious, crude, and barbarous. The perception, or pictorial contemplation, in this kind of worship, is accordingly in one aspect the perception of the universal life of Nature and of natural force, a return to inward substantiality; but in another aspect it is equally the perception of the process, of the transition from savagery to a state of law, from barbarousness to morality, from mental torpor to the clear growing certainty of self-consciousness, from the Titanic to the Spiritual. It is consequently not a god in his finished form who is beheld here, no abstract
doctrine is propounded; on the contrary, the content of perception is the conflict of what is original and primitive, which is brought forth from its undeveloped state into clearness, into form, into the daylight of consciousness. This idea is already present in many exoteric and pictorial forms in mythology. The war of the gods and the conquests of the Titans is just this divine issuing forth of the spiritual from the overcoming of the rude powers of Nature.

It is here accordingly that the action of the subjective side and its movement receive their deeper determination. Worship cannot here be merely serene enjoyment, the enjoyment of present immediate unity with the particular powers; for since the divine passes out of its particularity over to universality, and since self-consciousness is reversed or inverted within itself, opposition is consequently present, and the union starts from a separation greater than that presupposed by outward worship. Worship here is rather the movement of an inward impression made on the soul, an introduction to and initiation into an essentiality which is for it foreign and abstract, an entrance into disclosures which its ordinary life and the worship grounded on that do not contain. Just because the soul enters into this sphere the demand is made that it should give up its natural Being and essence. This worship is thus at the same time the purification of the soul, a path to this purification, and a gradual progress towards it, the admission into the high mystical Essence, and the attainment of a contemplation in pictorial form of its secrets, which, however, have for the initiated ceased to be secrets, and can only still remain such in the sense that the pictures thus contemplated, and this content, are not introduced into the sphere of ordinary existence and consciousness, that is, into the sphere of ordinary action and reflection. All Athenian citizens were initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. A secret is thus essentially something known,
only not by all. Here, however, there is something known by all, which is merely treated as secret, i.e., secret only to this extent, that it is not made the talk of everyday life, just as we see in the case of Jews, who do not name the name Jehovah, or, to take an opposite case, just as in daily life there are things known to all but of which no one speaks. But these pictures of the divine were not mystical in the sense in which the public doctrines of Christendom have been called mysteries. For in the case of the latter the mystical element is the inward and speculative element. What had been seen by the initiated had to remain secret, mainly because the Greeks would not have been able to speak of it otherwise than in myths, that is to say, not without altering what was old.

But even in this worship, although it starts from a definite opposition, joyousness or serenity still continues to constitute the basis. The path of purification is traversed indeed, but that does not represent the infinite pain and doubt in which the abstract self-consciousness isolates itself from itself in its abstract knowledge, and because of this moves and pulsates merely within itself when in this empty abstract form, is merely a kind of inward trembling, and in this abstract certainty of itself cannot absolutely reach fixed truth and objectivity, nor come to have the feeling of these. On the contrary, it is always on the basis of that unity that this traversing of the path exists and has value as the actually completed purification of the soul, as absolution, and having this original unconscious basis remains rather an external process of the soul, since the latter does not go down into the innermost depths of negativity as is the case where subjectivity is completely developed and attains to infinitude. If terrors, frightful images, forms inspiring dread, and such like, are already employed here, and if, on the other hand, and in contrast to this dark side, bright and brilliant representations, significant pictures full of splendour are made use of to produce a deeper effect on the
mind, the initiated is purified in the very process of passing through the experience of seeing these pictorial forms and having these emotions.

These mystical perceptions or pictorial forms accordingly correspond to those pictorial forms of the divine life, the process of which is set forth in tragedy and comedy. The fear, the sympathy, the grief represented in tragedy, all those conditions in which self-consciousness is carried away, and in which it shares, are just what forms that process of purification which accomplishes all that should be accomplished. In the same way the pictorial representations of comedy, and the giving up by Spirit of its dignity, of its value, of its opinion of itself, and even of its fundamental powers, this entire surrender of all that belongs to self, is just this worship in which the spirit, through this surrender of all that is finite, enjoys and retains the indestructible certainty of itself.

In public worship even the main interest is not so much the paying of honour to the gods as the enjoyment of the divine. Since, however, in this worship of mysteries, the soul is on its own account elevated into an end and is regarded in this condition of contrast as abstract, independent, and, as it were, sundered from the divine, the idea of the immortality of the soul necessarily makes its appearance here. The completed purification raises it above the temporal, fleeting, present existence, and inasmuch as it is made permanently free, the idea of the passing over of the individual as one dead on his natural side, into an eternal life, is closely associated with this form of worship. The individual is made a citizen of the essential, ideal kingdom of the under world, in which temporal reality is reduced to the condition of a phantom world.

Since then the mysteries represent the return of the Greek spirit to its first beginnings, the form of what constitutes these is essentially symbolical, i.e., the signification is something other than the outward representa-
tion. The Greek gods themselves are not symbolical; they are what they represent, just as the conception of a work of art means the giving expression to what is meant, and does not mean that what is inward is something different from what is outwardly seen. Even if the beginnings of the Greek god are to be traced back to some such ancient symbolic representation, still what this is actually made into has become the work of art which perfectly expresses what it is intended to be. Many have sought, and especially Creuzer, to investigate the historical origin of the Greek gods, and the signification which lies at the basis of their character. But if the god is a subject for art, that alone is a good work of art which exhibits him as what he actually is. In the religions of nature this is a mystery, something inward, a symbol, because the outward form does not actually reveal the meaning which lies in this mystery, the idea rather being that it is merely intended to reveal it. Osiris is a symbol of the sun, and similarly Hercules and his twelve labours have reference to the months; thus he is a god of the calendar, and no longer the modern Greek god. In the mysteries, the content, the manifestation, is essentially symbolical. The principal symbols had reference to Ceres, Demeter, Bacchus, and the secrets connected with these. As Ceres, who seeks her daughter, is in the language of prose the seed that must die in order to retain its true essence and to bring it into life, so, too, the seed and the germination of the seed are in turn something symbolical; for, as in the Christian religion, they have the higher signification of resurrection, or they can be taken as meaning that the same holds good of Spirit, whose true essence or potential nature can bear blossoms only through the annulling of the natural will. Thus the meaning changes about; at one time this content signifies an idea, some process, and then again the idea, the signification, may itself be the symbol for something else. Osiris is the Nile which is dried up by Typhon, the
fire-world, and is again brought into existence; but he is also a symbol of the sun, a universal life-giving power of Nature. Osiris finally is also a spiritual figure, and in this case the Nile and the sun are in turn symbols of the spiritual. Such symbols are naturally mysterious. The inward element is not clear as yet; it exists first as meaning, signification, which has not yet attained to true outward representation. The outward form does not perfectly express the content, so that the latter remains in a partially expressed shape at the basis of the whole without coming forth into existence. Hence it came about that the mysteries could not give to the self-consciousness of the Greeks true reconciliation. Socrates was declared by the oracle to be the wisest of the Greeks, and to him is to be traced the real revolution which took place in the Greek self-consciousness. This pivot, so to speak, of self-consciousness was not, however, himself initiated into the mysteries; they stand far below what he brought into the consciousness of the thinking world. All this has to do with the first form of reconciliation.

2. The other negative element is misfortune in general, sickness, dearth, or any other mishaps. This negative element is explained by the prophets, and brought into connection with some guilty act or transgression. A negative of this kind first appears in the physical world in the shape, for example, of an unfavourable wind. The physical condition is then explained as having a spiritual connection, and as involving in itself the ill-will and wrath of the gods—that ill-will and wrath which are brought upon men by some crime and by some offence against the divine. Or it may be that lightning, thunder, an earthquake, the appearance of snakes, and such-like are interpreted to mean something negative which essentially attaches to a spiritual and moral Power. In this case the injury has to be done away with through sacrifice, and in such a way that he who has shown himself arro-
gant by committing the crime, imposes a forfeiture on himself, for arrogance is an injury done to a spiritual higher Power, to which accordingly humility has to sacrifice something in order to propitiate it and restore the equilibrium. In the case of the Greeks this idea seems rather to belong to primitive times. When the Greeks wished to depart from Aulis, and unfavourable winds held them back, Calchas interpreted the storm to be the wrath of Poseidon, who demands the daughter of Agamemnon as a sacrifice. Agamemnon is ready to give her up to the god. Diana saves the girl. In the *Edipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles a certain disease is sent by means of which the deed of the parricide is disclosed. In later times such ideas no longer make their appearance. During the pestilence in the Peloponnesian war we hear nothing of the worship of the gods; no sacrifice was made during this war; we meet only with predictions of its conclusion. The appeal to the oracle implies that such a sacrifice has become antiquated. That is to say, if counsel is asked of the oracle, the result is viewed as determined by the god himself. Thus the result came to be regarded as something which has to happen, as a matter of necessity, a matter of fixed destiny, in connection with which no reconciliation could have a place, which could not be averted and could not be remedied.

3. The final form of reconciliation implies that the negative is really a crime, and is so regarded and declared to be such; not a crime which is only perceived to be such by the help of the explanation given through some misfortune. An individual, a state, a people commits a crime; from the human point of view the punishment is the propitiation for the crime either in the form of punishment or in the cruder form of revenge. The free spirit has the self-consciousness of its majesty, whereby it has to make what has happened as if it had not happened, and to do this within itself. An outward act of pardon is something different, but that what has hap-
pened can within the mind itself come to be what has not happened, is something which belongs to the higher privilege of free self-consciousness, where evil is not merely act, but is something fixed and settled, and has its seat in the heart, in the guilty soul. The free soul can purify itself from this evil. Faint resemblances of this inward conversion do occur, but the general character of reconciliation here is rather outward purification. With the Greeks this too is something belonging to ancient times. A couple of instances of this are well known in connection with the history of Athens. A son of Minos was slain in Athens, and on account of this deed a purification was undertaken. Æschylus relates that the Areopagus acquitted Orestes; the rock of Athena stood him in good stead. The reconciliation here is regarded as something outward, not as inward confession. The idea expressed in Ædipus at Colonus savours of Christian thought; in it this old Ædipus, who slew his father and married his mother, and who was banished along with his sons, is raised to a place of honour among the gods; the gods call him to themselves. Other sacrifices belong still more to the outward mode of reconciliation. This is the case with the sacrifices to the dead, which are intended to propitiate the Manes. Achilles, for example, slew a number of Trojans on the grave of Patroclus, his intention being to restore the uniformity of destiny on both sides.

III.

THE RELIGION OF UTILITY OR OF THE UNDERSTANDING.

A.

THE GENERAL CONCEPTION OF THIS STAGE.

In the Religion of Beauty empty necessity was the ruling principle, and in the Religion of Sublimity unity in the form of abstract subjectivity. In the latter reli-
RELIGION we find, besides unity, the infinitely limited real end, and in the former again, besides necessity, we have moral substantiality, the Right, the present and real in empirical self-consciousness. In the bosom of necessity repose the many particular powers and partake of its essentiality. Represented as individuals, they are spiritual concrete subjects, and each represents a particular national spirit. They are living spirits, as, for instance, Athene is for Athens, Bacchus for Thebes, and they are also family gods, though they are at the same time transferable, because they are in their nature universal powers. Consequently the objects also with which such gods take to do are particular towns, states, and, speaking generally, a mass of particular ends.

Thus this particularity when brought under a "One" or Unity represents determinateness in its more definite form. The next demand of thought is for the union of that universality and of this particularity of these ends, in such wise that abstract necessity has its emptiness filled within itself with the particularity, with the end.

In the Religion of Sublimity, the end, when it took on a realised form, was an isolated end shutting off one particular family from others. A higher stage is accordingly reached when this end is widened so as to correspond to the compass of the Power, and when at the same time this Power itself is further developed. The particularity which is developed in detail as a divine aristocracy, and together with this the real national spirit in its various forms, which as an end comes to form part of the essential character of the Divine and is preserved within it, must get a place also within the unity. This cannot, however, be the truly spiritual unity such as we have in the Religion of Sublimity. The characteristics of the earlier stages are rather merely put back into a relative totality in which, it is true, both the religions which preceded lose their one-sidedness, but in which at the same time each of the two principles is also perverted.
into its opposite. The Religion of Beauty loses the concrete individuality of its gods, as well as their independent moral content or character. The gods are degraded to the rank of means. The Religion of Sublimity again loses its tendency to occupy itself with the One, the eternal, the supernatural. Their union, however, is a step in advance in this, that the single end and the particular ends are broadened out so as to form a universal end. 'This end has to be realised, and God is the Power which is to realise it.

Action in accordance with an end is a peculiarity not only of Spirit but of life in general. It is the action of the Idea, for it is an act of production which is no longer a passing over into something other or different, whether it is now characterised as other, or, as in the case of necessity, as potentially the same, though in its outward form, and as existing for others, it is an "other." In the end, any content, as being what is primary, is independent of the form which the transition takes, and of the alteration which takes place, so that it maintains itself within it. The impulse of this flower-like nature, which may take on an external form under the influence of the most manifold conditions, shows itself in the production only of its own development, and only in the simple form of the transition from subjectivity into objectivity. The form which reveals itself in the result is that which was formed before or pre-formed in the germ.

Action in accordance with an end is closely allied to the form of spiritual manifestation which we last considered; but spiritual manifestation in that form is, to begin with, only the superficial mode in which anything having a definite nature and any spiritual determinateness appears, apart from the existence of this determinateness as such under the form or mode of the end or Idea. The abstract characterisation and the basis of the religion which went before were expressed by the idea of necessity, and outside of it was the fulness of Nature, spiritual and physical, which accordingly is broken up so as to
have definite quality and to exist in definite time; while the unity is in its own nature devoid of content, roots itself within itself, and receives that serenity or joyousness which at once raises it above its determinateness and renders it indifferent towards it, only from the spiritual form and from ideality. Necessity is freedom potentially only, is not yet wisdom, and is devoid of an end. In it we find freedom only in so far as we yield up the content of freedom. Anything that is necessary, doubtless, represents something having a content, some occurrence or other, condition and consequence, &c.; but its content as such is something contingent. It may take this particular form, or it may take some other form; or, to put it otherwise, necessity is just a formal mode of existence, and its content consists merely in the fact that it is, but suggests nothing of what it is. It consists only in holding fast to this abstract form of existence.

Necessity, however, buries itself in the Notion. The Notion, or freedom, is the truth of necessity. To grasp anything in thought means that we conceive of it as a moment of a connected whole, which in its character as a connected whole has the element of difference in it, and has thus a definite and substantial nature. The connection between things which is expressed by cause and effect is itself as yet a connection of necessity, i.e., it is as yet formal. What is wanting in it is that a content be posited as determined for itself, traversant ce changement de cause en effet sans change, a content which passes through the change of cause and effect without alteration. In this case, in fact, the external relation and reality as embodied in different forms are degraded to the condition of means. In order to the carrying out of an end it is necessary to have means, i.e., something external with the power of producing effects, the essential mark of which consists in its being subordinate to the movement of the end, which preserves itself in its movement, and does away with its transitional character. In cause
and effect we have potentially the same content, but it appears in the form of actual independent things which mutually affect each other. The end, however, is this content which is posited as identity with itself in contrast to the apparent difference between reality and the form in which reality appears. Accordingly, in the case of action carried out in accordance with an end, nothing can come out of it which was not already there.

So far as the end is concerned, it is just in this that the difference between the end and the reality is found. The end maintains itself, mediates itself only with itself, coincides only with itself, brings about the unity of itself in the form of the unity of what is subjective with reality; but it does this through means. It is the power which is above reality, the power which has at the same time a primary content determined in and for itself, and this content is what is first and continues to be what is last. The end is thus the necessity which has taken into itself the external, particular content, and holds it fast as against reality, which has a negative character and is degraded to a means.

This unity of the content which ever dominates reality, freeing itself from its power, and maintaining itself in opposition to it, is accordingly present in life. The content, however, is not free in its own nature, free for itself in the element of Thought; it has not been given a higher form in the mode of its identity, it is not spiritual. The same unity exists in the spiritually formed ideal; but inasmuch as it is represented as being present in a free form and as beauty, it belongs to a higher stage than what has life. The quality of this unity is, so far, to be regarded as an end, and what it produces is action in accordance with an end. Its qualities, however, are not represented under the mode of the end—e.g., Apollo and Pallas do not set it before them as an end to produce and extend science and poetry; Ceres and the mystic Bacchus do not make the production and the teaching of
laws an end. They take under their protection what constitutes the laws, it is their special care; but here the separation between end and reality does not exist. These beings which have divine nature are those very powers and activities themselves; the Muse is herself the composition of poetry; Athene herself is Athenian life—the happiness and well-being of the city is not her end; but, on the contrary, these powers rule in as immanent a way in the reality with which they are connected as the laws act within the planets.

And further, as the gods in the stage of thought represented by beauty are in no sense means, they are just as little mutually opposed as independent; rather, they themselves disappear in necessity. If they do at a time act on their own account, they soon submit again and allow themselves to be put in their right place. While, accordingly, in necessity one determination depends on another, and the determinate character passes away, the end is posited as identity with difference and reality in it, the unity which is determined in and for itself, and which maintains itself in its determinate character as against the determinate character of something else.

The Notion, accordingly, in so far as it is posited as free in its own nature, or for self, is at first confronted by reality, and this is characterised in reference to it as negative. In the absolute Notion, the pure Idea, this reality, this hostile element, melts away into unity, and gets to be on a friendly footing with the Notion itself; it throws off its peculiar individual character, and is itself freed from the position of being merely a means. It is this which is the true conformity to an end in which is posited the unity of the Notion, of God, of the Divine Subject or person, with that in which the Notion realises itself, namely, objectivity and realisation, and it is the very nature of God Himself which realises itself in objectivity, and is thus identical with itself viewed under the aspect of reality.
At first, however, the end itself is as yet immediate, formal; its first determination consists in this that what is thus determined in itself should, in reference to reality, be for itself, should exist independently, and realise itself in it as something offering resistance to it. It is thus at first a finite end, and the relation between things expressed by it is a relation of the understanding, and the religion which is founded on such a basis is a religion of the understanding.

In the religion of the One we have already had an end somewhat of this sort, and something which had a close resemblance to this religion of the understanding. The religion of the One is also a religion of the understanding in so far as this One maintains itself as end as against reality of every kind, and the Jewish religion is on this account the religion of the understanding in its most rigid and lifeless form. This end consisting, as it does, in the glorification of the name of God, is formal, it has no absolutely definite character, but is only abstract manifestation. The people of God, it is true, represent a more definite end as an individual people; but this is a kind of end which it is wholly impossible to form a conception of, and is an end only in the sense in which the servant is an end for his Lord. It does not represent the nature of God Himself; it is not His end; it is not divine determinateness.

When we say that God is the Power which works in accordance with ends, and in accordance with the ends of wisdom, we are speaking in a sense different from that which at first attaches to this characterisation as applied to the stage of the development of the Notion at which we have arrived. What we mean is that those ends are undoubtedly also limited, finite ends, but that they are essentially ends of wisdom in general, and ends of one wisdom, i.e., ends of the Good in and for itself, ends which have reference to one supreme final end. These ends are consequently subordinate simply to one
end, or aim. The limited ends and the wisdom in them are of a subordinate character.

Here, however, the limitation of the ends is the fundamental characteristic, and this has no higher one above it. Religion of this sort is consequently in no sense a religion of unity, but rather of multiplicity; it is neither one Power nor one wisdom, one Idea, which constitutes the fundamental determination of the divine nature.

Thus the ends which constitute the content of those forms of existence are definite ends, and these ends are not to be sought for in Nature; but, on the contrary, we find that amongst the many forms of existence, and of the relations between things, those that have reference to man are undoubtedly the really essential ones. What is human is inherently possessed of thought, and man, in pursuing his end, however unimportant it may be in itself, as, for instance, in seeking nourishment, &c., has the right of using up natural things and animal life without further ado and to whatever extent he may choose. Just for this very reason the ends are not to be sought for as if they existed objectively in the gods and in and for themselves. On the contrary, this religion, in so far as it is a definite religion, owes its origin to human ends, to human need or fortunate events and circumstances.

In the religion which went before this one, it was necessity which was the universal, and which floated above the particular.

This cannot be the case at the present stage; for in necessity finite ends disappear as in a higher form, while here, on the contrary, they represent what gives definite character to things and persists. At this stage the universal represents rather the consent to or agreement with particular ends, and, in fact, consent in general; for here the universal must remain undefined, because the ends remain individual ends, and their universality is only of the abstract sort, and is thus Happiness.

This happiness, however, is not to be distinguished
from necessity as belonging to the class of contingent things, for in that case it would be the necessity itself, in which those very finite ends are merely contingent; nor is it foreordination in general, and the directing of finite things in accordance with an end; but, rather, it is happiness with a definite content, with certain definite elements.

But a definite content, again, does not mean any kind of random content in general. On the contrary, although it is finite and actually present, it must be universal in its nature, and its existence must be justified on higher grounds—justified in and for itself. And this end accordingly is the State.

The State, however, as representing this end is, to begin with, only the abstract State—the union of men held together by some bond, but in such a way that this union is not yet in itself in the form of a rational organisation, and it does not yet take this form because God is not yet a rational organisation in Himself. Such conformity to an end as there is, is external; if it were conceived of as existing inwardly, it would represent the peculiar nature of God. Just because God is not yet this concrete Idea, because He does not yet represent in Himself the true fulness of Himself reached through Himself, this end, namely, the State, is not yet a rational totality in itself, and does not therefore deserve the name State, but is merely a kind of dominion or sovereignty, the union of individuals, of peoples, held together by some bond under one Power. Since, too, we have here the distinction between end and realisation, this end exists at first only in a subjective form, and not as end which has been carried out, and the realisation of it is represented by the acquiring of sovereignty, the realisation of an end which is of an à priori character, which, in the first instance, lays hold of the peoples and carries itself out.

As this quality of external utility or action in accordance with an end is different from the moral substan-
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tiality of Greek life, and from the identity of the divine Powers and their external existence, so, too, this sovereignty, this universal monarchy, this end is to be distinguished from that of the Mohammedan religion. In this latter, sovereignty over the world is also the end sought after; but what is to exercise sovereignty is the One of Thought, the One of the Israelitish religion. Or when, as in the Christian religion, it is said that God wills that all men should come to a consciousness of the truth, the nature of the end is spiritual. Each individual is thought of as a thinking being, as spiritual, free, and actually present in the end, it possesses in him a central point, it is not any kind of external end, and the subject embraces within himself the entire extent of the end. Here, on the contrary, it is still empirical, a sovereignty of the world which embraces it in an external way. The end which exists in this sovereignty is one which lies outside of the individual, and the more it is realised the more external does it become, so that the individual is brought into subjection simply to this end, and serves it.

The union of universal power and universal individuality is, to begin with, implicitly contained here, but it is, so to speak, only a crude union, devoid of Spirit. The power is not wisdom, its reality is not a divine end in and for itself. It is not the One who derives his fulness from himself; this fulness is not conceived of as existing in the realm of thought; the power is worldly power, worldliness merely as sovereignty, and power in this aspect is virtually irrational. In presence of the power all that is particular accordingly crumbles away, because it is not taken up into it in a rational way, and it takes on the form of self-seeking on the part of the individual, of satisfaction in an ungodly way in particular interests. The sovereignty is outside of reason, and stands coldly, selfishly, on the one side, just as the individual does on the other.

This is the general conception of this religion. The
demand for what is highest is implicitly stated in it, namely, the union of what has pure Being in itself and of particular ends; but the union here is of the ungodly, undivine, crude sort just described.

B.

THIS RELIGION AS IT APPEARS OUTWARDLY IN HISTORY IS REPRESENTED BY THE ROMAN RELIGION.

It is customary to take in a superficial way the Roman religion along with the Greek religion; but the spirit of the one is essentially different from that of the other. Even if they possess certain outward forms in common, still these occupy quite a different place in the religion we are dealing with; and the religions as a whole, and the religious sentiment connected with them, are essentially different, as is indeed already evident from an external, superficial, and empirical examination of them.

It is allowed in a general way that the State, the constitution of a State, the political destiny of any people, depends on its religion, that this is the basis, the substance of its actual spiritual life and the foundation of what we call its politics. The Greek and Roman spirit, culture, and character are, however, wholly and essentially different, and this fact must of itself bring us to the difference in the religions which form the substance of these.

The divine Beings belonging to this circle of thought are practical and not theoretical gods; prosaic, not poetical; although, as we shall presently see, this stage is the richest of all in the constantly new discovery and production of gods.

1. So far as regards abstract religious sentiment and spiritual tendencies, the earnestness of the Romans is what first calls for remark. Where one end exists, and that an essentially solid one which has to be realised, the understanding referred to comes into play, and along with
it the earnestness which clings firmly to this end, in opposition to a great deal else which is present in feeling or in external circumstances.

In the religion which comes before this one, the religion of abstract necessity and of particular individual beings who are beautiful and divine, it is freedom which constitutes the fundamental character of the gods and which gives to them their joyousness and bliss. They are not exclusively attached to any single form of existence, but are essential powers, and represent at the same time the irony which governs all that they seek to do; what is particular and empirical has no importance for them.

The joyousness of the Greek religion, which is the fundamental trait of the sentiment pervading it, is based on the circumstance that although an end certainly exists and is regarded with reverence, as holy, still there is present at the same time this freedom from the end, and it is directly based on the fact that the Greek gods are many in number. Each Greek god has more or less substantial attributes, moral substantiality; but just because there are many particular attributes, consciousness or Spirit is something above and beyond this manifold element, and exists outside of its particular forms. It abandons what is characterised as substantial and which can also be considered as end, and is itself the irony referred to.

The ideal beauty of these gods, and their universal character itself, is something higher than their particular character; thus Mars can find pleasure in peace as well as in war. They are gods of fancy existing for the moment, without consistency, now appearing on their own account, independently, and now returning again to Olympus.

Where, on the contrary, one principle, one supreme principle and one higher end exist, there can be no room for this joyousness or serenity.

Further, the Greek god is a concrete individuality, and each of these many particular individuals has itself again
many different characteristics within it; there is here a rich individuality which must necessarily possess and give evidence of the existence in it of the element of contradiction, just because the two opposite elements in it have not yet been absolutely reconciled.

Since the gods have in themselves this wealth of external characteristics, we have a certain element of indifference existing in reference to those particular qualities, and they can be made sport of and be treated with levity. It is with this side of their nature that the element of contingency which we observed attached to them in the stories of the gods, is connected.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in drawing a comparison between the Greek and the Roman religion, extols the religious institutions of Rome, and points out the great superiority of the old Roman religion to the Greek. It has temples, altars, divine worship, sacrifice, solemn religious gatherings, festivals, symbols, &c., in common with the Greek religion; but the myths with their blasphemous features, the mutilations, the imprisonments, the wars, the squabbles, &c., of the gods, are excluded from it. These, however, belong to the gods in their joyous aspect, they lay themselves open to this, they are made sport of in comedy, and yet in all this they have a safe and undisturbed existence. When the element of seriousness comes in, then the outward form taken by gods, their actions and the events in their life, must appear in a way which is in conformity with a fixed principle. In free individuality, on the other hand, there are no such fixed ends, no such one-sided moral characterisations of the understanding. The gods, it is true, contain within them the moral element; but at the same time, since they have a particular definitely marked existence, they are possessed of a rich individuality, and are concrete. In this rich individuality the element of earnestness is not at all a necessary characteristic; on the contrary, it is free in all its separate manifestations, it
can roam about in a light-hearted way through everything, and it remains what it is. The stories which appear to be unworthy of gods have reference to the general aspects of the nature of things, the creation of the world, &c.; they have their origin in old traditions, in abstract views regarding the processes of the elements. The universal element in these views is obscured, but it is hinted at; and in this external way of regarding things, and in this want of order amongst things, a glimpse is first got of the universal nature of the intelligence which shows itself in them. In a religion, on the other hand, in which a definite end is present, all reference to theoretical points of view from which intelligence may be regarded disappears. No theories, and in fact nothing universal, are to be found in the Religion of Utility. The deity has here a definite character or content, namely, the sovereignty of the world. The universality here is empirical, not moral or spiritual, but is rather a real, actual universality.

The Roman god representing this sovereignty is to be looked for in *Fortuna publica*, the necessity which for others is a cold unsympathetic necessity; the particular necessity which contains the end concerned with Rome itself is *Roma*, sovereignty, a holy and divine Being, and this sovereign *Roma* in the form of a god who exercises sovereignty is Jupiter Capitolinus, a particular Jupiter—for there are many Jupiters, three hundred Joves in fact.

This Jupiter Capitolinus is not Zeus, who is the father of gods and men; but rather, he simply stands for the idea of sovereignty, and has his end in the world, and it is for the Roman people that he carries out this end. The Roman people is the *universal* family, while in the Religion of Beauty the divine end was represented by *many* families, and in the religion of the One, on the other hand, by *one* family only.

2. This god is not the truly spiritual One, and just because of this the Particular lies outside of this unity
of sovereignty. The Power is merely abstract, merely Power, and is not a rational organisation, a totality in itself, and just because of this the Particular appears as something which lies outside of the One, outside of the sovereign power.

This particular element appears partly, too, in the form taken by the Greek gods, or else we find that later on it was put side by side with them by the Romans themselves. Thus the Greeks, too, find their gods in Persia, Syria, and Babylonia, though, at the same time, this represents something different from the peculiar way in which they regarded their gods, and from the definite character of these gods, and it is only a superficial universality.

Looked at in a general way, the particular Roman deities, or at least many of them, are the same as the Greek. But still they have not the beautiful free individuality of the Greek gods; they seem to be grey, so to speak. We do not know where they come from, or else we know that they have been introduced in connection with some definite occasions. And besides, we must distinguish the real Roman gods from those Greek gods which the later poets such as Virgil and Horace have introduced into their artificial poetry in the form of lifeless imitations.

We do not find in them that consciousness, that humanity which is the substantial element in men as in the gods, and in the gods as in men. They appear like machines with nothing spiritual in them, and show themselves to be gods of the understanding which have no connection with a free beautiful spirit, with a free beautiful fancy. So, too, in those modern botches done by the French, they have the appearance of wooden figures or machines. It is, in fact, for this reason that the forms in which the Romans represent their gods have appealed more strongly to the moderns than those of the Greek gods, because the former have more the appearance of empty gods of the understanding which have no
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longer any connection with the free and living play of fancy.

Besides those particular gods which the Romans have in common with the Greeks, there are many gods and ways of worshipping God which are peculiar to the Romans. Sovereignty is the end sought after by the citizen; but the aims of the individual are not yet exhausted by this—he has also his own particular ends. The particular ends lie outside of this abstract end.

The particular ends, however, become perfectly prosaic particular ends, and it is the common particularity of man regarded in the manifold aspects of his necessities, or of his connection with Nature, which comes to the front here. God is not that concrete individuality above referred to. Jupiter is simply sovereignty; while the particular individual gods are dead, lifeless, without mind or spirit, or, what is more, they are got at second-hand.

Particularity thus bereft of universality, and existing on its own account, is something quite common; it is the prosaic particularity of man, but it is an end for man, and he uses this or that other thing to accomplish his end. Anything, however, which is an end for man is in this region of thought a characteristic of the Divine.

The end aimed at by man and the divine end are one, but it is an end which lies outside of the Idea; thus human ends rank as divine ends, and consequently as divine powers, and so we get these many particular and supremely prosaic deities.

We thus see on one side this universal Power which is sovereignty; in it the individuals are sacrificed and have no standing as individuals. Regarding the matter from the other side, we see that the definite element, just because that unity, God, is something abstract, lies outside of this unity, and thus it is what is human that is essentially the end; it is the human element which gives fulness to God by creating a content for Him.

In the Religion of Beauty, which represents the stage
preceding the present one, free, universal, and moral
powers constitute the object of adoration. Although
they are limited, still they have an objective, independ-
dently existing content, and in the very act of contem-
plating them the ends of individuality melt away, and
the individual is raised above his needs and necessities.
They are free, and the individual attains to freedom in
them; just because of this he glories in his identity with
them, he enjoys their favour and is worthy of it, for he
has no interests opposed to theirs, and in his needs and
necessities, and in general in his particular existence, he
is not an end to himself. Whether he will succeed in
carrying out particular ends or not is a question he re-
fers to the oracles only, or else he surrenders them
to necessity. The individual ends here have, to begin
with, a negative signification only, and are not something
having a complete and independent existence.

In this religion of happiness, however, it is the self-seeking
of the worshippers which is reflected in their practical
gods in the shape of power, and which seeks in them and
from them the satisfaction of its subjective interests.
Self-seeking has in it a feeling of dependence, and just
because it is purely finite, this feeling is peculiar to it.
The Oriental who lives in light; the Hindu who sinks
his self-consciousness in Brahma; the Greek who yields
up his particular ends in the presence of necessity, and
beholds in the particular powers his own powers, powers
which are friendly towards him, which inspire and
animate him, and are in unity with him—lives in his
religion without the feeling of dependence. Far from
being dependent, he is free—free before his God. It is
only in Him that he possesses his freedom, and he is
dependent only outside of his religion, for in it he has
thrown away his dependence. Self-seeking again, need,
necessity, subjective happiness, the pleasure-seeking
life, which wills itself, keeps to itself, feels itself op-
pressed, starts from the feeling that its interests are
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dependent on the deity. The Power which is above these interests has a positive signification, and has itself an interest for the subject, since it is to carry out its ends. So far it simply signifies that it is a means for the realisation of its ends. This is the sneaking hypocritical element in such humility; for its own ends are and must be the content, the end of this Power. This kind of consciousness accordingly has no theoretical position in religion, i.e., it does not consist in a free contemplation of objectivity, in an honouring of these powers, but only in practical selfishness, in a demand for the satisfaction of the individual interests of this life. It is the understanding which in this religion holds fast by its finite ends, by something which has been posited in a one-sided way by itself, and which is interesting only for it, and it neither sinks such abstractions and individual details in necessity nor resolves them in reason. Thus particular ends, needs, powers, appear also as gods. The content of these gods is practical utility; they serve the common good or profit.

Thus (3) the transition is made to gods who are wholly single or particular.

The family gods belong to this or that particular citizen. The Lares, on the other hand, are connected with natural morality and piety, with the moral unity of the family. There are other gods, again, whose content or character has reference to utility pure and simple of a still more special kind.

Since human life and action of this kind appear also in a form from which the negative element of evil at all events is absent, the satisfaction of those needs which belong to life takes the shape of a simple, peaceful, primitive, natural state. The time of Saturn, the state of innocence, is the picture which floats before the mind of the Roman, and the satisfaction of the needs proper to such a condition of things is represented by a crowd of gods.
Thus the Romans had many festivals and a crowd of gods, which were connected with the fruitfulness of the earth as well as with the skill of men, who appropriate for their own use the operations of Nature. Thus we find a Jupiter Pistor; the art of baking ranks as something divine, and the power connected with the art as something having substantial existence. Fornax, the oven in which the corn is dried, is a goddess by herself; Vesta is the fire used for baking bread; for in her character as Εστία a higher meaning is attached to the name, and one which has reference to family piety. The Romans had their pig, sheep, and bullock festivals; in the rites connected with the worship of Pales they sought to propitiate the goddess who caused the hay to thrive for the cattle, and to whose protection the herds committed their flocks in order to assure them against any kind of injury. In the same way they had deities for the arts which were connected with the State, e.g., Juno Moneta, since coins play an essential part in the regulated life of a community.

When, however, such finite ends as the circumstances and various interests of the State and prosperity in what belongs to the physical necessities, the progress, and material wellbeing of man, are regarded as the highest of all ends; and when the main concern is for the prosperity and existence of an immediate reality, which as being such can, in virtue of what constitutes it, be merely a contingent reality; it follows that by way of contrast to what conduces to utility and prosperity, we have what conduces to injury and failure. So far as regards finite ends and circumstances man is dependent; what he has, or enjoys, or possesses, is something having a positive existence, and when he is conscious of some opposing limit or defect, and that what he has is in the power of another, and when further he finds this negated or denied to him, he has a feeling of dependence, and the legitimate development of this feeling leads him to revere the
power of what is injurious and evil, to pray to the devil in fact. We do not at this stage get to the abstraction called the devil, abstract evil and wickedness in an absolutely definite form, because here the characteristics are finite, present realities with a limited content. It is only some special form of damage or defect which is here an object of fear and is revered. The concrete, which is finite, is a state, a form of reality which passes away, a kind and mode of Being which can be conceived of by reflection as an external universal, such as peace (Pax), tranquillity (Tranquillitas), the goddess Vacuna already are, and which received a fixed form from the unimagi-
native Romans. Such powers, which are partly allegori-
cal and partly prosaic, are however chiefly and essentially of the kind whose fundamental character is represented by the ideas of defect and injury. Thus the Romans dedicated altars to the plague, to fever (Febris), to care (Angerona), and they revered hunger (Fames), and the blight (Robigo) which attacked the grain. In the joyous religion of art, this side of religion which consists of fear of what brings misfortune, is put into the background; the infernal powers, which might be regarded as hostile and powers to be dreaded, are represented by the Eume-
nides who are well disposed towards men.

It is difficult for us to understand how powers of that kind should be honoured as divine. When we have reached such ideas it is no longer possible to ascribe any definite character to what is Divine, and they can become objective only where the feeling of dependence and fear exists. This state of things represents the total absence of the Idea in any form, that decay of all truth which can happen only in such circumstances. Such a pheno-
menon can be explained only by the fact that Spirit is wholly shut up within the finite and the immediately useful, as is evident when we consider how amongst Romans arts and crafts connected with the most immedi-
ate needs and their satisfaction, are gods. Spirit has
forgotten everything inward and universal connected with thought, it has reached an utterly prosaic state, and what it aims at, what it seeks to raise itself to is nothing higher than what is supplied by the wholly formal understanding which puts together into one picture the circumstances, the character and mode of immediate Being, and knows no other mode of substantiality.

When power was thought of as existing in this prosaic condition, and when for the Romans the power which had to do with such finite ends and with immediate, real, and external circumstances, represented the welfare of the Roman Empire, it was no great step to go further and worship as God the actual present Power connected with such ends, the individual present form of such welfare, the Emperor in fact, who had this welfare in his hands. The Emperor, this monstrous individual, was the Power which presided over the life and happiness of individuals, of cities and of states, a power above law. He was a more wide reaching power than Robigo; famine, and all kinds of distress of a public character were in his hands; and more than that, rank, birth, wealth, nobility, all these were of his making. He was the supreme authority even above formal law and justice, upon the development of which the Roman spirit had expended so much energy.

All the special deities, however, are, on the other hand, again brought into subjection to the universal, real Power; they fall into the background before the universal purely essential power of sovereignty, the greatness of the Empire, which spreads itself over the whole known civilised world. In this universality the destiny of the divine particularisation consists in the necessity there is that the particular divine powers should be disposed of and pass away in this abstract universality, just as the individual and divine national spirit of the various peoples is suppressed by being brought under the one sovereign authority. This comes out also in several practical or
empirical features of the Roman spirit, and in Cicero we find this kind of cold reflection on the gods. Here reflection is the subjective power above the gods. Cicero institutes a comparison between their genealogies, their destinies, their actions; he enumerates many Vulcans, Apollos, Jupiters, and places them together in order to compare them. This is the kind of reflection which institutes comparisons, and in this way gives the hitherto fixed form belonging to the gods a dubious and vacillating character. The information which he gives in the treatise *De Natura Deorum* is in other respects of the highest importance, *e.g.*, in reference to the origin of myths; and yet at the same time the gods are in this way degraded by reflection, definite representation of them is no longer possible, and the foundation is laid for unbelief and mistrust.

If we regard the matter from the other side however, we find that it was a universal religious necessity and along with it the stifling power of the Roman fate, which collected the individual gods into a unity. Rome is a Pantheon in which the gods stand side by side, and here they mutually extinguish each other and are made subject to the one Jupiter Capitolinus.

The Romans conquer Magna Græcia, Egypt, &c., they plunder the temples, and then we see whole shiploads of gods hurried off to Rome. Rome thus becomes a collection of all religions, of the Greek, Persian, Egyptian, Christian, and Mithra forms of worship. This kind of tolerance exists in Rome; all religions there meet together and are mixed up. The Romans lay hold of all religions, and the general result is a state of confusion in which all kinds of worship are jumbled up, and the outward form which belongs to art is lost.

C. The character of the worship connected with this religion and its characterisation are involved in the foregoing description. God is served for the sake of an end and this end is a human one. The content does
not start so to speak from God, it is not the content of what really is His nature, but on the contrary it starts from man, from something which is a human end.

For this reason the outward form taken by these gods can scarcely be considered as distinct from the worship paid to them; for this distinction together with free worship presupposes a truth which has a realised existence, a truth in and for self, something which is universal, objective, and truly divine, and which by means of its content rises above particular subjective necessities and exists on its own account, and thus worship is the process in which the individual gets for himself the enjoyment of his identity with what is universal and in which he commemorates this identity. Here, however, the interest originates in the subject or individual; his needs, and the fact that the satisfaction of these depends on another, produce piety, and worship is thus the positing of a Power which will relieve him and which exists because of his needs. These gods have thus essentially a subjective root and origin, and they have, as it were, an existence only in the worship paid to them; they possess substantiality in the festivals though scarcely in the conceptions formed of them. The truth, rather, is that the effort to overcome the need by the help of the power of the gods, and to get from them the satisfaction of the want and the hope of being able to do this, are merely the second part of worship, and the side which is otherwise objective comes to be included within the worship itself.

It is thus a religion of dependence and of the feeling of dependence. The dominant element in such a feeling of dependence is the absence of freedom. Man knows that he is free; but that in which he is in possession of himself is an end which remains outside of the individual, and this is still more the case with those particular ends, and it is just in reference to these that the feeling of dependence finds a place.
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Here we have what is essentially superstition, because we are concerned with limited finite ends and objects, and those are treated as absolute which, so far as their content is concerned, are limited. Superstition, put generally, consists in giving to finitude, externality, common immediate reality as such, the value of power and substantiality. It originates in the sense of oppression felt by the spirit, in the feeling of dependence it has in connection with its ends.

Thus the Romans were always conscious of a thrill of fear in presence of anything unknown, anything which had no well-defined nature or consciousness. Everywhere they saw something full of mystery and experienced a vague kind of horror, which led them to feign the existence of something irrational which was reverenced as a kind of higher being. The Greeks on the contrary made everything clear, and constructed a beautiful and brilliant set of myths, which covered all the relations of life and Nature.

Cicero extols the Romans as being the most pious of nations, since in all departments of life they think on the gods, do everything under the sanction of religion, and thank the gods for everything. This is as a matter of fact actually the case. This abstract inwardness, this universality of the end, which is the fate in which the particular separate individual and the morality and humanity of the individual are suppressed, and in which they cannot be present in a concrete form and cannot develop—this universality, this inwardness is the basis of the Roman religion, and consequently since everything is related to this inwardness, religion is in everything. Thus Cicero, in complete accordance with the Roman spirit, derives religion from religare, for religion in all its relations has as a matter of fact become to the Roman something which binds and sways.

But this inwardness, this higher thing, this universal, is at the same time only form: the subject or content,
the end, in fact, of this power is the human end and is suggested by men. The Romans revere the gods because they make use of them and when they make use of them, especially in the crisis of war.

The introduction of new gods takes place in times of difficulty and anxiety or because of vows. It is distress or trouble which in general constitutes with them the universal theogony. Connected with this also is the fact that the oracle, the Sibylline books are regarded as something divine, by means of which the people get to know what they should do or what ought to happen if they are to be benefited. Arrangements of this sort are in the hands of the State or the magistrate.

This religion is not at all a political religion in the sense in which all the religious already treated of are, in the sense that the nation has in religion the supreme consciousness of its life as a State and of its morality, and is indebted to the gods for the general arrangements connected with the State, such as agriculture, property, and marriage. In the Roman religion, on the contrary, reverence for and gratitude to the gods are closely connected, partly with definite individual cases, e.g., deliverance from danger, and partly with public authority of all kinds and with state transactions, in a prosaic way, and religious feeling is in general mixed up in a finite way with finite ends and with the deliberations and resolutions connected with these.

Thus speaking generally the character of empirical particularity is impressed on necessity; it is divine, and from a religious feeling which is identical with superstition there springs up a collection of oracles, auspices, Sibylline Books, which on the one hand minister to the end aimed at by the State and on the other to particular interests. The individual on the one hand disappears in a universal element, in sovereignty, Fortuna publica, and on the other human ends are regarded as having value in themselves, and the human subject or individual has an independent,
substantial, and valid standing. It is within these extremes and within the contradiction involved in them that Roman life moves restlessly about.

Roman virtue, *virtus*, consists of that kind of cold patriotism according to which the individual gives himself wholly up to advance anything that is a matter of state or of sovereignty. The Romans too gave a visible representation of this disappearance of the individual in the universal, of this negativity, and it constitutes an essential feature of their religious games.

In a religion which has no doctrine it is by means specially of the representations given in festivals and dramas that the truth concerning the god is brought before the eyes of men. In such a religion dramas have for this reason a wholly different importance from what they have with us. In ancient times their essential object is to bring before the imagination the process of the substantial powers, the divine life in its movement and action. The adoration of the images of the gods, and the worship paid to them are connected with this divine life in its state of repose or Being, and the movement of the divine life is contained in the narratives connected with the gods, in the myth, though it is thought of as existing only for the inner subjective mental representation of the truth. And just as the idea formed of the god in his state of repose comes to find expression in some work of art, in the manner characteristic of immediate imaginative perception, so, too, the idea formed of divine action comes to be represented externally in the drama. Such a way of representing the god was not indigenous to the Romans; it was not something which sprang up on Roman soil and Roman ground; and thus in adopting what was for them originally foreign, they turned it into something empty, ghastly, horrible—as we can see in the case of Seneca—without making the moral divine Idea of it their own. So, too, it was really only the later Greek comedy which they took to do with, and they gave repre-
sentations merely of vicious scenes, and of private affairs springing out of the relations between fathers, sons, harlots, and slaves.

Amongst a people thus absorbed in the pursuit of finite ends, it was impossible that any lofty perception of moral and divine action, any theoretical or intellectual conception of those substantial powers could exist; and actions which might be theoretically interesting to them as spectators, although they had no reference to their practical interests, could have for them only an external crude reality, or, if they were to move them, a hideous reality.

In Greek drama it was what was spoken that was the main thing; the persons who acted retained a calm plastic attitude, and there was none of that mimic art, strictly so called, in which the face comes into play, but rather it was the spiritual element in the conceptions dramatised which produced the effect desired. Amongst the Romans, on the contrary, pantomime was the main thing—a form of giving expression to thoughts, which is not equal in value to the expression which can be clothed in speech.

The plays which ranked highest consisted, in fact, of nothing but the slaughter of animals and men, of the shedding of blood in streams, of life and death combats. They represent, as it were, the highest point to which imaginative conceptions could be brought amongst the Romans. There is in them no moral interest, no tragic collision in which misfortune or some ethical element constitutes the essential part. The spectators, who sought merely for entertainment, did not demand a representation of a spiritual history, but of one which was real and actual—a history, in fact, which represents the supreme change in what is finite, namely, barren, natural death—a history which is devoid of any substantial element, and is the quintessence of all that belongs to external life. These plays attained amongst the Romans such enormous
proportions that hundreds of men, from four to five hundred lions, tigers, elephants, crocodiles were butchered by men who had to fight with them, and who in turn butchered each other. It is, above all, the history of cold, unspiritual death which is here brought before men’s eyes—a death willed in an irrational, arbitrary way, and which serves to feast the eyes of others. It is necessity, which is purely arbitrary, murder without any substantial element or content, and which has only itself for content. It is this and this way of representing destiny which occupy the supreme place, the cold fact of dying, not a natural death, but a death brought about by an exercise of empty arbitrary will. It is not produced by some external necessity arising out of certain circumstances; it is not a consequence of the violation of some moral principle. Dying was thus the only virtue which the noble Roman could practise, and he shared this virtue with slaves and with criminals who were condemned to death.

What is here pictured to the mind is that cold kind of murder which serves merely to feast the eyes upon, the nothingness of human individuality, and the worthlessess of the individual who has no moral life in himself. It is a picture of hollow, empty destiny, which in its relation to men is something contingent, a blind arbitrariness.

Contrasted with this extreme of empty destiny in which the individual disappears, a destiny which finally found a personal representation in the power of the Emperor, a power which is arbitrary and takes its own way, unhindered by moral considerations, we have the other extreme, the assertion of the worth of the pure particularity or separate life of subjectivity.

The power has, that is to say, at the same time an end also, but this power viewed in one aspect is blind; Spirit is not yet reconciled to itself, brought into harmony with itself in it, and both accordingly continue to occupy a
one-sided position in reference to each other. This power
is an end, and this end, the human, finite end, is the
sovereignty of the world, and the realisation of this end
is the sovereignty of men, of the Romans.

This universal end, taken in its real meaning, has its
basis, its seat in self-consciousness, and this means that
the independence of self-consciousness is posited, since
the end is included within self-consciousness. On the
one side we have a certain indifference in reference to
concrete life, and on the other we have this reserve, this
inwardness, which is an inwardness both of the divine
nature and of the individual, though so far as the indi-
vidual is concerned, it is a wholly abstract inwardness.

This explains what is a fundamental feature of Roman
thought, namely, that the abstract person, the individual
abstractly considered, is held to be of so much account.
The abstract person is the individual regarded legally;
and accordingly, the development of law, of the essential
characteristics of property, is an important feature of the
Roman way of regarding things. This law, or right, is
limited to juridical law, to the law or rights of property.

There are higher laws or rights; the human conscience
has its law or right, and this is as much a right as any
other; but the law of morality, the law of ethics is some-
thing far higher. Here, however, this right no longer
possesses its concrete and proper meaning, the truth
rather being that abstract right, the right of the person,
expresses merely what is contained in the definition of
property. It is certainly personality, but it is abstract
personality only, subjectivity in the sense just explained,
which is given this lofty place.

These are the fundamental features of this Religion of
Utility or Conformity to an End. There are contained in
it moments, the union of which constitutes the essential
color of the next and last stage of religion. The
moments which are isolated in the religion of outward
utility, but which are related to each other, and conse-
quently are in a condition of contradiction, are, though present here in an unspiritual form, the moments out of which, when united according to their true nature, arises the essential characteristic of the Religion of Spirit.

The Roman world forms the supremely important point of transition to the Christian religion, the indispensable middle term. It is that side of the Idea represented by reality, and, together with this, its potentially determinate character, which are developed at this stage of the religious spirit. At first we saw this reality held firm in immediate unity with the universal. Now, by giving itself a definite character, it has come out of the universal and detached itself from it, and has thus come to be completely realised externality, concrete individuality, and has consequently reached, in this its alienation carried to the furthest point, totality in itself. What now remains to be done, and what is necessary is, that this particularity or individuality, this determinate determinateness should be taken back again into the universal, so that it may reach its true determination, strip off the externality from itself, and consequently that the Idea as such may get its complete determination in itself.

The religion of external conformity to end or utility, viewed according to its inner signification, constitutes the closing stage of the finite religions. What is implied in finite reality is just that the notion of God should be or exist, that it should be posited, i.e., that this notion or conception should be the truth for self-consciousness, and accordingly should be realised in self-consciousness, in its subjective aspect.

It is the notion or conception as thus posited which must develop itself on its own account until it reaches totality, for only then is it capable of being taken up into universality. It was this advance of determinateness to the stage of totality accordingly which took place in the Roman world, for here the determinateness is something
concrete and finite, it is particularity, something which is inherently manifold, external, an actual condition, a kingdom, present objectivity, not beautiful objectivity, and consequently not complete or perfect subjectivity. It is through the end, the determinate determinateness, that the determinateness first returns into itself and is found in subjectivity. At first, however, it is finite determinateness, and owing to the subjective return into itself, it is finitude without any measure or standard, the false infinite-finitude.

This measureless finite has two sides or aspects which we must get to understand and have a firm grasp of, its potentiality and its empirical manifestation.

If we consider perfect determinateness in its potential form, we see that it is the absolute form of the Notion, the Notion, namely, in its determinateness, when it has come back into itself. The Notion is to begin with only the universal and abstract, the Notion in its potential form and as not yet posited. It is the true universal when, by means of particularity, it unites itself with itself, i.e., when by means of the mediation of particularity, of determinateness, by the act of going out of itself, and by the doing away with and absorption of this particularity, it returns to itself. This negation of the negation is the absolute form, the truly infinite subjectivity, the reality in its infinitude.

In the Religion of Utility it is just this infinite form which self-consciousness has come to represent to itself. This absolute form is in a special sense the characterisation of self-consciousness, the characterisation of Spirit. This is what constitutes the infinite importance of and necessity for the Roman religion.

This infinite subjectivity, which is infinite form, is the grand moment which has been gained for Power; it is what was wanting in the idea of God as Power, in the God of substantiality. It is true that in Power we had subjectivity, but Power has only single ends, or several
single ends, and its end is not yet infinite. It is only infinite subjectivity which has an infinite end, i.e., it is itself the end, and it is only inwardness, this subjectivity as such, which is its end. This characterisation of Spirit was accordingly gained for thought in the Roman world.

This absolute form, however, is here still empirical, and appears as a particular immediate person, and thus what is highest when conceived of in a finite way, is what is worst. The deeper the nature of Spirit and genius, the more monstrous are their errors. When superficiality errs, its error is correspondingly superficial and weak, and it is only what possesses depth in itself that can become the most evil and the worst. Thus it is this infinite reflection and infinite form which, since it is devoid of content and without substantiality, is the measureless and unlimited finitude, the limitedness which is itself absolute in its finitude. It is what appears in another shape in the system of the Sophists as reality, for to them man was the measure of all things, man, that is, regarded according to his immediate acts of volition and immediate feeling, from the point of view of his ends and interests. In the Roman world we see that this thinking by man on himself gets an important place, and is elevated to the condition of the Being and consciousness of the world. The act by which thought shuts itself up within finitude and particularity means, to begin with, the total disappearance of all beautiful, moral life, the falling away from true life into the infinitude of the desires, into momentary enjoyment and pleasure, and this stage in the entire shape in which it appears, constitutes a human animal-kingdom, from which everything of a higher nature, everything substantial has been removed. Such a state of lapse into purely finite forms of existence, ends, and interests, can certainly be maintained only by the inherently measureless authority and despotism of a single individual whose means for maintaining this authority is the cold unspiritual death of individuals, for only by this
means can negation be brought to bear on them, and only thus can they be kept in a condition of fear. The despot is one, a real present God, the singleness or individuality of will in the form of power exercising authority over all the other infinitely many single individualities.

The Emperor represents the Divinity, the divine essence, the Inner and Universal as it appears, and is revealed, and is actually present in the form of the singleness or particularity of the individual. This individual is the characterisation of Power advanced to the state of particularity, the descent of the Idea into the present, but it is a descent which means the loss on the part of the Idea of its inherent universality, of truth, of Being in-and-for self, and consequently of its divine nature. The universal has taken flight, and the Infinite is impressed in such a way on the finite that the finite is the subject of the proposition; this as something which has a fixed, permanent character, and is not negative, is placed within the Infinite.

This completion of finitude is thus pre-eminently the absolute misery and the absolute sorrow of Spirit, it is the opposition of Spirit to Spirit in its most complete form, and this state of opposition is not reduced to a state of reconciliation, this contradiction remains unsolved. But Spirit is what thinks, and so if it has lost itself in this reflection into itself as externality, in its character as thought it at the same time returns into itself through the loss of itself; it is reflected into itself, and in its depth as infinite form, as subjectivity,—but as subjectivity which thinks, and not as immediate subjectivity,—it has placed itself at the highest point which can be reached. In this abstract form it appears as philosophy, or speaking generally as the sorrow of virtue, as a longing and seeking for help.

The resolution and reconciliation of the opposing elements is what is everywhere demanded. This reconciliation becomes possible only when the external finitude,
which has been set free, is taken up into the infinite universality of Thought, and is in this way purified from its immediacy, and raised to the condition of what has substantial validity. So, too, this infinite universality of thought which has no external existence or value of its own must in turn receive a present reality, and self-consciousness must at the same time come to be a consciousness of the reality of universality, so that it may see the Divine to be something with an actual definite existence, something belonging to the world and present in the world, and know that God and the world are reconciled.

We have seen how Olympus, that heaven of the gods, that region within which are found the fairest divine forms that were ever created by fancy, represented at the same time a free moral life, a free, though as yet a limited, national spirit. Greek life was split up into many small states, into those stars which themselves are only limited centres of light. In order that the free condition of Spirit may be reached, this state of limitation must be done away with, and the fate which floats in the distance above the world of the gods and above the national life must make its true authority felt in them in such a way that the national spirit of these free peoples is destroyed. The free spirit must get to know itself as free spirit in the entirety of its nature, free spirit in-and-for self. Its value no longer consists in its being simply the free spirit of the Greeks, of the citizens of this or the other state, but rather man must be known to be free as man, and God is thus the God of all men, the all-embracing, universal Spirit. This fate, accordingly, which exercises a kind of corrective discipline on the particular forms in which freedom shows itself and crushes the limited national spirit of the various peoples—so that the nations apostatise from their gods, and get to be conscious of their weakness and powerlessness, since their political life is destroyed by the one universal
Power—was the Roman world and its religion. In this religion of utility or conformity to end, the end was none other than the Roman State, which thus represents abstract Power exercising its authority over the national spirit of the various peoples. The gods of all nations are collected together in the Roman Pantheon, and mutually destroy each other, owing to their being thus united. The Roman spirit as representing this fate, destroyed the happiness and joyousness of the beautiful life and consciousness of the religions which went before, and crushed down all the various forms in which this consciousness showed itself into a condition of unity and uniformity. It was this abstract Power which produced the tremendous misery and the universal sorrow which existed in the Roman world, a sorrow which was to be the birth-throe of the religion of truth. The distinction between free men and slaves disappears in the presence of the all-embracing power of the Emperor; everything permanent, whether existing in an inward or in an outward form, is destroyed, and we are in the presence of the death of finitude, since the Fortuna of the one Empire itself succumbs too.

The true taking up of finitude into the Universal, and the perception of this unity, could not have their development within those religious, and could not originate in the Roman and Greek world.

The penitence of the world, the discarding of finitude, and the despair of finding satisfaction in what was temporal and finite which gained the upper hand in the spirit of the world, all served to prepare the soil for the true, spiritual religion, a preparation which had to be completed on the part of man, in order that "the time might be fulfilled." Granting that the principle of Thought was already developed, still the Universal was not yet an object for consciousness in all its purity, as is evident from the fact that even in philosophical speculation, Thought was united with ordinary externality, as, for
instance, when the Stoics made the world originate in fire. The truth is that the reconciliation could appear only amongst a people who possessed the purely abstract idea of the One for itself, and had completely cast away finitude in order to be able to conceive of it again in a purified form. The Oriental principle of pure abstraction had to unite with the finitude and particularity of the West. It was the Jewish nation which preserved the idea of God as representing the ancient sorrow of the world. For here we have the religion of abstract sorrow, of the one Lord, and because of this the reality of life appears relatively to this abstraction and in this abstraction, as the infinite wilfulness of self-consciousness, and is at the same time bound up with the abstraction. The old curse is removed and becomes the source of salvation, and this just because finitude has on its part raised itself to the condition of something positive, has become infinite finitude, and has gained for itself a valid existence.