



Freedom in Conflict

On Kant's Critique of Medical Reason

Jonas Gerlings

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Florence, 24 February 2017.

European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

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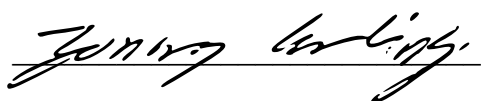
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Freedom in Conflict

Kant's Critique of Medical Reason

Abstract

This thesis undertakes a double task by on the one hand analysing 18th century medicine within the context of Immanuel Kant's work and on the other hand analysing Kant's work within the context of 18th century medicine. Drawing on a series of Kant's writings on medicine, often discarded as marginal, his work is re-located within the context of 18th century medical reforms and scientific revolutions. Focusing on the initial conflation between 18th century medicine and philosophy the thesis traces the growing disciplinary distinctions between the two in their rivalling views on the science of man. By focusing on the changing attitudes towards his own long lasting engagement with medicine, it is demonstrated how Kant becomes increasingly self-critical. It is argued that Kant's philosophy is developed as a critical reflection of a growing medicalization of human life, which fails to perceive man as a free agent.

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Acknowledgements

There is not much to suggest that this work originated from what was intended to be an analysis of Martin Luther's reception of German mysticism. At the European University Institute under the supervision of Martin van Gelderen I was investigating the construction of the concept of mysticism in the 17th and 18th century as part of an introductory chapter to the above mentioned thesis. Upon reading an article by Anthony La Vopa "The Philosopher and the 'Schwärmer': On the Career of a German Epithet from Luther to Kant" I initially became acquainted with some early, and to me unfamiliar texts by Immanuel Kant presenting a medical interpretation of the enthusiast. The texts sparked an interest and a curiosity that there might be more to look for and as Anthony La Vopa was visiting the EUI at the time I was fortunate to discuss the idea with him. I am deeply grateful for his willingness to discuss and his encouragement to go further with the project. Inspired by conversations with Antonella Romano I became interested in the attempt to approach Immanuel Kant, not as a philosopher but as a physician, and although I have become increasingly confirmed in the view that Kant is a philosopher, the approach has proved very fruitful in questioning what is to be understood by 18th century philosophy. Antonella's insistence to at least make the attempt to think things anew is a virtue I still try to maintain. As I thereafter presented the idea to Martin van Gelderen he warned me that I should be able to stay focused: "Remember! You can only change topic so many times..." he said. However, he was supportive of the idea and has given me the chance to follow my initial intuition, even sometimes to be let astray. His ability to give space as well as to give structure when needed has provided a basis without which I am doubtful that this thesis would have ever been defended. Additionally he has been a huge support in connecting me with the right people and places. I am grateful to Andreas Klinger for hosting me in Jena and Rainer Forst for hosting me in Frankfurt; to Avi Lifschitz for hosting me in London at the UCL and for his engagement, encouragement and productive criticism; to Hans Bödeker, the only thing more inspiring for this project than his texts has been our talks. Stéphane van Damme became introduced to the project at a later stage but immediately got engaged. Over the years I have been fortunate to enjoy his encouragement and support as well as his criticism and willingness to debate, which has opened the project to further avenues of research.

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Notes on the text:

The references to Kant are as far as possible to the *Cambridge Edition of works of Immanuel Kant*. Each reference to Kant is accompanied with a reference to the German academy edition of Kant's collected works: *Kant's Gesammelte Schriften 'Akademieausgabe', Königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaft*, Berlin 1900-, Reimer, de Gruyter. When it is considered necessary the English quote is accompanied by the original. Each reference to the academy edition uses the following abbreviation: AA for *Akademieausgabe*, followed by a roman number referring to the volume and an Arabic number referring to the page. Example: Volume 2 page 18 of the Academy edition would be AA II: 18.

If no other translator is indicated the author of this thesis is responsible.

An Introduction to the Art of Prolonging the Life of the Mind

On 12 December 1796, less than eight years before his death, Immanuel Kant received a book entitled *On the Art of Prolonging Human Life*. The author was the renowned physician C. W. F. Hufeland, who had asked for the “honourable Nestor’s” opinion on his “attempt to treat the physical element in the human being morally.” It took Kant more than a year to respond, but in January 1798 he presented Hufeland with an answer, a diatribe bearing the title *On the Power of the Mind to Master its Morbid Feelings by Sheer Resolution*. Kant did give a moral answer, stressing the importance of the stoic dictum *sustine et abstine* (endure and abstain) not just as “the doctrine of virtue, but also as the art of medicine.”¹ As he noted:

*“I myself have a natural disposition to hypochondria because of my flat and narrow chest, which leaves little room for the movement of the heart and lungs; and in my earlier years this disposition made me almost weary of life. But by reflecting that, if the cause of this oppression of the heart was purely mechanical, nothing could be done about it, I soon came to pay no attention to it. The result was that, while I felt the oppression in my chest, a calm and cheerful state prevailed in my mind [...]”*²

¹ Immanuel Kant, “The Conflict of the Faculties,” in *Religion and Rational Theology*, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 316. “Der Stoicism als Princip der Diätik (*sustine et abstine*) gehört also nicht bloß zur praktischen Philosophie als Tugendlehre, sondern auch zu ihr Heilkunde.” AA VII: 100. In the Cambridge translation one reads “Science of Medicine”, however exactly the debate surrounding whether medicine was an art (Kunst) or a science (Wissenschaft) was of central importance in 18th century debates. Here one has to emphasize that Kant is speaking of medicine as an Art (kunde) not a Science and hence I have chosen to translate “Heilkunde” with “Art of medicine.”

² Ibid., 318. “Ich habe wegen meiner flachen und engen Brust, die für die Bewegung des Herzens und der Lunge wenig spielraum läßt, eine natürliche Anlage zur Hypochondrie, welche in früheren Jahren bis an den Überdruß des Lebens gränzte. Aber die Überlegung, daß die Ursache dieser Herzbeklemmung vielleicht bloß mechanisch und nicht zu heben sei, brachte es bald dahin, daß ich mich an sie gar nicht kehrte, und während dessen, daß ich mich in der Brust beklommen fühlte, im Kopf doch Ruhe und Heiterkeit herrschte [...]” AA VII: 104.

The pressure on his heart had never left him, but through reflexion he had, allegedly, gained the experience of intellectual *freedom* from his bodily states. In this self-analysis, Kant juxtaposes two languages, one of medical examination and one of philosophical reflexion. Each language articulates a distinct view on man. While the former perceives man physiologically, as a mechanical body subject to the laws of nature, the latter accentuates the life of the mind, a life free from these laws. The division is by no means new. In his lifelong *Lectures on Anthropology*, Kant distinguished between the *physical character*, determining “what can be made of the human being”, and the *moral character* determined by “what he is prepared to make of himself.”³ Elaborating, Kant explained that “The first is the distinguishing mark of the human being as a sensible or natural being; the second is the distinguished mark of the human being as a rational being endowed with freedom.”⁴ However, the distinction also evoked echoes of an enduring trope in the history of philosophy, the paradox concerning the compatibility of freedom and necessity. The paradox had been addressed in various ways, but Kant abstracted two ideal positions. On the one, hand we need to assume that the world is governed by universal laws of nature. However, if natural laws are universal freedom is impossible or if, on the other hand, freedom is possible, the laws of nature are not universal. Holding that the paradox could not be solved, Kant suggested that the problem should be regarded as what he called a dialectic of pure reason, as a question of how reason can come to disagree with itself. Kant demonstrated how the structures of reason could result in what he entitled a “conflict of the transcendental ideas.”⁵

Despite Kant’s attempt to dissolve the problem rather than solve it, historians of philosophy have repeatedly tried to place Kant within one category or the other, in the end labelling his answer as a “metaphysical monstrosity.”⁶ What is rarely acknowledged, however, is

³ Immanuel Kant, “Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View (1798),” in *Anthropology, History, and Education*, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 2011), 384. “...ein gewisser Mensch hat diesen oder jenen (physischen) Charakter, theils: er hat überhaupt einen Charakter (einen moralischen), der nur ein einziger, oder gar keiner sein kann. [...] Die beiden ersteren Anlagen zeigen an, was sich aus dem Menschen machen läßt; die zweite (moralische), was er aus sich selbst zu machen bereit ist.” AA VII: 285.

⁴ Ibid. “Das erste ist das Unterscheidungszeichen des Menschen als eines sinnlichen oder Naturwesens; das zweite desselben als eines vernünftigen, mit Freiheit begabten Wesens.” AA VII: 285.

⁵ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, vol. 1998, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, n.d.), 384. “Widerstreit der transcendentalen Ideen.” AA III: 308

⁶ Allen W. Wood, “Kant’s Compatibilism,” in *Self and Nature in Kant’s Philosophy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), 241. In an attempt to nuance the debate, Wood made the argument that Kant did not fit in either category, but rather that he attempted to demonstrate the compatibility of compatibilism and incompatibilism. Further more Henry E. Allison has presented the argument that Kant’s division should not be understood as a division of two separate worlds but rather two aspects of one world. See: Henry E. Allison, *Kant’s Theory of Freedom* (Cambridge University Press, 1990). For one of the most recent books on the subject see: Mario Brandhorst, Andree

that Kant's treatment of the problem is not an attempt to end the debate, but rather to show that anthropological interpretations of human actions cannot be finally determined but instead can be continuously contested and hence debated: they are situated within what Kant called a "dialectical battlefield."⁷ Hufeland published Kant's letter in his *Journal of Practical Pharmacology and Surgery*, thereby situating Kant's work in the midst of a growing literature on public health and moral hygiene⁸ and making it subject to public discourse. Meanwhile, Kant himself chose to publish it under the title *Conflict of the Philosophy Faculty with the Faculty of Medicine* as part of a longer piece of writing on the socio-political role of the university; it is within this context that Kant offers an approach to the problem by transposing it from an idealised to an institutionalised opposition, i.e. he introduces the institutional conflict between the *philosophy faculty* and the *faculty of medicine* as a way to structure this "dialectical battlefield." This transforms the interpretive challenge from one of simply investigating the role of medicine within Kant's system of philosophy to one of investigating the role of Kant's philosophy within the emerging influence of medicine in the social system. Hence, the subtitle *Kant's Critique of Medical Reason* has a double meaning, as it not only refers to the critical investigation of the limits of medicine as a science but also to the critical reflection of the social and moral consequences of 18th-century medical reforms. This second perspective allows us to analyse Kant's writings on medicine as more than "only [...] a number of dietetic precepts loosely arrayed,"⁹ a verdict which may reflect the scarce literature on Kant's engagement with medicine.¹⁰ And while on a purely discursive level we may find a joint endeavour of deeply entangled medical and philosophical discourses attempting to formulate a unified science of man, the institutional development bears witness to an increasing professionalization of disciplines and the crystallization of distinct competing perspectives, challenging the assumption

Hahmann, and Bernd Ludwig, *Sind wir Bürger zweier Welten?: Freiheit und moralische Verantwortung im transzendentalen Idealismus*, 1st ed. (Hamburg: Meiner, F, 2013).

⁷ Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1998:468. "einen dialektischen Kampfplatz," AA III: 291.

⁸ See for example: Ute Frevert, *Krankheit als politisches Problem 1770–1880: Soziale Unterschichten in Preußen zwischen medizinischer Polizei und staatlicher Sozialversicherung* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 21.

⁹ Ernst Cassirer, *Kant's Life and Thought* (Yale University Press, 1983), 408.

¹⁰ Compared to the vast literature on Kant a specific interest in his relation to medicine is scarce. See Reinhard Brandt, "Immanuel Kant: 'Über Die Heilung Des Körpers, Soweit Sie Sache Der Philosophen Ist': Und: Woran Starb Moses Mendelssohn?," *Kant-Studien* 90, no. 3 (1999): 354–366; Reinhard Brandt, *Universität zwischen Selbst- und Fremdbestimmung: Kants "Streit der Fakultäten"* (Walter de Gruyter, 2003); Werner Euler and Gideon Stiening, "'...und Nie Der Pluralität Widerspruch'? Zur Bedeutung von Immanuel Kants Amtsgeschäften," *Kant-Studien* 86, no. 1 (1995): 54; E. König, "König, E. Kant Und Die Naturwissenschaft," *Kant-Studien* 13, no. 1–3 (2015): 162–162; A Model, "Kant Und Die Medizin Der Aufklärung," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 74, no. 1 (1990): 112–16; Guenter B. Risse, "Kant, Schelling, and the Early Search for a Philosophical 'Science' of Medicine in Germany," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* XXVII, no. 2 (January 4, 1972): 145–58; Urban Wiesing, "Immanuel Kant, His Philosophy and Medicine," *Medicine, Health Care & Philosophy* 11, no. 2 (June 1, 2008): 221–36; Urban Wiesing, *Kunst oder Wissenschaft?: Konzeptionen der Medizin in der deutschen Romantik* (Frommann-Holzboog, 1995).

that between the medical and philosophical faculties there is “no real conflict.”¹¹ On the contrary, the thesis puts the notion of *conflict* at the center, as the main title *Freedom in Conflict* suggests. As we have seen, *freedom in conflict* first of all refers to a *question* regarding the “conflict of the transcendental ideas;” second, it refers to an approach related to the *conflict of the faculties*. Finally, the title refers to a third notion of *freedom in conflict*, which constitutes a possible answer; however, it is not an answer that seeks to dissolve the conflict between freedom and nature. On the contrary, the underlying line of thought running through this work is that the conflict between freedom and nature is not an opposition that Kant seeks to dissolve; rather, it plays a constitutive role for the understanding of Kant’s concept of freedom. Such an assumption, however, goes against many of the key assumptions within Kant studies and hence questions what may be reasonable to ask. One may call forth one of Kant’s rare humorous remarks:

“It is already a great and necessary proof of cleverness or insight to know what one should reasonably ask. For if the question is absurd in itself and demands unnecessary answers, then, besides the embarrassment of the one who proposes it, it also has the disadvantage of misleading the incautious listener into absurd answers, and presenting the ridiculous sight (as the ancients said) of one person milking a billy-goat while the other holds a sieve underneath.”¹²

It is by no means my intention to discard the totality of Kant studies, but within such a huge tradition certain modes of questioning can become dogma, thus rendering the querying of this line of questioning obsolete. However, so that I should not be found guilty of a similar offence and simultaneously put the reader in an embarrassing position, it may be necessary to revisit some founding moments in Kant studies in order to make clear *how* and *why* I may differ in my approach.

Organizing thoughts

The year after Kant’s death in 1804, *The New Annual Register, Or, General Repository of History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1804* noted in London that “Kant has been *biographized*, if we may be allowed the term, by various of his friends and pupils, and in a manner not often attempted

¹¹ Manfred Kuehn, *Kant: A Biography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 404.

¹² Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1998:197. “Es ist schon ein großer und nöthiger Beweis der Klugheit oder Einsicht, zu wissen, was man vernünftiger Weise fragen solle. Denn wenn die Frage an sich ungereimt ist und unnöthige Antworten verlangt, so hat sie außer der Beschämung dessen, der sie aufwirft, bisweilen noch den Nachtheil, den unbehutsamen Anhörer derselben zu ungereimten Antworten zu verleiten und den belachenswerthen Anblick zu geben, daß einer (wie die Alten sagten) den Bock melkt, der andre ein Sieb unterhält.” AA III: 79.

among ourselves. Borowski, Jachman, Woskiansky, and Kelch, have all tried their rival powers upon the same subject: while the last with a view of triumphing over all his competitors in minuteness of detail, has given an analysis of his skull upon the cranioscopic theory of Dr. Gall.”¹³

Ludwig Ernst Borowski, Reinhold Bernhard Jachman, and Ehregott Andreas Christoph Wasianski, all three friends of Kant, had each contributed with sketches of Kant’s life and character based on memories and documents.¹⁴ Dr. Wilhelm Gottlieb Kelch’s approach differed radically from these biographies in that it – using Kant’s concepts – aimed to capture Kant’s *physical* rather than his *moral character* through a physiological analysis of his skull.¹⁵ Despite the initial enthusiastic receptions, Kelch’s biography today only figures in Kant literature as a historical curiosity, if at all. Although this historical exclusion may be fully justified, it does present us with an insight into the ambiguity of the biography as a subgenre of anthropology straddling medicine and humanities, while at the same time reminding us that the historiography of Kant studies is itself a story of the multiple exclusions of medicine as an element in or the framework for the organization of Kant’s thoughts.

The other three biographies were of a different kind. As Manfred Kuehn has pointed out, the three biographers, despite being friends with Kant, did not know the young Kant; the image they depict is mainly based on the end of his life.¹⁶ This first and foremost questions the caricature of Kant’s person, most notably described by Heinrich Heine as an existence governed by regular mechanical routines – a walk at the same time each day so precise that one could set the town clock accordingly. His accompanying judgment that Kant “neither had a life nor a history”¹⁷ has endured ever since, manifesting the image of a philosopher who synthesised the main currents of Enlightenment philosophy from his armchair in Königsberg. Secondly, it calls for a re-examination of Kant’s early intellectual context. While the primary significance of Borowski’s biography is the report of years prior to 1783,¹⁸ he is also “the least reliable of these three biographers.”¹⁹ After having presented a draft of his account to Kant himself, the latter made some corrections, one being that he had not initially studied theology. Borowski, however, insisted on

¹³ Andrew Kippis, *The New Annual Register, Or, General Repository of History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1804*, vol. 1805 (London, n.d.), 384.

¹⁴ Ludwig Ernst Borowski, *Darstellung Des Lebens Und Charakters Immanuel Kant’s* (F. Nicolovius, 1804); Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann, *Immanuel Kant Geschildert in Briefen an Einen Freund* (F. Nicolovius, 1804); Ehregott Andreas Christoph Wasianski, *Immanuel Kant in Seinem Letzen Lebensjahre: Ein Beitrag Zur Kenntniss Seines Charakters Und Seines Häuslichen Lebens Aus Dem Täglichen Umgange Mit Ihm* (F. Nicolovius, 1804).

¹⁵ Wilhelm Gottlieb Kelch, *Über den Schädel Kants: ein Beytrag zu Galls Hirn- und Schädellehre* (Nicolovius, 1804).

¹⁶ Kuehn, *Kant*, 13.

¹⁷ Heinrich Heine, *Lyrik Und Prosa*. (Frankfurt a.M.: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1956), 461.

¹⁸ Kuehn, *Kant*, 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

this point²⁰ in agreement with Jachman's one-sided theological account of Kant's life.²¹ However, Kant had taken an early interest in medicine. Entering the *Albertina*, the University of Königsberg, in 1740, he had confided that "he wanted to become a medical doctor";²² even though he never followed the path of a physician, he upheld a lifelong interest in matters concerning medicine, an interest that originated from his concern with his own health. As Kant's colleague and adversary the professor of medicine Johann Daniel Metzger noted in his biography, Kant allegedly "found more taste for medicine than any other science":²³ he was, in a certain sense, his own patient as well as physician.²⁴ Submitting himself to strict dietetics, Kant thought his prolonged life to be a medical artwork: the life force of his otherwise weak mechanical body had been upheld through scheduled wholesome living. Metzger, who was a teacher of Kelch, wrote a far more critical biography, in part discrediting Kant's moral character: this has for almost two centuries been regarded as slander. The three official biographies downplayed the aspects of conflict and controversy in Kant's work. As Kuehn notes, "Kant's friends in Königsberg preferred a Kant without history to a Kant with a questionable history."²⁵

Compared to the huge amount of literature on Kant, surprisingly few focus on the connection between Kant's life and thought.²⁶ Since Kant's medical engagement to a large extent has been regarded as being precepts "Kant had tested out on himself personally,"²⁷ it has often only been subject to a purely biographical interest.²⁸ As an extension of Heine's portrait, Friedrich Nietzsche later remarked that Kant's thinking was not the "...involuntary biography of a soul..." but that of "a head."²⁹ It is doubtful that Nietzsche was thinking of Dr. Kelch's physiological

²⁰ Ibid., 10.

²¹ Ibid., 12.

²² "Kant sagte, ein Medicus werden zu wollen." Rudolf Malter and Immanuel Kant, *Philosophische Bibliothek, Bd.329, Immanuel Kant in Rede und Gespräch*. (Hamburg: Meiner, F, 2013), 21. Translation from Kuehn, *Kant*, 72.

²³ "...daß Kant mehr Geschmack an der Medicin fand, als an andern Wissenschaften." Johann Daniel Metzger, *Äußerungen über Kant*, 1804, 27.

²⁴ Ibid., 28.

²⁵ Kuehn, *Kant*, 14.

²⁶ Gerhard Lehmann has noted: "Es ist überraschend, wie wenig bisher über Kants Leben geschrieben wurde. Natürlich nicht absolut, sondern relative genommen – im Verhältnis zu der unermeßlichen Literatur über Kants Philosophie. Es ist auch überraschend, welches Mißverhältnis zwischen Kants Denkleistung und seinem Leben bzw. Seiner Persönlichkeit zu bestehen scheint." See: Gerhard Lehmann, "Kants Lebenskrise," in *Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Philosophie Kants* (Walter de Gruyter, 1969), 411. The claim was later followed by Giorgio Tonelli, "Conditions in Königsberg and the Making of Kant's Philosophy," in *Bewusst Sein*, ed. Gerhard Funke et al. (Bouvier, 1975). As Examples of works that interpret Kant's philosophy in relation to his life see fore example: Cassirer, *Kant's Life and Thought*; Volker Gerhardt, *Immanuel Kant: Vernunft und Leben* (Reclam, 2002).

²⁷ Cassirer, *Kant's Life and Thought*, 408.

²⁸ See for example: Karl Vorländer, *Immanuel Kant, der mann und das werk* (F. Meiner, 1924).

²⁹ On Kant and Schopenhauer Nietzsche writes: "...ihre Gedanken machen nicht eine leidenschaftliche Seelengeschichte aus, es gibt da keinen Roman, keine Krisen, Katastrophen und Todesstunden zu errathen, ihr Denken ist

organization of Kant's cognitive organs³⁰ rather, he was alluding to the displacement of Kant's life in favor of his work. As Windelband would formulate it, "The center [...] of Kant's philosophy forms his personality".³¹ This gave voice to the systematic reconstruction of Kant's thought under the headline of neo-Kantianism: even today, Kant's biography is still most often thought of in terms of his work.³²

Nearly a century after Kant's death, Wilhelm Dilthey initiated plans for a critical edition of Kant's collected writings under *The Royal Prussian Academy of Science*. Nicolovious had already considered publishing Kant's collected works; however, it was not until 1838 that two editions simultaneously appeared – and more were to follow. Dilthey's project was not simply to make Kant's writings accessible; the academy edition should serve as "the objective foundation" for individual research.³³ This meant, on the one hand, ordering and determining the chronology of Kant's writings,³⁴ but also, on the other, enabling the historical understanding of the systematic development of Kant's philosophy. For Dilthey, a retrospective historical understanding was also, in part, a philosophical understanding, displaying connections of which Kant himself may not have been conscious.³⁵ However, as the correspondence between the publishers, Dilthey, and his successor Erich Adickes shows, Dilthey's retrospective understanding was contestable. The main subject of dispute was the position of Kant's anthropology within the authorship. Following Kant's own systematic distinction between *pure* and *empirical* philosophy, his anthropology, which contains important parts of Kant's medical thoughts, was to be separated from Kant's metaphysical writings. However, Adickes held that when Kant initiated his anthropological lectures, they were closely connected with his metaphysical studies. Dilthey and Adickes' dispute was first and foremost about the *principle* of organisation. Pointing out their differences, Adickes

nicht zugleich eine unwillkürliche Biographie einer Seele, sondern, im Falle Kant's, eines Kopfes [...]." Friedrich Nietzsche, *Nietzsche - Werke Abt. 5. Bd. 1. Morgenröthe* (Berlin;New York: de Gruyter, 1971), 289.

³⁰ Kelch, *Über den Schädel Kants*.

³¹ "Der Mittelpunkt [...] von Kants Philosophie bildet seine Persönlichkeit." Wilhelm Windelband, *Die geschichte der neueren philosophie in ihrem zusammenhange mit der allgemeinen kultur und den besonderen wissenschaften dargestellt: bd. Von Kant bis Hegel und Herbart* (Breitkopf und Härtel, 1904), 4.

³² See for example: Otfried Höffe, *Immanuel Kant* (München: C.H. Beck, 1983), 19.

³³ "Die Ausgabe selbst kann selbstverständlich in ihren Zielen den Einzelforschungen nicht vorgreifen wollen, aber sie soll die objektive Grundlage für dieselben darbieten." Wilhelm Dilthey, "Vorwort," in *Kants Gesammelte Schriften bd.1* (G. Reimer puis W. de Gruyter und C°, 1900), X.

³⁴ "...der Streit, der heute unter den Kantforschern besteht und der sich von der Gesamtauffassung bis auf die Interpretation der Hauptbegriffe Kants erstreckt, wird doch eingeschränkt, der Umfang von Sicherer geschichtlicher Erkenntniß erweitert werden können, wenn dies Material wohlgeordnet und nach Möglichkeit chronologisch bestimmt vorliegt." Ibid., IX–X.

³⁵ See Heinz Heimsoeth, "Zur Akademieausgabe von Kants Gesammelten Schriften. Abschluss Und Aufgaben," *Kant-Studien* 49, no. 1–4 (1958): 351–63.

wrote to Dilthey that “The main divergence between us relies on that you are maintaining the division of the later Kant, while I look at the matter genealogically and want to dispose it from this perspective.”³⁶ In the end, Kant’s anthropology was published in a separate volume along with *The Conflict of the Faculties*. This “divergence” displays how deeply the question regarding the place of medicine in Kant’s writings is intertwined with the approach for understanding the development of his thoughts, i.e. the difficulties of taking Kant’s later distinction between medicine and philosophy for granted when analysing his early writings. Kant’s thinking was not determined by a pre-given architectonic, but was a process of formulating, re-formulating, and thinking through problems;³⁷ as such, it was, according to Kant himself, filled with discontinuities (*umkippungen*).³⁸ This means to some extent that we should understand Kant’s reflexions on medicine as fragments of a dialogue with a more immediate literary context: giving meaning to these reflexions implies reconstructing this context. Kant’s work on medicine does not display a system of thought, but is rather a fragment of larger debates. To understand Kant’s thoughts on medicine means to reconstruct these debates. This, however, also entails a relocation of Kant’s work in order to place it and reinterpret it as acts within specific debates.

What is Enlightenment?

“*Enlightenment is the human being’s emergence from his self-incurred minority. Minority is inability to make use of one’s own understanding without direction from another. This minority is self-incurred when its cause lies not in lack of understanding but in lack of resolution and courage to use it without direction from another. Sapere aude! Have courage to make use of your own understanding!* is thus the motto of enlightenment.”³⁹ The opening lines of Kant’s 1784 essay *An*

³⁶ “Die Hauptdivergenz zwischen uns beruht darauf, dass Sie sich an die Einteilungen des sääteren Kant halten, während ich den Stoff genetisch betrachte u. von dem Gesichtspunkt aus disponieren möchte.” Gerhard Lehmann, “Beilage: Briefwechsel Zwischen Wilhelm Dilthey Und Erich Adickes (Winter 1904–1905),” in *Beiträge Zur Geschichte Und Interpretation Der Philosophie Kants* (Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1969), 21.

³⁷ Gerhard Lehmann writes: “daß Kant (wie Fichte) *Federdenker* war, und da seine Philosophie ein fortlaufender Prozeß ist” Gerhard Lehmann, “Neue Perspektiven Der Kantforschung,” in *Kants Tugenden: Neue Beiträge Zur Geschichte Und Interpretation Der Philosophie Kants* (Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 2.

³⁸ “Doch gibt es nach Kants eigener Äußerung ‘Umkippungen’, - Diskontinuitäten, deren wichtigste in die Jahre 1764/65 fällt.” Lehmann, “Kants Lebenskrise,” 4.

³⁹ Immanuel Kant, “An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment?,” in *Practical Philosophy*, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 17. “Aufklärung ist der Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbst verschuldeten Unmündigkeit. Unmündigkeit ist das Unvermögen, sich seines Verstandes ohne Leitung eines anderen zu bedienen. Selbstverschuldet ist diese Unmündigkeit, wenn die Ursache derselben nicht am Mangel des Verstandes, sondern der Entschließung und des Muthes liegt, sich seiner ohne Leitung eines andern zu bedienen. *Sapere aude!* habe Muth dich deines eigenen Verstandes zu bedienen! Ist also der Wahlspruch der Aufklärung.” AA VIII, 35.

Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment? have become a state-of-the-art characterization of the Enlightenment,⁴⁰ making the neo-Kantian re-assemblage of Kant's philosophy a reconstruction of an entire period. Kant does not simply figure as a person of the Enlightenment; rather, he comes to personify the Enlightenment. In Windelband's words, "Kant's teaching is the point at which the development of the Enlightenment culminates [...]; it is the conclusion of the Enlightenment movement and for that reason both the completion and the overcoming of the Enlightenment."⁴¹ This teleological formulation of the Enlightenment, culminating in Kant,⁴² has been understood through the synthesis of two stylised oppositions: Isaac Newton's description of a mechanical universe and Jean Jacques Rousseau's formulation of a universalizable morality. In his synthesis of these two opposites, Kant accentuates freedom as the key concept ordering and unifying the Enlightenment,⁴³ prescribing a vision of Enlightenment man as an autonomous active intellect governing a passive mechanical body. As Simon Schaffer has formulated it more recently, "...Kant's account of true enlightenment and its relation with governmentality hinged on a careful specification of the mechanization of the subject."⁴⁴ This neo-Kantian Enlightenment proposes a certain order which enables the understanding of the Enlightenment as a unified phenomenon. Despite its persistent influence, the understanding of the Enlightenment as "...a family of

⁴⁰ As John Robertson for example notes: "...the history of Enlightenment philosophy was generally written in a Kantian perspective." John Robertson, *The Case for The Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 12.

⁴¹ "Insofern als alle philosophischen Bestrebungen, welche dasselbe erfüllen, in seiner Lehre irgendwo ihren Platz und zugleich ihre schärfste Formulierung finden, ist er der grösste Philosoph der Aufklärung selbst und ihr kräftigster Repräsentant. [...] Kants Lehre ist der Punkt, an welchem die Entwicklungslinie der Aufklärung kulminiert und damit aus ihrem schöpferischen Aufstreben in die absteigende Bahn zurückfällt; sie ist der Abschluss der Aufklärungsbewegung und eben deshalb zugleich die Vollendung und die Überwindung der Aufklärung." Windelband, *Die geschichte der neueren philosophie in ihrem zusammenhange mit der allgemeinen kultur und den besonderen wissenschaften dargestellt*, 2.

⁴² While the German Enlightenment historiography has been dominated by a perspective focussing on the progression of the Enlightenment as seen in Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel Der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen Zu Einer Kategorie Der Bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, 1. Aufl. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990); and Reinhart Koselleck, *Kritik Und Krise. Eine Studie Zur Pathogenese Der Bürgerlichen Welt.*, Neuauf. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973); other traditions have looked for the origins of the Enlightenment in various places such as: France: Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: The Rise of Modern Paganism* (W.W. Norton, 1995); Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: The Science of Freedom* (W.W. Norton, 1996); Britain: Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (Penguin UK, 2001); or the Netherlands as in Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford ;;New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford ;;New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Jonathan Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010). Whether one applies the perspective of progression or origin both views runs the risk of laying claim to a "true" Enlightenment, be it either original or complete.

⁴³ As Cassirer writes: "Kant durfte sich auf Rousseau stützen, und er konnte sich auf ihn berufen, als er daran ging, seine eigene Gedankenwelt systematisch aufzubauen: jene Gedankenwelt, durch die die Aufklärung überwunden wird, in der sie aber zugleich ihre letzte Verklärung und ihre tiefste Rechtfertigung erhält." Ernst Cassirer, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Meiner Verlag, 2007), 287.

⁴⁴ Simon Schaffer, "Enlightened Automata," in *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe* (The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 153.

intellectuals united by a single style of thinking”⁴⁵ has become increasingly contested. In the field of political thought, John Pocock has launched a program “...of pluralising Enlightenment into a number of movements in both harmony and conflict with each other...”,⁴⁶ thus paving the way for analysing rivalling Enlightenment ideologies.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, in the history of science, Steven Shapin has developed a perspective “which points out the existence of a number of species of natural knowledge, and a number of opposed Enlightenments.”⁴⁸ From this perspective of multiple Enlightenments, medicine in the Enlightenment does not simply pose a random practice: rather, one can talk of Enlightenment medicine.⁴⁹ Gay noted that:

“...for observant men in the eighteenth century, philosophes as well as others, the most tangible cause for confidence lay in medicine – among the many clients of the Newtonian dispensation surely the most prosperous. Medicine was the most highly visible and the most heartening index of general improvement [...] For the Enlightenment, medicine had more than visceral significance. It was in medicine that the philosophes tested their philosophy by experience; medicine was at once the model of the new philosophy and proof of its efficacy.”⁵⁰

The mechanical perception of man brought the anatomical theatre into the center of medicine, and its most famous exponent Boerhaave earned the title the Newton of medicine. It is said that Peter the Great waited outside for days when, on his European tour, he came to visit Boerhaave in his famous anatomical theatre in Leiden. Boerhaave’s students spread throughout Germany. One of his most famous students, the French *philosophe* Julien la Mettrie, advocated a purely mechanical description of man in his *Man Machine*. This caused a scandal, and La Mettrie came to reside in Berlin at Frederick the Great’s court. Another well-known disciple was the Swiss physician Albrecht von Haller, who established himself as a physician at the new University in Göttingen. Other students, all renowned anatomists and friends with von Haller, were the Danzig physician

⁴⁵ Gay, *The Enlightenment*, 1995, X.

⁴⁶ J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion Vol 1*. (Cambridge Univ Press, 1999), 7.

⁴⁷ Ian Hunter, *Rival Enlightenments: Civil and Metaphysical Philosophy in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴⁸ Steven Shapin, “Social Uses of Science,” in *The Ferment of Knowledge: Studies in the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Science* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), 111–12.

⁴⁹ In the literature we can distinguish between an idea of medicine in the age of Enlightenment, which suggests a rather accidental relation or the medicine of the Enlightenment, which suggests a bit stronger relation. Or finally one can talk of a Medical Enlightenment, which understands medicine to be an essential part of the Enlightenment. For each of the notions see the following: Erna Lesky, *Medizin Im Zeitalter Der Aufklärung* (Hamburg: [s.n.], 1968); Gunter Mann, “Medizin Der Aufklärung: Begriff Und Abgrenzung,” *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, 1966, 74; Andrew Cunningham, *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁵⁰ Gay, *The Enlightenment*, 1996, 12–13.

Johann Georg Kulmus, father of Louise Adelgrund Kulmus (later Gottsched), the Königsberg physician Johann Christoph Bohl, and the Königsberg born physician Johann Friedrich Schreiber, who came to work at the Petersburg Academy of Sciences. For those physicians, medical thought became paired with the metaphysics of Leibniz and Wolff. However, the mechanical paradigm is not entirely fitting. As Margaret J. Osler noted, “What we would call the biological sciences – physiology, theories of generation, and natural history – never fit into the received historiography of the Scientific Revolution.”⁵¹ The mechanical philosophy was contested by a vitalist strand championed by the Prussian court physician Georg Ernst Stahl, who developed a medical theory based on the soul as a vital phenomenon animating the body. Stahl even engaged in a controversy with Leibniz, which then sparked a change in Leibniz’s views on matter.⁵² Stahl’s views question “...the notion of a unified Enlightenment project informed and driven by a language of nature founded upon mechanist natural philosophy, which reduced nature to a mechanism and humans to machines or automata.”⁵³ However, these opposing views did not manifest themselves in a pure form; on the contrary, new theories of matter developed articulate understandings of living matter.⁵⁴ While a student of Boerhaave, Kulmus had also studied under Stahl; von Haller, along with Bohl, developed a theory distinguishing between two kinds of living force, irritability and sensibility, the former involuntary and the latter voluntary.

As Johanna Guyer Kordesch has shown, Stahl articulated a medical theory which did not take anatomy and physiology as the paradigm of medicine; to him, medicine constituted an art rather than a science, and the paradigm for medicine was the bedside confession. Kordesch sees Stahl as the start of a medical thinking which then developed into an empirical theory of the mind. Descriptions of melancholia and hypochondria found their way from medical journals into their popular counterparts, opening up questions on the very nature of the soul as a vital force, pure intellect, and a place of mystery ready to be investigated. The relation between body and soul, subject to metaphysical speculation, in medicine becomes the subject of empirical examination aiming to formulate an anthropology of the entire human being.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Margaret J. Osler, *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2000), 20.

⁵² Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, *Pietismus, Medizin Und Aufklärung in Preussen Im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Leben Und Werk Georg Ernst Stahls* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000); Justin E. H. Smith, *Divine Machines: Leibniz and the Sciences of Life* (Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁵³ Peter Hanns Reill, *Vitalizing Nature in the Enlightenment* (University of California Press, 2005), 3.

⁵⁴ See for example: Ann Thomson, *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, and the Soul in the Early Enlightenment* (OUP Oxford, 2008).

⁵⁵ The literature on 18th century anthropology is legion. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012) presented the broad disciplinary variety of sources that related to anthropology. It build on an earlier introduction to Kant's anthropology: Michel Foucault, *Introduction to*

Anthropological studies do not draw solely on medicine or even the life sciences, like natural history, but aim to formulate a view of the whole man as a social and moral being, placing the study of man in between fields as a unifying bridge. As Reil formulated it, "...Enlightenment thinkers never conceived of separating the humanities from the study of nature."⁵⁶ However, the multiple perspectives did make the study of man an object of controversy: the notion of man has a far more paradoxical position within the framework of the Enlightenment.

In a footnote in the 1783 edition of the *Berlinische Monatschrift*, Johann Friedrich Zöllner posed a question that would spark a debate among the German-speaking intelligentsia. Zöllner asked: "What is Enlightenment?" This question, he stated, "...should be answered before one begins to enlighten! And yet I have not found it answered anywhere!"⁵⁷ Zöllner was a member of the so-called *Mittwochsgesellschaft* (Wednesday Society), a secret society embracing core members of Frederick the Great's bureaucracy. As part of the administration, its members were actively concerned with practical matters regarding the *enlightenment of man*. The study of man was not purely a question of scientific observation, but was also one of political administration.

Such a view, however, shifts the focus from a study of discourses and ideas and introduces the question of institutions, which Gay criticised Cassirer for lacking. The romantics had already noted that Kant's philosophy was studied "as if it had fallen from the sky."⁵⁸ With the circulation of knowledge in the Republic of Letters, "the awkwardness of Kant's geographical

Kant's Anthropology (Los Angeles CA: Semiotext(e), 2008). The massive scope of 18th century anthropology can also be found in: Christopher Fox and Roy Porter, *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains* (University of California Press, 1995). The bridge between natural and human sciences have been studied in the crossfield between medicine and aesthetics: Stefan Hermes and Sebastian Kaufmann, *Der ganze Mensch - die ganze Menschheit: Völkerkundliche Anthropologie, Literatur und Ästhetik um 1800* (Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2014); Hans-Peter Nowitzki, *Der wohltemperierte Mensch: Aufklärungsanthropologien im Widerstreit* (Walter de Gruyter, 2003); Carsten Zelle, *"Vernünftige Ärzte": Hallesche Psychomediziner Und Die Anfänge Der Anthropologie in Der Deutschsprachigen Frühaufklärung* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001); and in the cultural encounters tied to the exploration of the world as the study of cultural and anatomical varieties: Jörn Garber and Tanja van Hoorn, *Natur - Mensch - Kultur: Georg Forster im Wissenschaftsfeld seiner Zeit* (Wehrhahn, 2006); Larry Wolff and Marco Cipolloni, *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment* (Stanford University Press, 2007); Thomas Nutz, *"Varietäten Des Menschengeschlechts" Die Wissenschaften Vom Menschen in Der Zeit Der Aufklärung* (Böhlau Köln, 2009); Gunnar Broberg, *Homo Sapiens L.* (Almqvist och Wiksell, 1975); Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress* (Springer, 2013). Additionally attention has been given to the local institutional conditions for establishing a science of man: Hans Bödeker, *Die Wissenschaft Vom Menschen in Göttingen Um 1800: Wissenschaftliche Praktiken, Institutionelle Geographie, Europäische Netzwerke* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008) as well as the controversies arising from the disciplinary differences of anthropology: Gideon Stiening Rainer Godel, *Klopffechtereien - Missverständnisse - Widersprüche?: Methodische und methodologische Perspektiven auf die Kant-Forster-Kontroverse*, Auflage: 1., 2012 (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2011).

⁵⁶ Reill, *Vitalizing Nature in the Enlightenment*, 2.

⁵⁷ "Was ist Aufklärung? Diese Frage die beinahe so wichtig ist, als: was ist Wahrheit, sollte doch wol beantwortet werden, ehe man aufzuklären anfangt! Und noch habe ich sie nirgends beantwortet gefunden!" J. F. Zöllner, "Ist Esrathsam, Das Ehebüdnis Ferner Durch Die Religion Zu Sancieren?," *Berlinische Monatschrift. 1783-1811* 1783 (n.d.): 516.

⁵⁸ "Man betrachtet die kritische Philosophie immer so als ob sie von Himmel gefallen wäre." Freidrich Schlegel, *Schriften zur Kritischen Philosophie 1795-1805* (Meiner Verlag, 2009), 134.

dislocation”, as John Robertson called it, has often been cast aside with the claim of a unifying and universalistic bond. However, the naïve understanding of a free circulation of ideas has been increasingly problematized, opening up grounds for studies of national or religious connections or personal networks or constellations. As Kant’s friend and critic Johann Georg Hamann suggested, Kant’s enlightenment was “...a mere northern light, from which can be prophesied no cosmopolitan chiliasm”.⁵⁹ While Enlightenment discourses may claim a universal significance, they are still located in a specific institutional and cultural setting.⁶⁰

The development of medical discourse in Königsberg was not only a matter of debate on a transnational scale, but also part of institutional changes on a local scale. On a national scale, major changes in the university system and the medical bureaucracy took place throughout the 18th century, beginning with the medical edict of 1725.⁶¹ The subordination of medical colleges to the major medical college in Berlin not only centralized power in the Prussian capital and took it away from Königsberg University, but also initiated a process of professionalizing physicians and integrating them into the administration. The increasing integration of the medical profession into the Prussian administration both gave legitimacy to the medical profession and introduced a new perspective for governing through a medical understanding of the population. As Frederick

⁵⁹ James Schmidt, *What Is Enlightenment?: Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions* (University of California Press, 1996), 147; “Die Aufklärung unsers Jahrhunderts ist also ein bloßes Nordlicht, aus dem sich kein kosmopolitischer Chiliasmus als in der Schlafmütze u hinter dem Ofen wahrsagen last.” Johann Georg Hamann, *Briefwechsel: 1783-1785* (Insel-Verlag, 1965), 191.

⁶⁰ The pairing of the Enlightenment with the Republic of Letters has become subject of much investigation, which have demonstrated a much more nuanced and diverse network, consisting of not only one but multiple styles and publics. See Lorraine Daston, “The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters in the Enlightenment,” *Science in Context* 4, no. 2 (1991); Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Laurence Brockliss, *Calvet’s Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Marian Füssel and Martin Mulsow, *Gelehrtenrepublik: Aufklärung* (Meiner Felix Verlag GmbH, 2015); Hans Bödeker, *Über Den Prozess Der Aufklärung in Deutschland Im 18. Jahrhundert: Personen, Institutionen Und Medien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987). In the light of these investigations a new sensitivity towards locality has emerged. See for example: Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (University of Chicago Press, 2008). This has been manifested initially on a national scale (Roy S. Porter and Mikuláš Teich, *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge University Press, 1981)); although with the growing attention to the Enlightenment peripheries (See: Richard Butterwick, Simon Davies, and Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (Voltaire Foundation, 2008)); a growing deeper investigation of the local and institutional differences has emerged. As Bödeker and Gierl writes: “Aufklärung bedeutete Kommunikation mit lokaler Charakteristik von überlokaler Signifikanz. Sie bedeutete das Einschreiben von Wissen und Information in den gesellschaftlichen Prozess. Dies setzte aber Strukturen, Apparate und Werkzeuge voraus. Will man die Diskurse der Aufklärung verstehen, hat man ihr gegenüber die Institutionen zu verstehen, - wie sie arbeiten, sich entwickelten, wie sie aufgebaut waren und was eigentlich sie sind.“ Hans Erich Bödeker and Martin Gierl, *Jenseits der Diskurse: Aufklärungspraxis und Institutionenwelt in europäisch komparativer Perspektive* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 14.

⁶¹ Alfons Fischer, *Geschichte des deutschen Gesundheitswesens: Von den Anfängen der hygienischen Ortsbeschreibungen bis zur Grundung des Reichsgesundheitsamtes. Das 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (G. Olms, n.d.); Manfred Stürzbecher, *Beiträge zur Berliner Medizingeschichte* (De Gruyter, 1966).

the Great expressed it, “the number of people constitutes the wealth of the states”.⁶² To carry out these tasks, the so-called *Staatsarzneykunst* (‘state medicinal art’) was developed, merging the practices of *cameralism* based on natural law theory with the practices and theories of medicine, thus transforming both disciplines. Medicine gradually became an integrated part of governmental practices, influencing what Otto Hintze called “inner state-building.”⁶³ As such, a certain medicalization of the population and the individual took place, redefining not only the conception of biological but also social life.⁶⁴ It is within this framework we have to understand what I have called *Kant’s critique of medical reason*.

A growing understanding of the importance that institutional settings, especially Königsberg University, had made new sources accessible,⁶⁵ which may give us further insight and understanding of the intellectual culture in Königsberg⁶⁶ and Kant’s active position within this environment, in particular the academic senate, in which he held a position from 1780. These documents give us a different understanding of Kant as a thinker engaged in practical and political matters. Kuehn’s verdict that “no real conflict [was] discussed”⁶⁷ between the faculties of philosophy and medicine seems to be contradicted. Werner Euler and Gideon Stiening have emphasised how closely Kant’s “official activities are in touch with his philosophical-natural scientific interest in such a way that the development of the history of the work cannot be viewed

⁶² ‚que le nombre des peuples fait la richesse des Etats’ „Da es nun eine feststehende Tatsache ist, daß die Zahl der Bevölkerung den Reichtum der Staaten bildet...“ King of Prussia Frederick II et al., *Die Werke Friedrichs des Grossen in deutscher Übersetzung* (Berlin, Reimar Hobbing, 1913), 9.

⁶³ For its use in medical history see: Frevert, *Krankheit als politisches Problem 1770–1880*, 23; See also Otto Hintze, *Staat und Verfassung: gesammelte Abhandlungen zur allgemeinen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970).

⁶⁴ The research on the integration of medical institutions into the state-apparatus and their function as institutions of social discipline has largely been influenced by the works of Michel Foucault. See Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic an Archaeology of Medical Perception*, [1st American ed.] (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth [u.a.]: Penguin Books, 1979); Michel Foucault and Collège de France., *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–79* (Basingstoke [England] ;;New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); For German research on the political function on medical institutions see for example: Frevert, *Krankheit als politisches Problem 1770–1880*; Caren Möller, *Medizinalpolizei: die Theorie des staatlichen Gesundheitswesens im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Klostermann, 2005); Stürzbecher, *Beiträge zur Berliner Medizingeschichte*.

⁶⁵ See Euler and Stiening, “...und Nie Der Pluralität Widerspruch? Zur Bedeutung von Immanuel Kants Amtsgeschäften.”

⁶⁶ Werner Stark, “Naturforschung in Königsberg, - ein kritischer Rückblick Aus den Präliminarien einer Untersuchung über die Entstehungsbedingungen von Kant’s Vorlesung über Physische Geographie,” *Estudos Kantianos [EK]* 2, no. 02 (2014); Werner Stark, “Physische Geographie Im Königsberg Des 18ten Jahrhunderts,” 2004; Reinhard Brandt and Werner Stark, *Autographen, Dokumente und Berichte: zu Edition, Amtsgeschäften und Werk Immanuel Kants* (Meiner Verlag, 1994); Reinhard Brandt, Werner Euler, and Werner Stark, *Studien zur Entwicklung preussischer Universitäten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, O, 1999); Brandt, *Universität zwischen Selbst- und Fremdbestimmung*; Euler and Stiening, “...und Nie Der Pluralität Widerspruch? Zur Bedeutung von Immanuel Kants Amtsgeschäften”; Michael Oberhausen and Riccardo Pozzo, *Vorlesungsverzeichnisse der Universität Königsberg (1720–1804)* (frommann-holzboog., 1999); Michael Oberhausen and Riccardo Pozzo, “The Place of Science in Kant’s University,” *History of Science* 40, no. 3 (2002): 353–368; Tonelli, “Conditions in Königsberg and the Making of Kant’s Philosophy.”

⁶⁷ Kuehn, *Kant*, 404.

as not being influenced by the concrete handling of the everyday life of university politics.”⁶⁸ This means that a genealogical understanding of Kant’s work, in particular his dealings with medicine, cannot simply be interpreted as events within his writing. Rather, his writings may be seen as actions in relation to certain events, as part of debates and different modes of legitimization within a specific institutional framework. The political and cultural significance of the university makes it possible to interpret these disciplinary conflicts as part of a bigger social reformation. We are therefore both dealing with politics inside the university as well as the university as a political institution for the Prussian state. Internally, this political conflict develops from the increasing disciplinary distinction of medicine and philosophy.

Whereas the distinction between the (natural) philosopher and the physician was not always easily drawn,⁶⁹ both the philosopher and the physician – especially throughout the second half of the 18th century – experienced a development of professionalization.⁷⁰ The professionalization not only raised the question of how to distinguish between the authorized physician and the quack, but also one regarding the nature of medicine: was it a science or an art? In philosophy, a parallel development took place where Kant came to play an important role in his efforts to establish philosophy as distinct academic discipline.⁷¹ Despite the interest paid to each of these disciplines separately, no study has paid much attention to the interaction between the two. Although there is parallel development of professionalization, one must understand that this also implies conflict, controversy, and competition between the two disciplines: both sought not only to distinguish themselves from one another, but also to acquire authority over overlapping topics. It is in this conflict that we find Kant’s critique acted both as a way of outlining the limits of a

⁶⁸ „...wie eng sich seine amtliche Tätigkeit mit seinem philosophisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Interesse berührt, so daß die Entwicklung der Werkgeschichte nicht als unbeeinflußt von dem konkreten Umgang im Amtsalldag angesehen werden kann.“ Euler and Stiening, “...und Nie Der Pluralität Widerspruch? Zur Bedeutung von Immanuel Kants Amtsgeschäften,” 63.

⁶⁹ On the shifting functions of the philosopher see: Conal Condren, Stephen Gaukroger, and Ian Hunter, *The Philosopher in Early Modern Europe: The Nature of a Contested Identity* (Cambridge UK ;New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Albert William Levi, *Philosophy as Social Expression* (University of Chicago Press, 1974); Hans Bödeker, “Von Der ‘Magd Der Theologie’ Zur ‘Leitwissenschaft,’” *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 1987 (n.d.): 14–38; Stéphane Van Damme, “Philosophe/Philosopher,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the French Enlightenment* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2014), 153–66; Justin E. H. Smith, *The Philosopher: A History in Six Types*, 1 edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).

⁷⁰ See for example Thomas H. Broman, *The Transformation of German Academic Medicine, 1750–1820* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) for an account of the professionalization of medicine that perceives the physicians as active agents in the process..

⁷¹ Levi writes: “In this shift from ‘the Gentleman René Descartes’ to ‘Immanuel Kant, Professor of Philosophy’ is registered the birth of professionalism in philosophy. There is little doubt that Kant, if not explicitly aware of this change, is at least fully conscious of belonging to the academy, and the profound contrast between the university to which he belongs and the fashionable world outside.” Levi, *Philosophy as Social Expression*, 235; See also Bödeker, “Von Der ‘Magd Der Theologie’ Zur ‘Leitwissenschaft,’” For an analysis of the structural changes of 18th Century Philosophy.

given discipline and as a way of disciplining a specific academic culture, be it that of the philosopher or the physician.

To Johann Friedrich Zöllner's question "What is Enlightenment?" in 1783, Kant and Moses Mendelsohn provided answers in the following year: by 1789, the debate had become so widespread that Christoph Martin Wieland entered it by answering six questions he had found on a piece of maculature.⁷² The fifth question was formulated thus: "Who is authorized to enlighten humanity?"⁷³ The question of *who* the agents of the Enlightenment were opens up a wider perspective for understanding Kant's engagement with medicine, not so much by introducing a new subject of study but rather by providing a different perspective, that of professionalization. It also introduces the paradoxical character of the Enlightenment of man, as man may both figure as an object of Enlightenment science as well as a subject of Enlightenment.

When Kant's friend and critic Hamann responded to the former's definition of Enlightenment as "...the inability to make use of one's own understanding without the guidance of another",⁷⁴ he posed a counter-question: "...who is this *other*, who twice appears anonymously?"⁷⁵ He added that "...metaphysicians hate to call their persons by their right names..."⁷⁶ Kant did in fact name this *other*: indeed, he gave several names, one of which was the "doctor who judges my diet for me".⁷⁷ How is it that the physician, one of the central figures of the Enlightenment, in Kant's understanding comes to be the *other* of Enlightenment? This is not a question that can be simply answered within the terms of Kant's philosophy as the other of reason.⁷⁸ Rather, one needs to ask a different question not with regard to the essential character of the doctor (for Kant does not dismiss the doctor as such), but as to his social function as the one who judges for me, and in this regard takes away my freedom.

⁷² Schmidt, *What Is Enlightenment?*, 78.

⁷³ "Wer ist berechtigt die Menschheit aufzuklären?" Christoph Martin Wieland, *Der deutsche Merkur* (Im Verlag der Gesellschaft, 1789), 102; translation from Schmidt, *What Is Enlightenment?*, 82.

⁷⁴ Kant, "An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment?," 17.

⁷⁵ "Wer ist aber der unbestimmte Andere [...]?" Hamann, *Briefwechsel*, 188; Translation from Schmidt, *What Is Enlightenment?*, 146.

⁷⁶ "Sehen sie [...] wie ungern die Metaphysiker ihre Personen bey ihrem rechten Namen nennen [...]." Hamann, *Briefwechsel*, 189; Schmidt, *What Is Enlightenment?*, 146.

⁷⁷ Kant, "An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment?," 17. "...einen Arzt, der für mich die Diät beurtheilt..." AA VIII: 35

⁷⁸ See: Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente* (S. Fischer Verlag, 2010); Hartmut Böhme and Gernot Böhme, *Das Andere Der Vernunft: Zur Entwicklung von Rationalitätsstrukturen Am Beispiel Kants*, 2. Aufl. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992). Following Horkheimer and Adorno's critique of Kant as key-representative of the Enlightenment the Böhme brothers argue for a totalitarian rationalization which negates and suppresses the spontaneity of human nature.

Kant and the constitution of modern philosophy

In *The Gay Science*, Friedrich Nietzsche wrote a passage with the short title *Kant's Joke*, which held that Kant's entire *oeuvre* was meant to be one big prank played on academics: "Kant wanted to prove, in a way that would dumbfound the whole world, that the whole world was right: that was the secret joke of this soul. He wrote against the scholars in favour of popular prejudice, but for scholars and not for the people."⁷⁹ The "dry, merely **scholastic** manner"⁸⁰ of critical philosophy stands in stark contrast to the illustrative style of Kant's lectures, but it also expresses the ambition to establish philosophy as a distinct discipline with a distinct language. Kant's success in this matter is indisputable; as Alasdair Macintyre has explained, "For perhaps the majority of later philosophical writers, including many who are self-consciously anti-Kantian, ethics is defined as a subject in Kantian terms."⁸¹ As Macintyre suggests, Kant does not simply designate a position within the history of ethics; rather, Kant formulated the vocabulary through which the history of ethics is articulated and evaluated today as an independent discipline. Rainer Forst has potently argued that Kant's moral concept of autonomy is constituted through a conception of the autonomy of morality.⁸² To challenge the key concept of Kant's ethics – autonomy – goes hand in hand with challenging the position of ethics as an autonomous discipline.

One may sometimes wonder whether Kant's character or those of his interpreters are to blame for lacking the sense of humour needed to find Kant's double position amusing, for while Kant did have the ambition to formulate the foundational vocabulary for ethical reflection, he maintained that common human reason "knows very well how to distinguish in every case that comes up what is good and what is evil..."⁸³ So, although he had no need for philosophy in ethical matters, he in fact noted that ordinary human reason "...can even have as good a hope of hitting the mark as any philosopher can promise himself; indeed it is almost more sure in this matter..."⁸⁴ For Kant, his metaphysics of morals is secondary to existential everyday experiences; that is, they are not a depiction of our moral intuition, but a direction on how to critically approach moral conflicts. This means that the moral perspective developed by Kant, in the words of John Rawls,

⁷⁹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2001), 140.

⁸⁰ Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1998:103. "blos scholastischen Vortrage" AA IV: 12.

⁸¹ Alasdair Macintyre, *A Short History of Ethics* (Routledge, n.d.), 122.

⁸² Rainer Forst, *Das Recht auf Rechtfertigung: Elemente einer konstruktivistischen Theorie der Gerechtigkeit*, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt, M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2007), 74f.

⁸³ Immanuel Kant, "Groundwork of The Metaphysics of Morals (1785)," in *Practical Philosophy*, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 58. "Es wäre hier leicht zu zeigen, wie sie mit diesem Compassee in der Hand in allen vorkommenden Fällen sehr gut Bescheid wisse, zu unterscheiden, was gut, was böse, pflichtmäßig, oder pflichtwidrig sei [...]." AA IV: 404

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 59. "...er kann im letzteren Falle sich eben so gut Hoffnung machen, es recht zu treffen, als es sic immer ein Philosoph versprechen mag, ja ist beinahe noch sicherer hierin, als selbst der letztere..." AA IV: 404

seeks "...to establish a suitable connection between a particular conception of the person and first principles of justice..."⁸⁵ However, despite Kant's position on the matter, this "particular concept of the person" had already become synonymous with "the Kantian man, or Kantian man-god", as Iris Murdoch called it in a lecture from 1967, adding that "...this man is with us still, free, independent, lonely, powerful, rational, responsible, brave, the hero of so many novels and books of moral philosophy."⁸⁶ It is this depiction of the Kantian man that has become the subject of a communitarian critique arguing that Kant's philosophy is the key advocate of a so-called unencumbered self⁸⁷ which does not take into account all the contingent conditions constituting man. It is as a corrective to this criticism that Kant's anthropology becomes interesting. It also constitutes, in John Zammito's words, "the crucial divide now facing Kant scholarship":⁸⁸ the divide between an analytical or normative tradition⁸⁹ and a tradition focusing on anthropology.⁹⁰ Both of these approaches seek to reconstruct Kant's philosophy with a systematic intent rather than an historical one.⁹¹ However, neither of these approaches can be exempt from influencing the historical approaches, so a closer look may be informative.

In addition to Kant's *transcendental concept of freedom*, he also developed a practical concept of freedom which had both a negative and a positive formulation. While the negative

⁸⁵ John Rawls, "Kantian Constructivism in Moral Theory," *Journal of Philosophy* 77, no. 9 (1980): 516.

⁸⁶ Iris Murdoch, *The Sovereignty of Good* (Routledge, 2013), 78.

⁸⁷ The most important books are: Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (Bloomsbury, 2013); Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge University Press, 1992); Michael J. Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (Cambridge University Press, 1998); Rainer Forst has engaged critically with the critique in Rainer Forst, *Kontexte der Gerechtigkeit: politische Philosophie jenseits von Liberalismus und Kommunitarismus* (Suhrkamp, 1996).

⁸⁸ John H. Zammito, *Kant, Herder, and the Birth of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 349.

⁸⁹ Rawls, "Kantian Constructivism in Moral Theory"; Andrews Reath, Barbara Herman, and Christine M. Korsgaard, *Reclaiming the History of Ethics: Essays for John Rawls* (Cambridge University Press, 1997); Christine M. Korsgaard and Onora O'Neill (filosoof), *The Sources of Normativity* (Cambridge University Press, 1996); Christine M. Korsgaard, *Creating the Kingdom of Ends* (Cambridge University Press, 1996); Robert Brandom, *Reason in Philosophy: Animating Ideas* (Harvard University Press, 2009).

⁹⁰ Especially Volker Gerhardt have been at the front in interpreting Kant in light of his Anthropology: Gerhardt, *Immanuel Kant*; Recently in the English speaking world a number of scholars have followed: Wood, "Kant's Compatibilism"; Allen W. Wood, "Unsociable Sociability: The Anthropological Basis of Kantian Ethics," *Philosophical Topics* 19, no. 1 (1991): 325–51; Allen W. Wood, *Kant's Ethical Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 1999); Patrick R. Frierson, *Freedom and Anthropology in Kant's Moral Philosophy* (Cambridge University Press, 2003); Brian Jacobs and Patrick Kain, *Essays on Kant's Anthropology* (Cambridge University Press, 2003); Robert Loudon, *Kant: Anthropology, History, and Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 2011); Robert B. Loudon, *Kant's Human Being: Essays on His Theory of Human Nature* (Oxford University Press, 2011); Holly L. Wilson, "Kant's Integration of Morality and Anthropology," *Kant-Studien* 88, no. 1 (1997); Holly Wilson, *Kant's Pragmatic Anthropology: Its Origin, Meaning, and Critical Significance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); A. Cohen, *Kant and the Human Sciences: Biology, Anthropology and History* (Springer, 2009); Alix Cohen, *Kant's Lectures on Anthropology* (Cambridge University Press, 2014); Susan Meld Shell, *The Embodiment of Reason: Kant on Spirit, Generation, and Community* (University of Chicago Press, 1996); Angelica Nuzzo, *Ideal Embodiment: Kant's Theory of Sensibility* (Indiana University Press, 2008).

⁹¹ For a historical interpretation of Kant's philosophy in the light of his Anthropology see Michel Foucault, *Introduction to Kant's Anthropology* (Los Angeles CA: Semiotext(e), 2008); Zammito, *Kant, Herder, and the Birth of Anthropology*; and in particular: Thomas Sturm, *Kant und die Wissenschaften vom Menschen* (Mentis, 2009).

conception is defined as “the independence of the power of choice from necessitation by impulses of sensibility”,⁹² the positive conception is defined as the ability to prescribe goals for ourselves. However, as this division between two conceptions of freedom has evolved into a divide between two opposing concepts, Kant has come to be identified with the positive formulation.⁹³ It is by identifying Kant in such a way that Isaiah Berlin was able to attempt to trace the “...transformation of Kant’s severe individualism into something close to a pure totalitarian doctrine.”⁹⁴ The characterization of Kant’s concept of *autonomy* as a severe individualism has been contested. Kant’s form of self-government as the ability to prescribe goals has a normative element, i.e. that the ability to govern one’s self implicitly opposes arbitrary government through commitment to rules that can apply not simply to oneself but to all others as well. Kant’s positive conception of freedom is therefore not an individualistic concept of freedom but one that implicitly presupposes the ability to commit oneself towards others, to become responsible. However, this type of ethics, striving towards universally justifiable reasons, in Kant’s words is “purified of everything empirical.”⁹⁵ This construction of an ethical sphere has been heavily criticised as a philosophy which conceals the body⁹⁶ simply by reducing it to a passive instrument of reason: “moral reason constitutes itself through the capacity to exclude the sensualities.”⁹⁷ This negation of the body means that Kant’s philosophy has been regarded not as an anthropology but as the “the negation of all anthropology.”⁹⁸ How are we to understand this negation, however?

The generally accepted interpretation conceives of the negative element in Kant’s conception of freedom as a logical negation realised through intellectual abstraction from an otherwise passive mechanical body. However, Kant himself seems to suggest a new interpretation of the negation in his *attempt to introduce the concept of negative magnitudes into philosophy*. Drawing on the new intellectual vocabulary of the natural sciences, Kant articulated a concept of negation conceived as the conflict between two equally powerful positive forces. Following this notion of

⁹² Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1998:533. “Die Freiheit im praktischen Verstande ist die Unabhängigkeit der Willkür von der Nöthigung durch Antriebe der Sinnlichkeit.” AA III: 363.

⁹³ See Isaiah Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty,” in *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford University Press, 1969), 118–72. For a normative interpretation of Kant’s positive concept of Freedom see: Brandom, *Reason in Philosophy*, 59. For the rich diversity of the concept of freedom see: Quentin Skinner and Martin van Gelderen, *Freedom and the Construction of Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁹⁴ Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty,” 152.

⁹⁵ Immanuel Kant, “The Metaphysics of Morals (1797),” in *Practical Philosophy*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 509. “...von allem Empirischen (jedem Gefühl) gereinigt...” AA VI: 376

⁹⁶ The Böhme brothers write: “...Kant gehört eher zur Geschichte der Verdeckung als der Entdeckung des Leibes.” Böhme and Böhme, *Das Andere Der Vernunft*, 61.

⁹⁷ Böhme & Böhme 1983, 342

⁹⁸ “Negation aller Anthropologie“ Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Schriften aus der Berliner Zeit, 1796-1799* (Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 366.

the negation, Kant's negative concept of freedom does not articulate an intellectual step which simply precedes the actual realization of positive freedom; on the contrary, the negative concept of freedom should be understood as a moral struggle, what Kant describes as the "the conflict that the moral disposition [...] has to carry on with the inclinations".⁹⁹ This results from the positive concept of freedom being actualized in conflict with the given realities; in other words, the positive concept is not the result of the negation but the negation is the result of the positive force of freedom in conflict with the living forces of the body. It is in this field of moral struggle that the body as an active force becomes visible.

Notes on how to (re)orientate oneself in Kant's thinking

I understand this work to be the kind of intellectual history which seems to redefine the concept of a biography by writing what could be described as the biography of a concept.¹⁰⁰ In other words, it is a type of biography whose primary focus is not on uncovering new details of a person's life or delivering new insight into the character or psychological profile of the given subject; rather, its primary focus lies on the analysis and interpretation of the intellectual and conceptual development of a given author within the relevant intellectual context of his or her time, in this case Kant's concept of freedom. From this point of view, the more traditional conceptions of a biography may have a secondary but far from insignificant interest. As the introduction has suggested, the uncovering of new details of a person's life may open up an entirely new context for interpretation or shift the emphasis from one part of a body of work to another. As we have seen, the divide between what belongs to the sensible and what belongs to the free and rational has already been used to organize the body of Kant's work into a pre-structured order that reconstructs the *oeuvre* as – to borrow a phrase from a different context – "a corpus of self-contained, transparent ideas or a set of clear and distinct propositions."¹⁰¹ Although the systematic structure has been countered by a temporal structure, even Dilthey's notion of *genealogy* seeks to bring clarity to Kant's system through the mapping of its origins. However, the stylistically

⁹⁹ Immanuel Kant, "Critique of Practical Reason (1788)," in *Practical Philosophy*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 258. "...Streits, den jetzt die moralische Gesinnung mit den Neigungen zu führen hat..." AA V: 147.

¹⁰⁰ The following passage may serve as an inspirational quote: "It is certainly an implication of my approach that our main attention should fall not on individual authors but on the more general discourse of their times. The type of historian I am describing is someone who principally studies what J. G. A. Pocock calls 'languages' of debate, and only secondarily the relationship between individual contributions to such languages and the range of discourses as a whole." Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 118; For a broader study on problems and approaches in the writing of biographies see Hans Bödeker, *Biographie Schreiben* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003).

¹⁰¹ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Duke University Press, 1991), 17.

purified analysis of internal order runs the risk of bracketing out the relevance of the social and political context apriori.¹⁰² The *second conflict* I have suggested may be understood as a different kind of genealogy, which is not concerned with origin but rather seeks to trace “...the contingent and contestable character of the concept...”¹⁰³ This type of analysis seeks to analyse the conceptual change in relation to changing contexts, which should therefore not be seen as clear and autonomous ideas, but as part of broader discourses. As Koselleck suggested, concepts always function as parts of a discourse, as “pivots around which all arguments turn.”¹⁰⁴

The concept of freedom cannot simply be approached as an abstract and isolated concept. It is within a given discourse that its content is defined, not by an abstract negative counter concept such as the unfree but by specific figures like, perhaps the most notable in the history of political thought, the slave. However, when we venture outside the clear borders of political thought, other figures emerge, like the automaton, the madman, or the patient. These specific figures embodying the notion of the unfree point, on the one hand, to a new language of freedom, merging concepts of civil liberties with a medical administrative language: on the other hand, it points to an extra-linguistic social world of buildings and institutions, social practices and cultures of learning, scientific instruments for observation and description, techniques of self-analysis, and strategies of administration. All these pre-linguistic structures cultivate a tacit knowledge which may be reflected in the everyday use of language without necessarily being reflected on by the language user. To analyse the tensions in Kant’s metaphysical concepts means, as Wittgenstein suggests, “...to bring words back from their metaphysical to their everyday use.”¹⁰⁵

Placing the view from nowhere¹⁰⁶ is not targeted towards reducing a line of thought simply by explaining its origin through its local conditions, but at investigating the tension

¹⁰² See for example Bödeker’s critique of the constructed opposition between pure history of philosophy and cultural history of philosophy: Bödeker, “Von Der ‘Magd Der Theologie’ Zur ‘Leitwissenschaft’, 21.”

¹⁰³ Quentin Skinner, “The Sovereign State: A Genealogy,” in *Sovereignty in Fragments: The Past, Present and Future of a Contested Concept* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 27. On the notion of genealogy see also Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology* (The New Press, 1998), 369–92.

¹⁰⁴ Reinhart Koselleck, “A Response to Comments on the Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe,” in *The Meanin of Historical Terms and Concepts: New Studies on Begriffsgeschichte* (Washington DC: German Historical Institute, 1996), 65. Furhter on the history of concepts see: Mark Bevir, *Begriffsgeschichte, Diskursgeschichte, Metapherngeschichte* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002); Iain Hampsher-Monk, Karin Tilmans, and Frank van Vree, *History of Concepts: Comparative Perspectives* (Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁵ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 53.

¹⁰⁶ Steven Shapin, “Placing the View from Nowhere: Historical and Sociological Problems in the Location of Science,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 23, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 5–12; Adi Ophir and Steven Shapin, “The Place of Knowledge A Methodological Survey,” *Science in Context* 4, no. 1 (1991); William Clark, Jan Golinski, and Simon Schaffer, *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Oberhausen and Pozzo, “The Place of Science in Kant’s University.”

between the practice of local norms and their normative claim to universality. In this regard, we cannot simply understand language as a linguistic justification of action, but rather justification as a linguistic act with its own set of socialized rules. In this interchange between norms and normativity, the specific locality of the *Albertina* does not simply provide an isolated unit of analysis; rather, it may be perceived as a matrix through which the vertical power structure of the state (whether it is perceived from the top down or from the bottom up) intersects with the horizontal transnational structure of the Republic of Letters, with its traces of circulation and translation as well as its organization of exclusion and inclusion. We are therefore dealing with an interplay of scales where the national and the global intersect in the local.

It is at the center of this that we find Kant, disorientated or attempting to orientate himself, in what Charles Taylor has called a “moral space.”¹⁰⁷ This attempt at self-orientation is, however, not an isolated endeavour. Kant has been critically labelled with the hardly flattering ascription of a “transcendental solipsist”,¹⁰⁸ a viewpoint which tends to disregard the preconditions of Kant’s so-called ‘transcendental dialectic.’ However, as Volker Gerhart has pointed out, “If Kant’s concept of reason really was created ‘monologically’, it would not have been possible to come to a dialectic.”¹⁰⁹ In other words, Kant’s dialectics presuppose conflict. The notion of conflict has, however, often been toned down to abstract Kant from controversy and thus avoid reducing his philosophy to sheer rhetoric.¹¹⁰

Rhetoric may rely on contingent conditions, but this exactly the reason why it cannot simply be perceived as an expression of the arbitrary will of the author. To investigate the intentions of an author is not simply to investigate how one asserts oneself in order to articulate and argue an idea; as Gadamer noted, the act of convincing others is not a one-way street: “whenever anyone sets out to persuade, he himself also believes in what he is trying to persuade the other person of.”¹¹¹ In this sense, rhetoric maintains a reflexive understanding of oneself in

¹⁰⁷ Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 28.

¹⁰⁸ Karl-Otto Apel, *The Response of Discourse Ethics to the Moral Challenge of the Human Situation as Such and Especially Today: Mercier Lectures, Louvain-La-Neuve, March 1999* (Peeters Publishers, 2001), 45.

¹⁰⁹ Gerhardt writes: “Kants ‘Dialektik’ der Vernunft gibt davon einen genaueren Begriff als Warnungen vor den Abstraktionen der Vernunft. Denn Kant führt die Trugschlüsse und Gegensätze vor, die sich historisch aus reiner Vernunft ergeben haben. Überdies ist im Begriff der *Dialektik* die Unverzichtbarkeit von These und Gegenthese aufbewahrt, zwischen denen nur *dialogisch* zu vermitteln ist. Wäre Kants Vernunftbegriff wirklich ‘monologisch’ angelegt, hätte es zur ‘Dialektik’ gar nicht kommen können.“ Gerhardt, *Immanuel Kant*, 191.

¹¹⁰ On of the most important present Kant researchers Dieter Henrich has recently articulated a criticism of Foucault’s and Skinner’s research strategies. Without disregarding their relevance Henrich sees the possibility of reducing philosophy to mere culture (Foucault) or sheer rhetoric (Skinner). Dieter Henrich, *Werke im Werden: über die Genesis philosophischer Einsichten* (C.H.Beck, 2011), 109–23.

¹¹¹ Hans-Georg Gadamer et al., *A Century of Philosophy: Hans Georg Gadamer in Conversation with Riccardo Dottori* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2006), 65.

relation to the language of others; i.e., one needs to orientate oneself in the existing opinions of others. The formal opposition between an analysis of the self and the analysis of linguistic acts should rather be perceived as two sides of the same coin, the philosophical job which Wittgenstein described as “a job on oneself. On one’s own viewpoint. On how one sees things. (And what one demands from them.)”¹¹² It is an amputated job unless it is seen as an attempt not only to work on one’s own viewpoint but also on the viewpoint of others.¹¹³ Even so, the question still remains: what kind of controversy are we dealing with? We may distinguish between two kinds of controversy. The first kind may take place within the limits of a given language, and its rules are conditioned by this language.¹¹⁴ The second controversy is of a different kind, as it takes place at the limits of a given language¹¹⁵ or between two languages.¹¹⁶ This kind of conflict may appear to be a conflict on a certain issue, such as the concept of freedom: however, what is at stake in such a debate is not simply the issue at hand. Rather it is the conditions under which a given issue can be discussed that are at stake. The notion of freedom is such an issue, as it falls between two incommensurable languages. It is in the clash between these two languages, one of nature and one of morality, that the concept of freedom needs to find its place. And it is in the attempt to navigate between the two languages that Kant finds the freedom to develop his thought. As he writes: “Controversies in world-wisdom have the benefit that they promote the freedom of understanding and arouse mistrust towards the doctrine itself, which was supposed to be constructed upon the ruins of another.”¹¹⁷ Intellectual controversies for Kant are a driving force for reflection, which opens up space for a critical investigation of the languages themselves along with their limits and legitimacy.

¹¹² Ludwig Wittgenstein, *The Wittgenstein Reader* (John Wiley & Sons, 2006), 46.

¹¹³ Despite his focus not only on self-cultivation but also on rivalry Ian Hunter seems to have little focus on rivalry, conflict, and dialogue as forms of self-cultivation. See: Hunter, *Rival Enlightenments*.

¹¹⁴ Foucault’s discourse analysis did not neglect controversy but was rather to be regarded as the analysis of the “...network that defines the conditions that make a controversy or problem possible” Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 83.

¹¹⁵ See for example Roger Chartier on Foucault in Roger Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff: History, Language and Practices* (JHU Press, 1997).

¹¹⁶ For an example of this see: Steven Shapin, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life: Including a Translation of Thomas Hobbes, Dialogus Physicus de Natura Aeris by Simon Schaffer* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

¹¹⁷ “Die Streitigkeiten in der Weltweisheit haben den Nutzen da.s sie Freyheit des Verstandes befördern und ein Mistrauen gegen den Lehrbegriff selbst erregen der auf den Ruinen eines andern hat erbauet werden sollen.” AA XX: 150-151

Structure:

On 25 December 1770, Mendelsohn wrote to Kant, asking him: "...why do you so carefully avoid repeating what you said before? Old ideas are seen in another light, suggesting new and surprising views, when they appear in the context of your new creations. Since you possess a great talent for writing in such a way as to reach many readers, one hopes that you will not always restrict yourself to the few adepts who are up on the latest things and who are able to guess what lies undisclosed behind the published hints."¹¹⁸ The argument underlying the following chapters, which may not always be addressed explicitly, may involve a certain kind of repetition of a familiar theme but in various contexts. To view "old ideas [...] in another light", the thesis not only maintains a temporal progression structured by Kant's life, but is also structured around a variation in space: although all the chapters are set in Königsberg, each chapter takes a specific locality, a codified space, as its point of departure. These spaces are not perceived as confined spaces, but rather as ones opening up a world of different forms of orientation and conflicting discourses of justification that transcend the specific locality of the place. The cultural spaces structuring the chapters are: the anatomical theatre, the intimate space of reading, the lecture hall, the dinner table, and the courtroom.

Set around the anatomical theatre, the *first chapter* centres on the scene of natural science and medicine in Königsberg, primarily focusing on the period from Kant's birth in 1724 up until the publication of his early writings from the late 1740s to the early 1760s. In doing so, the chapter focuses on three interrelated themes. *Firstly*, it reconstructs a network of intellectuals, predominantly consisting of physicians and natural scientists, with relation to Danzig, St. Petersburg, Göttingen, and Leiden. Characteristic of this network was their marginal position at the *Albertina*. In order to understand this position, the chapter *secondly* analyses the institutional changes within Königsberg following the attempt to reform the *Albertina* in the early 1720s as well as the reform of the Prussian medical administration. *Thirdly*, Kant's early writings, primarily his *Thoughts on the True Estimation of the Living Forces* (1749), are placed within the context of the intellectual conflicts arising from these drastic changes. The chapter argues that Kant in this text does not – as is generally assumed – advocate a mechanistic philosophy, but rather develops a space for understanding living matter as spontaneous, free movement.

¹¹⁸ Immanuel Kant, *Correspondence* (Cambridge U.K. ;New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 122. "...warum scheuen Sie es auch so sehr, etwas zu wiederholen, das schon vor Ihnen gesagt worden ist? In Verbindung mit denen Ihnen eigenen Gedanken erscheint das Alte selbst doch immer von einer neuen Seite, und bietet Aussichten dar, an die noch nicht gedacht worden ist." AA X: 114

Focusing on the popular literature on medicine that conflates it with more generalised writings on anthropology, the *second chapter* investigates the intimate space of reading as a form of self-interpretation. Taking as its point of departure the incongruity in the anthropological dictum *know thyself* between subjective self-experience and the literary objectification of man, the chapter reflects Kant as a writer of popular medical literature in the 1760s with his position as a reader. Kant mirrors himself in two figures in particular: the mystic Emanuel Swedenborg and the enthusiast Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Through this mirroring, the chapter traces a problem for Kant in the anthropological dictum through the question of madness: if, from a subjective standpoint, I am to know myself, then how can I know if I am mad? It is by posing this question, the chapter argues, that Kant begins an initial critique of medicine and an attempt to develop an oppositional philosophical notion of autonomous reason.

In the so-called silent years between Kant's inaugural lecture as professor of philosophy in 1772 and the publication of his critical philosophy in the early 1780s, from the vibrant debates in the lecture halls to the dry and scholastic style of Kant's critical writings, the *third chapter* investigates how Kant developed his critical philosophy as a self-criticism of his own lectures on anthropology. Taking as its point of departure Kant's initially close intellectual relations with his student the physician Marcus Herz, the chapter *firstly* analyses how these two almost identical positions developed into different views, in particular on the body. The chapter presents the argument that Kant's critical philosophy should not, as is commonly perceived, be seen as an analysis of human reason abstracted from the body, but rather as a notion of a body-subject in opposition to the body-object investigated by physicians like Herz. *Secondly*, the chapter unravels the conflict arising from these two opposing matters in Königsberg with the emergence of Johann Daniel Metzger as the new professor of medicine. The conflict between Metzger and Kant are examined as a conflict on which profession should have authority in matters concerning anthropology: physicians or philosophers?

The *fourth chapter* is initially set at the dinner table of Kant's house. From Kant's carefully orchestrated dinner parties in the late 1780s onwards, the chapter analyses how two conflicting notions of taste collided: taste connected with dieting and cultivated taste concerned with aesthetical matters. Tracing the relation between taste in chemistry and apothecary science, the chapter *first* analyses how taste, as an aesthetic notion, comes to play a central role in natural

history. Initially this serves as an explanation for why Kant brings together natural history and aesthetics in his *Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1790). *Second*, the chapter analyses how Kant uses the commutability of taste as a human characteristic as a way of dealing with the double position of man within and outside the system of nature given by Carl Linnaeus. In the system, man figures both as a being within the system as well as the name giver who creates the system. It is this paradoxical position with which Kant engages.

The final chapter is staged at the courtroom in Königsberg in the 1790s. Taking as its point of departure a case against Margarethe von Kaveczynska, a Polish noblewoman charged with committing infanticide, the chapter investigates the clash between law and medicine. The presiding judge in the case was Kant's friend Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, while Kant's adversary Johann Daniel Metzger served as an expert medical advisor. The case brings forth two central and connected issues once again positioning Kant and Metzger opposite each other. *Firstly*, the question of the death penalty brings forth the broad question of why a state should punish. While Metzger puts forth the view that punishment can only be justified if it has an educational purpose, hence viewing the accused as a patient, Kant presents the view that punishment is an act of retribution for the violation of the autonomy of others. Extending this question, the chapter *secondly* deals with the problem of the mental status of the criminal. The chapter analyses the opposing arguments by Kant and Metzger as both a debate on the status of the legal subject and a question of disciplinary authority between the physician and the philosopher in such matters.

Understanding Life

Arrival

In July 1725, travelling from Berlin to the newly established Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, professors Jakob Hermann and Georg Bernhard Bilfinger made a stop in Königsberg, the capital of Eastern Prussia. Bilfinger had been a professor of mathematics and moral philosophy in Tübingen and Hermann a professor of mathematics in Frankfurt an der Oder. Both were part of what was known as the Leibniz-Wolffian school of philosophy. In St. Petersburg, they were to take up new positions as members of the academy.

Under the influence of Leibniz, Peter the Great had initiated the establishment of an academy of science in St. Petersburg.¹¹⁹ In correspondence with Tsar Peter himself, Leibniz had advocated the spread of academies of science all over the globe with the aim of improving the well-

¹¹⁹ On the establishment of the Academy of Science in Petersburg see: Alexander Lipski, "The Foundation of the Russian Academy of Sciences," *Isis: A Journal of the History of Science* 44 (1953): 349–354; Alexander Vucinich, *Science in Russian Culture, 1861-1917*, 1 edition (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1971), 38-124; Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (U of Nebraska Press, 2015), 39-86. For an understanding of the academy as part of the Russian Enlightenment see: Michael Schippan, *Die Aufklärung in Russland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Harrassowitz Verlag in Kommission, 2012); and as a broader part of the modernisation of Russia see Simon Dixon, *The Modernisation of Russia, 1676-1825* (Cambridge University Press, 1999). For a detailed analysis of the academy's role in the creation of social order in Russia see chapter 1-4 in Simon Roy Edward Werrett's thesis, "Odd Sort of Exhibition : The St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in Enlightened Russia." (Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2000); and on the establishment of a western scientific culture in the academy see: Michael Gordin, "The Importation of Being Earnest: The Early St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences," *Isis: A Journal of the History of Science* 91 (2000): 1–31. For an analysis of the development of the Petersburg academy see: Ludmilla Schulze, "The Russification of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences and Arts in the Eighteenth Century," *British Journal for the History of Science* 18, no. 3 (1985): 305–335.

being of the human race. The models were the academies of Paris, London, and Berlin; the latter was also established under the guidance of Leibniz. Neither Leibniz nor Peter lived to see the realization of the Petersburg Academy. Leibniz died in 1716 and Peter in 1725; however, through Christian Wolff, the impact of Leibnizian ideals found its way into the St. Petersburg Academy in its early years. Wolff had recommended several people to Laurentius Blumentrost, Tsar Peter's court physician and the future president of the Petersburg Academy; among these individuals were Daniel and Nicolaus (II) Bernoulli, members of the famous Bernoulli family,¹²⁰ as well as Jakob Hermann and Georg Bernhard Bilfinger. All four were appointed to positions. Nicolaus Bernoulli unfortunately died in 1726, but was succeeded by the famous mathematician Leonhard Euler. Blumentrost even hoped to get Wolff to St. Petersburg after he was excluded from the University of Halle and Prussia itself in 1723.

Hermann and Bilfinger met with several people from the intelligentsia in Königsberg. Johann Heinrich Kreuschner, a philosophy docent who had been central in the initial introduction of Leibniz-Wolffian philosophy in Königsberg, wrote to his friend Johann Christoph Gottsched on 1 October to report on Hermann and Bilfinger's stay:

As they passed through on their way to Petersburg, Herr Professor Hermann from Frankfurt and Bilfinger from Tübingen have not only stayed and dined by me but have also socialized with good friends, among them H. Hoff, R. Pietsch, and D. Langhasen. The first was set on engaging in the Leibniz controversia with Bilfinger. Only D. Langhasen avoided this as much as possible at each such opportunity.¹²¹

More telling than the indiscretion of Johann Valentin Pietsch was the silence of Christoph Langhansen. In 1721, Bilfinger had written his inaugural dissertation *De harmonia animi et corporis humani, maxime praestabilita, ex mente illustris Leibnitii* and extended it into a book in 1723 with the title *De harmonia et corporis humani, maxime praestabilita, ex mente illustris Leibnitii, commentatio*

¹²⁰ See Christian Wolff, *Briefe von Christian Wolff aus den Jahren 1719- 1753: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg* (Comiss. der Kais. Acad. d. Wiss.: Eggers & Comp. in St. Petersburg. Leop. Voss in Leipzig, 1860).

¹²¹ „H. Prof. Hermann aus Franckfurt und Bulfinger aus Tübingen sind, da sie allhie nach Petersburg durchgiengen; nicht nur bey mir gewesen, sondern haben auch in Gesellschaft einiger guten Freunde, darunter H. Hoff R. Pietsch, und D. Langhasen auch waren, bey mir gespeiset. Jener wollte diesen mit Prof. Bülfingern in controversia Leibnitiana gern zusammen hetzen, allein D. Langhasen evitirte alle Gelegenheit bestmöglichst hiezu.“ Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Johann Christoph Gottscheds Briefwechsel: historisch-kritische Ausgabe, Band 1 1722-1730* (Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 34–35.

hypothetica. Bilfinger managed to systematize and reduce a variety of theories on the relationship between body and soul into three standard positions: occasionalism, physical influx, and pre-established harmony.¹²² The Wolffian philosophy, advocating the theory of pre-established harmony, was not simply a position in a debate but also a way of structuring and setting the terms of the debate. Meanwhile, upon defending his dissertation *Dubia circa monades Leibnitianas*¹²³ in 1721 in Königsberg, Gottsched presented his work to Kreuschner and Professor Christian Gabriel Fischer as well as Georg Heinrich Rast.¹²⁴ In his dissertation, he contested a Leibniz's notion that a body, if it was possible to divide it infinitely, would consist of undividable monades. Gottsched suggested a distinction between actual natural bodies and geometrically imagined one. Gottsched had chosen Langhansen to be *Präses* at the disputation; although he was well acquainted with Leibniz and Wolffian philosophy, he was also known as its critic.¹²⁵ In 1721, such opposition could be strictly philosophical; however, in 1725 the situation had changed. Leonhard Euler would later summarize the event in the following anecdote:

*Mr. Wolff was teaching the system of pre-established harmony at Halle when the king asked about this doctrine, much spoken of then. A courtier responded to His Majesty that, according to this doctrine, all soldiers were nothing but machines and that, should one desert, it would be a necessary consequence of its structure, so it would be unjust to punish him, as if one might punish a machine for producing such and such a motion. The king was so furious upon hearing this view that he ordered Mr. Wolff to be driven out of Halle [and all Prussia] and to be threatened with hanging if he remained there for more than twenty-four hours.*¹²⁶

Of the three established systems, a number of Wolffians in Königsberg openly defied dogma and introduced physical influx into Wolffian philosophy. While pre-established harmony suggested that the soul operated parallel to the body without any causal effect, the notion of physical influx suggested that a causal relationship existed between one and the other. The two positions

¹²² For an overview see: Eric Watkins, "The Development of Physical Influx in Early Eighteenth-Century Germany: Gottsched, Knutzen, and Crusius," *The Review of Metaphysics* 49, no. 2 (1995): 295–339; Eric Watkins, *Kant and the Metaphysics of Causality* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹²³ Johann Christoph Gottsched, "Dvbia Circa. Monades Leibnitianas Qvatenvs. Ipsae Pro. Elementis. Corporvm Venditantvr" (Königsberg, Univ., Diss., 1721, 1721).

¹²⁴ See Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Ausgewählte Werke: Erste Gründe der gesammten Weltweisheit (Variantenverzeichnis)* (Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 249.

¹²⁵ Christoph Langhansen, *De Necessitate Omnium, Quae Existunt, Absoluta, in Theodicaea G. G. Leibnitii, Cui Wolfianum Metaphysicae Systema Superstructum Est, Asserta*, 1724.

¹²⁶ Quoted from the translation of William Clark, "The Death of Metaphysics in Enlightened Prussia," in *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe* (The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 427. Reference: Euler, *Lettres*, vol. 2, letter 84

therefore not only offered two theories of the body-soul relationship, but also two positions on the relation between freedom and determinism.

Although Königsberg, with its flowering environment of Wolffian philosophy, was relatively unaffected by the earlier exclusion of Wolff from Halle, the tension was growing, not least thanks to Professor Fischer, who actively combatted the growing number of Pietists and their influence on education in Königsberg. In April 1724, Langhansen sent his dissertation to Joachim Lange in Halle (perhaps the most important Pietist critic of Wolff), asking for his opinion. Like Lange, Langhansen found Leibniz to advocate a deterministic philosophy. In March 1725, Langhansen wrote to August Hermann Francke in Halle, asking for his help to become the fifth professor of theology in Königsberg. It is no wonder that, in the presence of Bilfinger and Hermann, Langhansen chose to remain silent. In November of the same year, Fischer would suffer the same faith as Wolff.

In the shadow of this conflict, this chapter locates these debates on the body and the soul not only in and around Königsberg, but also in the anatomical theatre. The chapter uncovers the existence of a group of scholars associated with Wolffian philosophy that has mostly been excluded from or marginalized within the official histories of the Albertina (written by Pietist historians).¹²⁷ The chapter suggests that the early Kant should be placed within the context of this group of scholars. It therefore follows Manfred Kuehn in his critique of the general understanding that Kant was a follower of Martin Knutzen.¹²⁸ However, I remain skeptical towards Kuehn's suggestion that Kant should be considered a student of the professor of physics Johann Gottfried Teske; instead, I follow Werner Stark, who has argued that Kant aimed to follow in the footsteps of Carl Heinrich Rappolt.¹²⁹ The chapter does not aim to make a strong claim of influence, but rather to understand Kant as a researcher who aspired to be included in a trans-local research network where Rappolt

¹²⁷ See: *Ausführliche und mit Urkunden versehene Historie der Königsbergischen Universität: D. Daniel Heinrich Arnoldts Zusätze zu seiner Historie der Königsbergischen Universität, nebst einigen Verbesserungen derselben, auch zweyhundert und fünfzig Lebensbeschreibungen Preußischer Gelehrten* (Hartung, 1756); Daniel Heinrich Arnoldt, *D. Daniel Heinrich Arnoldts Ausführliche Und Mit Urkunden Versehene Historie Der Königsbergischen Universität. [With] Zusätze*, 1746. The stance of the work can be judged more on what is left out than what is described. On Fischer's university reform and the later deportation one simply reads: "Professor extra-ordinarius der Naturlehre, kam aber 1725 von hier [Königsberg] weg, worauf er viele Jahre auf Reisen zugebracht, bis er 1736 wieder hierher gekommen, wo er auch annoch als ein Privatus lebet." (418). The controversies around Johann Friedrich Goldbeck, *Nachrichten von der königlichen Universität zu Königsberg*, 1782, and Johann Daniel Metzger's criticism will be treated in chapter 3 "Revolution and Reform".

¹²⁸ The most nuanced study of the hypothesis that Kant was directly influenced by Martin Knutzen is: Benno Erdmann, *Martin Knutzen Und Seine Zeit* (Рипол Классик, 1876); However, this thesis has been questioned by Manfred Kuehn. See: Kuehn, *Kant*.

¹²⁹ See: Stark, "Naturforschung in Königsberg, - ein kritischer Rückblick Aus den Präliminarien einer Untersuchung über die Entstehungsbedingungen von Kant's Vorlesung über Physische Geographie."

was one figure among many. Within this context, the chapter aims to reinterpret Kant's early position. By bringing to light the medical background of the concept of living force, it aims to show that Kant, rather than an advocate of a mechanical philosophy,¹³⁰ made room for a vitalistic understanding of the body and soul. It was in doing so that he developed his early thought on the soul as having specific locality.

Institutional Reforms

Upon arrival, Hermann and Bilfinger would have experienced a transformed Königsberg. Having previously enjoyed the privileges of civic freedom and governmental autonomy, Königsberg had been faced with the administrative reforms of Frederick Wilhelm I. On 13 June 1724, the three towns of Königsberg had been united under one administration.¹³¹ The administrative reforms were not initiated by any Königsberg inhabitant, but by the central government, which aimed at restricting not so much civic freedoms as the abuse of these freedoms.¹³²

Königsberg was in certain ways comparable to other regional centers like Edinburgh, Montpellier, Philadelphia, and Geneva, although its geographical position made it more isolated from hubs like Paris and London. As the capital of Eastern Prussia, however, its influence was far reaching, attracting students from both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Baltic region. Its position on the shoreline of the Baltic coast as well as by the River Pregel connected it both to the inland as well as to the rest of the world, making it a regional center of trade.

Located between Berlin and St. Petersburg on the shoreline of the Baltic Sea, Königsberg had one of the oldest universities in Prussia, the Albertina, founded as a Protestant university in competition with the Catholic Jagiellonian University in Krakow. To the north, academies of science were established in Upsalla and Stockholm: Gustav II Adolf had founded Protestant universities in Turku in 1640 and in Dorpat (present-day Tartu) in 1632 as part of Swedish colonial policies. However, although cities stayed in one place, borders changed; a Russo-Swedish war had already resulted in the closure of the University in Dorpat in 1665. Although somewhat isolated in this vast region, other forms of higher learning did exist, like the Jesuit Academy (the

¹³⁰ The perhaps most thorough and extensive study of Kant's early natural philosophy is: Irving I. Polonoff, *Force, Cosmos, Monads and Other Themes of Kant's Early Thought* (Bouvier, 1973). Yet, Polonoff's approach is limited by the presumption that Kant is working with a strictly mechanical-mathematical problem. Also Simon Schaffer who has done excellent work in reinterpreting Kant's early natural philosophy in the light of living matter maintains that Kant's first work on living forces is strictly focused on a mechanical-mathematical problem. See: Simon Schaffer, "The Phoenix of Nature: Fire and Evolutionary Cosmology in Wright and Kant," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 9, no. 3 (October 1, 1978): 180–200.

¹³¹ Fritz Gause, *Die Geschichte Der Stadt Königsberg in Preussen, II Bd*, 1968, 65.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 76.

Alma Academia et Universitas Vilnensis Societatis Iesu) in Wilna (Vilnius) and the learned society *Societas Litteraria* in the free city of Danzig.

Before the unification of the three towns of Königsberg in 1724, the city had undergone dramatic and significant changes which were to frame the institutional order and function of the university. In 1708, the plague had spread through Poland, Livland, and parts of Eastern Prussia. Königsberg, however, had remained untouched; inspired by Berlin, a health commission (*Collegium Sanitatis*) was formed, with representatives from the government, the military, and university-educated doctors.¹³³ Nonetheless, the precautionary measures could not prevent the spread of disease; in August 1709, the plague broke out in Königsberg. “The current condition of the country and the city is so miserable that no pen can describe it,” one report noted, continuing: “Since in and around the country the plague rages, a village community which is healthy and communicates on Sunday is emptied of any living soul by the following Thursday.”¹³⁴ The country suffered: the poorer Lithuanian parishes in particular were emptied, and the survivors were driven from the towns to Königsberg.¹³⁵ Between 3 September 1709 and 23 April 1710, 9,368 people lost their lives, robbing Königsberg of almost a quarter of its population.¹³⁶

The impact was so severe that when King Fredrick Wilhelm I visited Prussian Lithuania as late as 1718, he was shocked that they had not yet overcome the damage. This sparked the idea of a public school system in Eastern Prussia;¹³⁷ having heard Heinrich Lysius (1670-1731) deliver a sermon during his stay in Königsberg, he was so impressed that he made him the head inspector of schools and churches in Lithuania.¹³⁸ Lysius was strongly associated with the introduction of Pietism in Königsberg: his gradual establishment at the university indicates the rising influence of Pietism there. The Flensburg-born theologian had worked as the director of the royal school (later Collegium Friedricianum) since 1701, being appointed extraordinary professor in 1709 and ordinary professor in 1714. A Lithuanian seminary was established by the orthodox Lutheran

¹³³ Ibid., 23; See also: Karl-Erik Frandsen, *The Last Plague in the Baltic Region, 1709-1713* (Museum Tusulanum Press, 2010), 33 ff.

¹³⁴ “Der gegenwärtige Zustand des Landes und der Stadt ist so miserabel, daß er mit keiner Feder beschreiben werden kann. Denn auf dem Lande und umher hausieret die Pest dermaßen, daß da am Sonntage eine Dorffschafft communiciret und gesund gewesen, den ersten Donnerstag drauf keine lebendige Seele mehr drinnen gewesen.“ Christian Friedrich Richters, *Nothwendiger Unterricht, wie man sich bey iesziger Pest und anderen Seucht unter Göttlicher Gnade, praeserviren und curiren könne: zum zweytenmahl aufgeleget, und mit vielen nützlichen Anmerckungen verbessert ...* (Gleditsch, 1710), 85.

¹³⁵ Gause, *Die Geschichte Der Stadt Königsberg in Preussen, II Bd.*, 24.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 26.

¹³⁷ Christiane Schiller, “Die Litauischen Seminare in Königsberg Und Halle. Ein Bilanz,” *Nordost-Archiv* III, no. 2 (1994): 378.

¹³⁸ Heiner F. Klemme, *Die Schule Kants: Mit dem Text von Christian Schiffert über das Königsberger Collegium Fridericianum* (Meiner Verlag, 1994), 18.

Johann Jacob Quandt. Its aim was to prepare preachers who were to work in the multi-lingual areas of Eastern Prussia.¹³⁹

On 18 December 1724, when Heinrich Lysius was working as a director, Friedrich Wilhelm I issued an inspection order for the Albertina. In order to verify and systematize teaching, the professors had to hand in a description of their lectures,¹⁴⁰ which marked the beginning of a lecture catalogue.¹⁴¹ The catalogue signified the organization and recording of knowledge in Königsberg and its subjection to the bureaucracy in Berlin. This opened and directed more systematic debates about the structure and end goals of the disciplines and the university as such. Professor Fischer, who had been one of the loudest critics of the Pietists in Königsberg, responded to the inspection with a critique of the level of teaching. To the monarch he sent a memorandum on how the “worsened condition of the Academy and the medical and school system could be emphatically improved.”¹⁴² According to Fischer, the Albertina was in dire straits. Not only did each of the four faculties (the three higher ones, theology, law, and medicine, and the lower one, philosophy) lack an adequate library, but the studies of nature in particular were in need of proper instruments and buildings to be in sync with the development of the new sciences in modern universities like Leiden. The Albertina had no anatomical theatre, botanical garden, observatory, chemical laboratory, apothecary, cabinet of curiosities (*Kunstammer*), or natural history collection (*Naturalienkabinett*). This meant that teaching was restricted to theory; even the botanists were tired of going out into the fields to give practical lessons.

Fischer had begun teaching natural science at the Albertina in 1712; in 1715, he had acquired the position of extraordinary professor in physics. As the first such professor in Königsberg, he had introduced excursions into his lectures on natural history and highlighted the use of observations and experiments. He held that the science of nature (*Naturlehre*) had made huge advances, but could end up in confusion if it idolized great names rather than truth and the correct use of concepts. He adopted the systematic approach of Wolffian philosophy.¹⁴³ The new metaphysics were, for Fischer, to be founded on the natural sciences. When he was given the task

¹³⁹ Stanislaw Salmonowicz, “Königsberg, Thorn Und Danzig. Zur Geschichte Königsbergs Als Zentrum Der Aufklärung,” *Wolfenbüttler Studien Zur Aufklärung* 16 (1995): 13.

¹⁴⁰ Albert Predeek, “Ein Verschollener Reorganisationsplan Für Die Universität Königsberg Aus Dem Jahre 1725,” *Altpreußische Forschungen* 4/1927, no. 2 (n.d.): 69.

¹⁴¹ See Oberhausen and Pozzo, *Vorlesungsverzeichnisse der Universität Königsberg (1720-1804)*.

¹⁴² Predeek, “Ein Verschollener Reorganisationsplan Für Die Universität Königsberg Aus Dem Jahre 1725.”

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 68.

of reforming the university in 1725, his aim was to strengthen its utility for the state¹⁴⁴ and increase the influence of the king.

The poor condition of the Albertina, Fischer noted, at least had the benefit of opening up space for a complete reformation of the university.¹⁴⁵ Fischer first of all suggested a plan for new institutions and for funding the purchase of new equipment (books, maps, and scientific instruments) in the future. However, it was not only institutions and instruments but a general order that was lacking. There was no strict plan of study for the students and hence no progression within a field¹⁴⁶ or strict distinction between various fields. Becoming a practicing doctor did not require any specific exam. To fix this, Fischer suggested an order of courses be offered and taken first in the philosophical faculty in order to prepare students for studies in the medical faculty: he also proposed a final exam and a compulsory practicum in service of the state. For this, he suggested the establishment of a medical college, which, unlike the sanitary college, should be university-driven and consist of midwives, surgeons, pharmacists, and physicians. Their task was to ensure the practice of medicine as a professional, approved, and standardized discipline.

With regard to the latter, he was in sync with Friedrich Wilhelm I and Berlin, where the superior medical college was founded in 1724. With the Royal Medical Edict of 1725, the regional medical colleges were subjected to the central administration of the Berlin medical college; in addition, all the physicians of Prussia had to pass an exam, an anatomical cursus, in Berlin. This reform initiated the centralization, professionalization, and standardization of medicine in Prussia.

As we can see, Fischer's aim of developing a university in the service of the state went hand-in-hand with the reform spirit of the king-elect. While Fischer's reforms were visionary, to some they were too radical. In Halle, the Pietists had gotten rid of Christian Wolff, who was exiled from Prussia by King Frederick Wilhelm I in 1723; in Königsberg, they had slowly gained a foothold. For Fischer, in order to make a modern university with a progression in learning, the sciences needed an order. The various distinctions still loosely rested upon Aristotelian philosophy; however, for Fischer, the Wolffian reordering of the sciences constituted an equivalent for the new emerging disciplines, once again creating order from chaos.¹⁴⁷ For Fischer, this meant not only basing metaphysics on observations but also giving the philosophical faculty a certain degree of autonomy which would release it from servitude to the theological faculty. The

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 76–77.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 80–81.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 94–95.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

Pietists notified the king of Fischer's Wolffian sympathies, and Fischer was given 24 hours to leave Prussia. He went to the free city Danzig, which was under the protection of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to work on building the natural history museum for Jakob Theodor Klein, a diplomat and naturalist from Königsberg who had settled there.

Despite Fischer's failed attempt, part of the reform went through. The professionalization of the medical profession also meant a stronger distinction between the faculties. Whereas the professorship in natural philosophy had until then been held by a professor of medicine, it now became a distinct chair of philosophy, with Teske as the first professor with a non-medical background to hold the chair. The stronger disciplinary distinctions did not mean complete separation, however; on the contrary, as professor of medicine Büttner noted that a strong education in natural philosophy, which included natural history, chemistry, physiology, and mechanics, was essential for learning pharmacy and anatomy.¹⁴⁸ However, the disciplinary distinction also opened up competition between the two faculties, one gaining more autonomy the other more authority through professionalization.

Influencing Minds

The exclusion of Fischer from Prussia did not mean the end of natural philosophy there. In November 1728, Karl Heinrich Rappolt wrote to his friend Gottsched: "...M. Teske wants to be seen as a *physicum* by any means possible, as if he maybe wants to seize the ordinary or extraordinary position. However, one also has some hope for M. Fischer."¹⁴⁹ Teske was favored by the Pietists and became the first professor of natural philosophy without a background in medicine. Rappolt, in contrast, was a Wolffian and had travelled to Danzig in 1724 for four weeks to meet with the naturalists there: he was well acquainted with Fischer. Rappolt had himself been interested in the professorship; disappointed with the appointment of Teske, he left Königsberg in 1729, taking a grand tour through Germany and the Netherlands to London. He stayed in England, where he was offered several positions,¹⁵⁰ but he ultimately chose to return to Königsberg. His first work was dedicated to the president of the Royal Society, Hans Sloane.

¹⁴⁸ Christoph Gottlieb Büttner, *Aufrichtiger Unterricht von der Tödlichkeit der Wunden für neuangehende Aerzte und Wundärzte* (Bey Gottlieb Lebrecht Hartung, 1776), IX.

¹⁴⁹ "...H. Teske wil mit aller Macht vor einen Physicum angesehen seyn, ob er vielleicht die ordinair- oder extraord. Stelle darin erhaschen möchte: Doch schöpft man auch einige Hofnung vor H. Fischern." Gottsched, *Johann Christoph Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, 163.

¹⁵⁰ Götz von Selle, *Geschichte der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg im Preussen* (Holzner, 1956), 160.

Upon his return the following year, Rappolt once again aimed at acquiring a teaching position in natural philosophy at the *Albertina*. However, his association with the Wolffians still stood in his way. Like Teske, Rappolt did not have a medical education, but, unlike Teske, he was expected to pass the 1725 medical examination (the *Cursum Anatomicum*) in Berlin. Rappolt addressed a petition to Friedrich Wilhelm I on the issue and explained that he was not applying for a chair in medicine. However, in the margin of the letter, the king wrote his answer: “Must hold his cursum anatomicum in Berlin’ F. W.”¹⁵¹ Rappolt had no choice but to abide by this. Despite having no anatomical training, he successfully passed his exam¹⁵² and became extraordinary professor at the *Albertina*. In April 1729, Johann Georg Bock wrote to Gottsched: “M. Rappolt has become professor of physics in M. Fischer’s place.”¹⁵³

The appointment of Teske and the marginalization of Rappolt points to more than personal differences. Rappolt’s affiliation with Fischer was part of a local constellation and a broader international network of expats and travelers from Königsberg, all of whom may be characterized as Wolffians to the extent that Wolffian philosophy is seen as an underlying language unifying a variety of studies rather than an intensely debated system of doctrines. Christoph Gottsched’s correspondence outlines this loosely aligned network of travelers who sent each other recommendations, offered hospitality, and provided openings for other learned societies. In the early 1720s, Wolffian philosophy had conquered Königsberg, through Kreuzschner in particular.¹⁵⁴ In the wake of his influence, several dissertations appeared which give us an understanding of some of these Wolffians. Fischer held disputation exercises on the locality of the soul in 1723 and 1724.¹⁵⁵ Although the dissertations have mainly been read as works conducted by the *präses*, little attention has been given to the respondents, who were often equally as involved in developing and writing the dissertation. As such, the dissertations do not display one argument

¹⁵¹ “Soll seinen Cursum anatomicum in Berlin halten’ F. W.” *Vaterländisches Archiv für Wissenschaft, Kunst, Industrie und Agrikultur: oder preussische provinzial-Blätter*, 23 (Verein zur Rettung Verwahrloster Kinder zu Königsberg., 1840), 494.

¹⁵² Rappolt wrote to Johann Albert Fabricius from Königsberg 1731: “Ehe ich neulich zur extrord. Profession in Physicus gekommen bin, habe ich auf Königl. Special-Befehl, ob ich gleich niemals Medicinam studieret habe, einen cursum anatomicum in Berlin halten müssen: darinnen habe ich die Weisheit Gottes, die Er in Bildung der menschlichen Nase hat blicken lassen, weitläufig betrachtet.” Quoted from: Erik Petersen, *Johann Albert Fabricius: en humanist i Europa* (København: Det Kongelige bibliotek, Museum Tusulanum, 1998), 706.

¹⁵³ “H. Rappolt ist Professor Phÿsices in des H. Fischers Stelle geworden.” Gottsched, *Johann Christoph Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, 351.

¹⁵⁴ See Erdmann, *Martin Knutzen Und Seine Zeit*, 16.

¹⁵⁵ Oberhausen and Pozzo, *Vorlesungsverzeichnisse der Universität Königsberg (1720-1804) Teilbd. 1 - 2.*, 23 & 26. See also: Heßbrüggen-Walter, “Walter Putting Our Soul in Place.”

but a play with positions, which may at times have been reversed.¹⁵⁶ In addition to Gottsched's dissertation, two others should be noted: 1) *De Harmonia Praestabilita inter Animam et Corpus*,¹⁵⁷ defended by Conrad Gottlieb Marquardt (with Johann Christoph Bohl as respondent), and 2) *Existentiam dei ex mentis cum corpore unione demonstratam amplissimi ordinis philosophice consensus*,¹⁵⁸ defended by Georg Heinrich Nicolai (with Rappolt as respondent). Both dissertations dealt with the relationship between body and soul within the framework of Wolffian philosophy. Neither Bohl nor Rappolt have traditionally been regarded as part of this circle, as they are rather regarded as empirical philosophers. However, the medical reflections on the relationship between body and soul in the first dissertation,¹⁵⁹ as well as Bohl's appreciation of Wolff and Leibniz in his letter to Reusch,¹⁶⁰ seem to suggest otherwise: not only was empirical philosophy conducted within the framework of a Wolffian-Leibnizian metaphysics, but this framework was also itself tested and reinterpreted through experiments and investigations. Among the people in this constellation, Bohl seems to have been the only one to reach the status of ordinary professor (medicine). As a student of Reusch and Boerhaave, he came to be perceived as an empiricist rather than a metaphysician.

While Marquardt stayed in Königsberg and Gottsched left, never to return permanently, Rappolt had to leave and direct his contacts through Danzig. Gottsched met his wife, Luise Adelgrunde Gottsched, the daughter of the famous physician Johann Georg Kulmus. Kulmus was a student of Boerhaave in Leiden and Georg Ernst Stahl in Halle, and was working together with Jacob Theodor Klein, who also knew Boerhaave. The naturalist presented a gateway to Leiden not only to Rappolt but also to Bohl: the latter came to assist Klein in his anatomical descriptions.¹⁶¹ Bohl also became friends with Albrecht von Haller, and as such may have been the most important connection to Göttingen. Marginalized in Königsberg, this

¹⁵⁶ Hanspeter Marti, "Philosophieunterricht Und Philosophische Dissertationen Im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Artisten Und Philosophen: Wissenschafts- Und Wirkungsgeschichte Einer Fakultät Vom 13. Bis Zum 19. Jahrhundert*, VGUW (Verlag Schwabe, 1999), 215–16.

¹⁵⁷ Conrad Theophil Marquardt and Joh. Christoph Bohlio, *De harmonia praestabilita inter animam et corpus ...* (Regiomonti, 1722).

¹⁵⁸ Georg Heinrich Nicolai and Carolus Henricus Rappolt, *Existentiam dei ex mentis cum corpore unione demonstratam* (Regiomonte: Zaencker, 1723).

¹⁵⁹ Marquardt and Bohlio, *De harmonia praestabilita inter animam et corpus ...*, 14.

¹⁶⁰ Johann Christoph Bohle and Frederik Ruysch, *Io. Christoph. Bohlii ... Dissertatio epistolica. Ad virum clarissimum, Fredericum Ruyschium ... de usu nouarum cavae propaginum in systemate chylopoeo, ut & de corticis crebri textura* (apud Janssonio-Waesbergios, 1744), 3–4; See also: Frederik Ruysch and Johann Christoph Bohle, *Tractatio anatomica de musculo, in fundo uteri obseruato antehac a nemine detecto: cui accedit depulsionis secundinarum, parturientium foeminarum, instructio* (apud Janssonio-Waesbergios, 1742).

¹⁶¹ An Advertisement noting: "Jo. Christoph. Bohlius M. D. Of Konigsberg is said to be about to publish Γαλαξία Corporis animalis occasione experimenti Gedani de ductu thoracico capti." was placed in *Medical Essays and Observations, Revised and Published by a Society in Edinburg the Second Edition Corrected*, vol. Vol I, 1737, 359.

constellation had connections with Boerhaave and Reusch in Leiden, with the Royal Society in London, the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg, von Haller in Göttingen, the academy of science in Danzig, and, partially, with the Royal Academy of Science in Uppsala. Although their names are mostly forgotten today, they were esteemed scientists of their time: while they were shoved to the margins in Königsberg, they, along with their private instrument collections, represented an elite of natural scientists there. In order to understand Kant's early texts, one needs to understand that this is the environment which Kant addresses and which probably formed his philosophical background. Even when it comes to his metaphysical speculations, they are related to experimental philosophy in the spirit of Fischer, Bohl, Rappolt, and Marquardt. This background support's Kuehn's thesis that Kant should not to be regarded a student of Martin Knutzen, who combined Pietism and Wolffian philosophy; indeed, Kant initially formulated a criticism of Knutzen.¹⁶²

Königsberg did not have an anatomical theatre until 1736, when one was donated by Christoph Gottlieb Büttner in exchange for a professorship in medicine. This also meant that anatomy and botany, which had usually been taught every second semester (anatomy in the winter and botany in the summer), were divided into two separate professorships. The anatomical theatre was partly a private enterprise, with its own collection and public dissections for the price of one and a half thalers. However, military doctors received free lectures. As part of the agreement, Büttner was promised corpses for dissection from some of the Königsberg hospitals.¹⁶³ Upon opening, Büttner proclaimed that the anatomical theatre would give novices of the medical sciences the opportunity to experience practical lessons "which they otherwise would have to acquire through long travel and spending large amounts of money."¹⁶⁴ The earlier generation of men, like Bohl, Schreiber, and Rappolt, had had the means to travel, and their research was situated and circulated within the framework of the Republic of Letters. Placing Königsberg on the European map of medical advances, the establishment of Büttner's anatomical theatre also signified a transformation of the medical administration of the state.

At the Albertina, the specialized areas were divided between Bohl, who taught physiology, and Büttner, who taught anatomy. As a surgeon, Büttner's reputation did not measure up to Bohl's. Bohl had become famous as an ardent student of Friedrich Ruysch, publishing two

¹⁶² Kuehn, *Kant*, 94.

¹⁶³ Gause, *Die Geschichte Der Stadt Königsberg in Preussen, II Bd*, 115.

¹⁶⁴ Christoph Gottlieb Büttner, *In vielen Jahren gesammelte anatomische Wahrnehmungen* (Hartungs, 1768), 2–4.

academic letters addressed to him.¹⁶⁵ Bohl's own writings remained scarce, however, which in itself captures a theme of the letters. Ruysch had engaged in a controversy with his contemporary Govard Bidloo, who had established himself as a skilled physician with the publication *The Anatomy of the Human Body* (1685).¹⁶⁶ The controversy has been described as one between two different ways mediating medical knowledge. Bidloo, who based his book on a vast number of autopsies, argued that literary depictions were more accurate, as they presented an idealized image. Ruysch, on the other hand, maintained the primacy of the anatomical theatre as the place for medical observation, as a passage from Bohl's letter shows:

*As for those so-called olive-like glands [in the cerebral cortex], the truth is these perverse things are without any real existence. I still remember what happened when Professor Bidloo, in defense of his views, wanted to show to me, in a public anatomy, that the cerebral cortex is composed of olive-shaped glands. He was holding the cortex of a brain in his hands, and he was asking his audience if they could not see that the cortex of the brain is made up of such glands as he had described in his work? But when he came to Professor De Volder (who does not lightly believe things), and asked him the same thing, he got the answer: 'No, sir!' ... If I now also asked you, learned sir, to show me these supposed olive-shaped bodies, would the same happen to you? Soldiers, when they hear the approach of the enemy, shout 'To arms, to arms!', I say here likewise: 'Ad visum! To looking, to looking!'*¹⁶⁷

As Cunningham has noted, "...the visual test is not in fact finally decisive, because people can see different things, even when handling and looking at the same anatomical preparation..."¹⁶⁸ However, the anatomical theatre provided a space where disputes could be controlled and settled. It enjoyed a special privilege within the Republic of Letters alongside scientific societies, where experiments could be tested, or collections and gardens, where the order of nature could be observed and, most importantly, witnessed by others. Such localities, however, were not isolated entities; rather, they were part of a transnational apparatus of testing and standardization. For example, in the program of the Danzig *Societas Physicae Experimentalis* where Bohl assisted Klein and Kulmus, we find the intent to replicate and test the validity of the experiments in Christian

¹⁶⁵ Ruysch and Bohle, *Tractatio anatomica de musculo, in fundo uteri obseruato antehac a nemine detecto*; Johann Christoph Bohle and Frederik Ruysch, *Io. Christoph. Bohlii ... Dissertatio epistolica. Ad virum clarissimum, Fredericum Ruyschium ... de usu nouarum cavae propaginum in systemate chylopoeo, ut & de corticis crebri textura* (apud Janssonio-Waesbergios, 1744).

¹⁶⁶ Daniel Margocsy, *Commercial Visions: Trading with Representations of Nature in Early Modern Netherlands* (Harvard University, 2009), 135.

¹⁶⁷ Translation in Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomist Anatomis'd: An Experimental Discipline in Enlightenment Europe* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010), 287.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 283.

Wolff's handbook on physics¹⁶⁹ and *Acta Eruditorum*.¹⁷⁰ The performance of an observation or experiment commanded decorum not only from the operators but also from the audience. During the performance, no one was allowed to interrupt and afterwards one needed the permission of the director to contribute with questions and remarks. Everything should be expressed in an orderly fashion, and violations were reprimanded with a fine.¹⁷¹ The society in Danzig not only established an order of knowledge, but also an order of conduct. The authority of the empirical and experimental sciences within the Republic of Letters was not simply founded on the authority of a single institution, but on collaboration, the repetition of observation, and, not least, the standardization of scientific practices.

With Büttner's anatomical theatre, however, a different order was instituted in Königsberg, strengthening the position of the Albertina as an academic and political center within the apparatus of the Prussian state. In 1715, Georg Ernst Stahl became *praeses* of the *collegium medicum* in Berlin. Until then, it had been led by jurists from the administration; now, however, Stahl was given responsibility for all medical matters in Brandenburg-Prussia, thus enhancing the status of physicians in this state.¹⁷² Taking as her point of departure the often overlooked conflation between members of the *collegium medicum* and the *collegium medico-chirurgicum*, Johanna Geyer Kordesch has impressively demonstrated how the "...*collegium medico-chirurgicum* helped transfer the view of the body developed by the 'new science' into medical practice."¹⁷³ A decree of 1718 dictated that graduates of medicine should be subjected to examination by one of the regional medical colleges. The year prior, the *collegium medico-chirurgicum* had complained to the king that, despite submitting their dissertations, the graduates failed to submit all their papers; more importantly, they failed to attend examinations.¹⁷⁴ The examination, as had been the case for Rappolt, therefore dictated that surgical skills were the basic trait of the physician, thus making it the identifying characteristic of the medical profession.¹⁷⁵ The reforms of the medical administration culminated with the medical edict of 1725, which established the institutional framework for the professionalization of medical practice in Prussia. In order to ensure a

¹⁶⁹ Christian Wolff, *Allerhand nützliche Versuche, dadurch zu genauer Erkenntnis der Natur und Kunst der Weg gebähnet wird: denen Liebhabern der Wahrheit mitgetheilet. I-III.* (zu finden in der Rengerischen Buchhandlung, 1727), The Handbook consisted of a compilation of experiments and directions on how to analyse them.

¹⁷⁰ Andrzej Januszajtis, "Societas Physicae Experimentalis - The First Physics Society in Poland. The Origins of the Society.," *Task Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (2002): 326.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 325–26.

¹⁷² Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, "Court Physicians and State Regulation," in *Medicine at the Courts of Europe 1500–1837* (Routledge, 1990), 161–62.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 159–60.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 161–62.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 160.

standardized guarantee for medical practice and science, the formerly egalitarian network of provincial medical colleges obtained a hierarchical structure, with the medical college in Berlin as the *Ober-Collegium-Medicum*.¹⁷⁶ Büttner's anatomical theatre was partly a consequence of this centralization of administrative power in medical matters; in order to pass the exam, the so-called *cursum* in Berlin, physicians needed to acquire surgical skills.

Although he never showed any interest in practical medicine, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz was very much engaged with rethinking medical theory in light of the breakthrough in mechanics within natural science in the 17th century.¹⁷⁷ In *De scribendis novis Medicinae elementis* from 1682-83, Leibniz writes:

*It is clear that the human body is a machine determined to certain functions by its author or inventor. Thus to write medicine is nothing other than to prescribe a method to a given mechanic who is able to conserve the machine that has been entrusted to him, so that it will always operate correctly.*¹⁷⁸

Here we see that the object of medicine is simply the body, not the soul, and that the correct conception of the body is that of a machine. This mechanical conception of the body was not simply an answer to medicine but rather a task. It implied not only an ancient tradition of medical learning but also a new way of perceiving and organizing empirical studies. Hence, the challenge was not simply empiricism, but also and equally philosophy:

*May it please God that our studies should serve to advance medicine significantly. But until now this science remains almost entirely empirical. It is true that sometimes empiricism itself may be of great use, if one is committed to observing well, and even to employing well all the observations already made, but as medicine has become a profession, those who make a career out of it only do so in the way they were taught, and as much as possible in order to save the appearances, well concealing the fact that few people are capable of making judgments about what they do. I would like for some order, such as that of the Capucins, for example, to be associated with medicine by a principle of charity. Such an order, well governed, could carry it very far.*¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 163.

¹⁷⁷ Justin Smith writes "...medical questions are for him [Leibniz] not just related to, but directly (though of course not exclusively) constitutive of, his metaphysical inquiry into the nature of substance and of the individual" Smith, *Divine Machines*, 26.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 25.

¹⁷⁹ Quoted from Ibid., 43.

In fact, Leibniz wanted talented physicians who were “capable of making judgments” – such as one of his great medical inspirations, Johann Bernoulli – to give up practicing medicine and devote their time and talent to developing a medical system that could be institutionalized. In itself, the practice of anatomy did not amount to a strict science; however, the confined space of the anatomical theatre enabled the cultivation of a certain anatomical gaze, which could be developed into a strict science.

Despite the new developments in modern science, the ancient tradition of Hippocrates and Galen had remained influential even into the 18th century. This tradition based its practice on the theory of bodily fluids, the four humors: black bile yellow bile, blood, and phlegm. Combining an understanding of disease with the patient’s proximate environment, the tradition developed a mixture of environmentalism and humoralism that sought to define disease as a humoral imbalance affected by the environment.¹⁸⁰ The medical investigation shifted its direction from the fluids to the solids, but also, and just as importantly, away from the environment. The anatomical gaze was directed towards *seats*, and detecting disease was performed by locating the failed organic structure.¹⁸¹

The success of the anatomical gaze hinged on the ability to abstract the body from its environment, its local nature, in order to perceive it as a machine and illness as malfunctions located at specific seats. The blood and gore, the theatre and spectacle in the anatomical theatre may seem like a strong contrast to mathematical medicine; however, the isolation of the body from its natural environment created the precondition for mathematization. Taken out of its context, the body could be dissected and analyzed as a machine in a confined ideal geometrical space.

In St. Petersburg, the Leibniz follower Daniel Bernoulli wrote a text in 1726 entitled *Tentamen novae de Motu Muscularum Theoriae*. Following Bilfinger, Bernoulli used iatromechanics and iatrophysics in order to investigate muscle physiology as a phenomenon of life similar to respiration and heart activity. Most notably, the Königsberg-born physician Johann Friedrich Schreiber attempted to develop a mathematical understanding of medicine. His *Elementorum medicinae physico-mathematicorum* from 1731 was introduced by none other than Christian Wolff.¹⁸²

Leibniz’s distinction between *dead force* on the one hand and *living force* on the other is here made central in the attempt to turn medicine into a mathematical discipline. Although Schreiber’s early biography in many ways corresponds to Bohl’s, it is no coincidence that he became an

¹⁸⁰ See Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 13.

¹⁸¹ Cunningham, *The Anatomist Anatomis’d*, 196–97.

¹⁸² Johann Friedrich Schreiber, *Elementorum medicinae physico-mathematicorum* (Francofurti; Lipsiae: Renger, 1731).

honorary professor at the academy in St. Petersburg in 1731 with Daniel Bernoulli as his colleague. Even so, the partnership between anatomy and mathematical medicine was controversial, even within the discourse of Leibnizian and Wolffian philosophy. In a letter to Gottsched from June 1731, Klein expressed his skepticism regarding Schreiber's adoption of Wolff: "however, what advantages it has over Boerhaave's method I cannot comprehend."¹⁸³ From Kulmus, Fischer, and Klein in Danzig to Bohl and Rappolt in Königsberg, the emphasis was still on observation and experimentation, making metaphysical and not least mathematical systematization a secondary concern. Rather than provide a coherent theory, Leibniz and Wolff's philosophies gave them a framework which could be contested and corrected through observation and conceptual clarification. Even the controversy regarding the relation between the body and the soul were open to debate. After reading the treatise *Vindiciarum systematis influxus physici*¹⁸⁴ of his son-in-law Johann Christoph Gottsched, Johann George Kulmus wrote from Danzig on 10 January 1728: "As it is, in the best way, made very clear in your dissertation, the position of physical influx has neither need for the Cartesian *spiritus animalis* nor Leibniz's pre-established harmony; however, it can be specified by clear and distinct types of phenomena within Stahl's physical and medical method."¹⁸⁵

Stahl's medical theory, however, was in conflict with this new perception of the human. He had built his theory on medicine around a notion of the soul, *anima*. By this, Stahl does not understand a mental substance separated from matter. Rather, the soul may be distinguished from matter but not separated; the soul is a *living force* that animates the body. As such, the body is not to be perceived purely mechanically as a machine; rather, it is directed, an instrument containing an active moral principle. This refusal to view the body as a purely mechanical being has often placed Stahl in opposition to mechanical thinking. However, Stahl granted that the body may be described mechanically: he only contested whether this can be regarded as a full description of the living force; or, to be more precise, he contested that while the body may be submitted to rules of mechanics, this gives us no concept of living force whatsoever.

¹⁸³ Klein writes to Gottsched on Schreiber's use of Wolff's method: June 1731: "...was es aber vor Boerhavens Method vor sonderlichen Nutzen haben sole, kan ich nicht begreifen..." Johann Christoph Gottsched, *1731-1733: Unter Einschluss des Briefwechsels von Luise Adelgunde Victorie Gottsched* (Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2008), 75.

¹⁸⁴ Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Vindiciarum Systematis Influxus Physici* (Breitkopf, 1728).

¹⁸⁵ "Die historica tractatio Influxus Physici ist so wohl gerathen, daß ich nach der weiteren Außführung und Continuation ein sehnliches Verlangen trage, umb so viel mehr, weil ich mit Euer WohlEdl. Allezeit gleiche Meinung hege. Posito influx physic, wie er in Dero Dissertation höchst deutlich, und aufs beste ausgeführet worden, hat man weder die spiritus animales Carthesij, noch die harmonium praestabilitam Leibnitzii nöthig, sondern kan in physicis et medicina method Stahlianæ aller phænomenorum rationes gantz klar u. deutlich anführen." Gottsched, *Johann Christoph Gottscheds Briefwechsel*, 100–101.

Medicine's primary object is the liquid, not the solid material. Here, we must distinguish between the solid and the liquid material, between physics and chemistry. For Stahl, it was mainly the liquid parts that can be affected, and it is through affecting the liquid part that a physician proceeds. However, even though Stahl earned part of his reputation precisely as a great chemist, he does not reduce the practice of the physician simply to chemistry. The liquid part of man, which may disrupt the harmony of the passions, may also be affected in the opposite way; i.e., the tranquility of the mind may bring harmony to the bodily fluids. This means that, for the physician, the way to treat the body may be to go through the mind, just as a treatment of the mind may go through the body. Hence, a moral cure may not simply be regarded as a cure for the mind but also for the body, since it brings harmony and tranquility back to the affected passions. The soul as living force is both moved and moving, and the healthy person is to be regarded one moving in harmony. Such a theory implies a certain relation that did not go uncontested. As we shall see, it gave rise to a debate between Stahl and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, a debate that would affect later controversies throughout the 18th century regarding the relationship between body and soul, the nature of life, and other matters.

In 1708, Stahl published his magnum opus, the *Theoria Medica Vera*, at the Waisenhaus Verlag, the publishing house of the Halle Pietists. Leibniz read the work and formulated a series of objections throughout 1709-10 to which Stahl responded. However, it was not until 1720, after Leibniz's death in 1716, that Stahl published the dispute under the title *Idle Annoyance, or, Shadow Boxing from a celebrated Man against Certain Fundamental Positions of the True Medical Theory*.¹⁸⁶ The title was, of course, of Stahl's choosing and demonstrates that this was not simply an attempt to lay out a debate in order to let the reader judge for himself. Leibniz had been a strong academic force in Prussia and had been behind the founding of the Academy of Science in Berlin. His most influential follower, Christian Wolff, was also a professor in Halle. The connection between Stahl and Leibniz was made by Carl Hildebrand von Canstein, a jurist influenced by August Hermann Francke's Pietism. Canstein was an admirer of Stahl and had detected an enmity between the two modes of thought. From his correspondence, we discover that this enmity cannot simply be understood anachronistically, as has been done, as an opposition between mechanicism and vitalism. It is a struggle over concepts:

¹⁸⁶ Georg Ernst STAHL, *G. E. Stahlii Negotium Otiosum Seu, Σκιαμαχία Adversus Positiones Aliquas Fundamentales, Theoriæ Veræ Medicæ a Viro Quodam Celeberrimo Intentata, Sed Adversis Armis Conversis Enervata*, 1720.

Herr Doctor Stahl now has with him a treatise entitled De natura, in which he treats at length what he understands by “nature.” Since we find rational actions not only in men, but also in all of the animals which display a sort of wit and cleverness, it is thus unreasonable to say what is reasonable in them, particularly since animals are subject to all sorts of effects of anger, desire, greed, love, friendliness and also have an ability to learn, for example, all manner of arts: all of this testifies very clearly to a certain active and living force in them, which is endowed with a will and a capacity to work in and through the matter of its body – this force we tend to call “spirit” or “nature.”¹⁸⁷

The concept of “living force” has gone down in history as the concept, credited to Leibniz, of what we today understand as potential energy, i.e. the conservation of energy in bodies. However, when matched with Stahl, we see that this notion was not uncontested and find a broader, although less scientific by today’s standards, definition of the word. According to Stahl, a science of the living forces is, in a certain way, to be understood as a science of the soul. The concept of living forces is not simply a mechanical or animistic concept, but a concept that gains a specific definition in history. As such, the debate displays, on the one hand, a conflict of what we are to understand by science: on the other, it demonstrates a conflict over the soul’s place in natural science, or, to be more precise, the proper place for a science of the soul.

As we have seen, the relationship between body and soul influenced both medical and ethical theories. And although their debate is a medical one, we must bear these ethical implications in mind. While Leibniz’s criticism was not aimed at discrediting Stahl as a practicing physician, it is foundational and seeks to come to terms with a clear system of medicine that can be institutionalized. Thus his approach hopes to point out the metaphysical paradoxes arising from Stahl’s theory.

What Leibniz found puzzling about Stahl’s theory was not so much that the soul had a place in it than its explanatory function. For Leibniz, Stahl’s understanding of the soul as the moving force reflected an attempt to understand the soul’s influence on the body, implicitly using the soul itself to explain the relationship between soul and body. However, Stahl had not sought any metaphysical definition of the soul: his point of departure was that of experience. Accordingly, he saw the soul as an abstraction from the experience of the body, although it was an abstraction that could not be separated from the body as such. Actions could not simply be understood as actions of the soul, since actions are always embodied. However, what Leibniz seeks to criticize is

¹⁸⁷ August Hermann Francke, *Der Briefwechsel Carl Hildebrand von Cansteins mit August Hermann Francke* (Walter de Gruyter, 1972), 41–42; See also: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, François Duchesneau, and Justin E. H. Smith, *The Leibniz-Stahl Controversy* (Yale University Press, 2016).

exactly the soul as explanatory in matters regarding bodily motions, since this also entails organs. Not only can we not make our heart stop by the power of our minds or start it again with our will, but we also do not need to constantly worry about the body in order to keep the heart beating. Instead of a relationship governed by will, Leibniz maintains that a harmonious accordance may better explain this: the organs may or may not work regardless of whether we want them to. Hence, a life force cannot be understood relative to the will of our soul.

Stahl answers that the body does set different limits to the will. In fact, if we were to understand the body-soul relationship as one of harmony, then what one willed should come about. To Stahl, freedom also consists of the possibility to dare something impossible: “However a *free* agent even *can* even, if not accomplish, at least *dare* to do what *cannot* be done. And this is most familiar to the *human* soul as it stands today, namely that we do see that even brute animals often attempt with the greatest energy to do that which they do not happen to accomplish and bring to full act.”¹⁸⁸ Hence for Stahl, the soul’s willfulness towards the body did not simply consist of its ability to control it, but rather of a disharmonious relation between body and soul. Here, freedom appears more clearly in the attempts to do the impossible than in the attempts to do what is possible. As an answer to Leibniz, he holds that Leibniz cannot simply presuppose pre-established harmony, but needs a notion of disharmony: “[I]s there something, indeed a great number of things, which would exist and be produced, notwithstanding *any pre-established harmony*, but outside of it, plainly *by* and *according* to another *principle*? And to what should it be related? Should it be to a positive *disharmony*, also *pre-established*? For certainly this will necessarily be produced *by* or *according* to another principle, a principle of *contrary harmony*.”¹⁸⁹ We see through Leibniz’s objections a specification of Stahl’s position: Stahl does not equate the soul with consciousness, meaning that the function of the soul as life force may be regarded – to use a modern term – as unconscious. Equally, what we may regard as the free will of the soul cannot simply be conceived as its control of the body; rather, its freedom appears in its conflictual relation with the body. Despite the institutionalization of a scientific medicine based on anatomy, the key architects behind the Medical Edict of 1725 were none other than Stahl and his follower Johann Theodor Eller.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ STAHL, G. E. *Stahlii Negotium Otiosum Seu, Σκιαμαχία Adversus Positiones Aliquas Fundamentales, Theoriæ Veræ Medicæ a Viro Quodam Celeberrimo Intentata, Sed Adversis Armis Conversis Enervata*, XXVI.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXVI.

¹⁹⁰ Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, “German Medical Education in the Eighteenth Century: The Prussian Context and Its Influence,” in *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 204.

Kant: a free-thinker in the Republic of Letters

“He [Schulz] asked us about our names, our [knowledge of] languages, our teachers, and about our intentions in studying. Kant said he wanted to become a medical doctor ...”¹⁹¹ This anecdote stems from an early friend of Kant, a co-student named Heilsberg. Although a student at the Albertina had to be inscribed in one of the three higher faculties, there are no documents of Kant ever having been so when he joined the university in 1740.¹⁹² As it has generally been regarded that Kant intended to study theology, his potential interest in medicine has hardly been investigated. Had he wanted to study medicine, he would have required private studies with a professor in all parts of medicine in order to prepare for the medical cursus, the exam in Berlin; equally, he would have had to follow four lectures on a daily basis for five years in the different parts of medicine.¹⁹³ Kant’s interests seem to have been of a broader kind. The only one who has followed up on the possibility is Arnoldt, who rhetorically asks: “So did Kant really think about becoming a *medicus*? Perhaps something like a *medicus* of metaphysics, but certainly not a practical physician – [he would have thought] just as little [about being] a practical theologian.”¹⁹⁴ In light of Rappolt’s fate, Arnoldt may have hit the mark more accurately than one would care to think. There is little to suggest that Kant studied theology and little to imply Kant wished to become a practicing physician. However, Rappolt’s story suggests the importance of having a medical background in order to become professor of natural philosophy; and, when one regards Kant’s early writings, this is what one finds him to be.

In 1747, a text by the otherwise unknown author Immanuel Kant appeared with the title *Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces*. It was met with an epigram by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing:

Kant, commencing the hardest of courses,
Is daring the world to educate,
And investigates the living forces.

¹⁹¹ Malter and Kant, *Philosophische Bibliothek, Bd.329, Immanuel Kant in Rede und Gespräch.*, 21; Translation from Kuehn, *Kant*, 72.

¹⁹² See Rudolf Reicke und Ernst Wichert, *Altpreussische Monatsschrift neue Folge.*, 1881, 631.

¹⁹³ Friedrich August Walter, *Alte malerkunst und Johann Gottlieb Walter’s ... leben und werke* (Hasselberg, 1821), XXV–XXXVI.

¹⁹⁴ Emil Arnoldt asks: “Denn sollte Kant wirklich daran gedacht haben, ein Medicus zu werden? Vielleicht so etwas wie ein Medicus der Metaphysik, aber gewiss nicht ein praktischer Arzt, – ebenso wenig, als ein praktischer Theolog.” Wichert, *Altpreussische Monatsschrift neue Folge.*, 1881, 623.

But his own he fails to estimate.¹⁹⁵

At the time of the publication, Kant was 22 years old. He had left university without a degree. His *Thoughts* was written in German instead of Latin and therefore was not intended as a dissertation. The dedication was addressed “to that most noble, learned and experienced Gentleman, Mr. Johann Christoph Bohlius, Doctor of Medicine, Second Professor *Ordinarius* at the Königsberg Academy and Royal Physician, my most Revered Patron,”¹⁹⁶ to whom he declared to remain his “most obliged servant.”¹⁹⁷ At the age of 22, Kant was engaging with a matter which was initially discussed in *Acta Eruditorum*. In doing so, Kant entered a debate with most of the members of the Petersburg Academy: “If I presume to reject the thought of a Herr von Leibniz, Wolff, Herrmann, Bernoulli, Bülfinger and others and to give precedence to my own, then I would not wish to have worse judges than they, for I know that their judgment, should it reject my opinions, would not condemn my intent.”¹⁹⁸ It is remarkable, how Kant, without being an established authority, uses the first person: “I believe I have cause to hold such a good opinion of the world’s judgment, to which I submit these pages, that the liberty I take of contradicting great men will not be construed as a crime. There was a time when one had much to fear in such a venture...”¹⁹⁹ In this sense, he follows the dictum of Fischer by aiming for a free and critical testing of authorities precisely through experiments. With the fate of Fischer and Wolff in mind, it is, however, not surprising that he at the same time appealed to the opportunity to speak freely even against established authorities:

In the age of distinctions, which was also a time of unrefined customs, one would have answered that the conclusions should be judged in abstraction from all personal merits of their authors. The politeness of

¹⁹⁵ Kuehn, *Kant*, 95.

¹⁹⁶ Immanuel Kant, “Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces and Assessment of the Demonstrations That Leibniz and Other Scholars of Mechanics Have Made Use of in This Controversial Subject, Together with Some Prefatory Considerations Pertaining to the Force of Bodies in General (1746-1749),” in *Natural Science*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge Univ Press, 2012), 12. “Dem Hochedelgebornen, Hochgelahrten und Hoherfahrnen Herrn, Herrn Johann Christoph Bohlius, der Medicin Doctor und zweiten ordentlichen Professor auf der Akademie zu Königsberg, wie auch Königlichen Leibmedico, meinem insonders Hochzuehrenden Gönner.” AA I: 3.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 13. “verpflichtester Diener” AA I: 6.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 14. “Wenn ich es unternehme die Gedanken eines Herrn von Leibniz, Wolffen, Hermanns, Bernoulli, Bülfingers und anderer zu verwerfen und den meinigen den Vorzug einzuräumen, so wollte ich auch nicht gerne schlechtere Richter als dieselbe haben, denn ich weiß, ihr Urtheil, wenn es meine Meinungen verwürfe, würde die Absicht derselben doch nicht verdammen.” AA I: 7.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. “Ich glaube, ich habe Ursache von dem Urtheile der Welt, dem ich diese Blätter überliefere, eine so gute Meinung zu fassen, daß diejenige Freiheit, die ich mir herausnehme, großen Männern zu widersprechen, mir für kein Verbrechen werde ausgelegt werden. Es war eine Zeit, da man bei einem solchen Unterfangen viel zu befürchten hatte...” AA I: 7.

*this century, however, places me under an entirely different law. It would be inexcusable if my manner of expression violated the high esteem that the merit of great men demands of me. But I am sure this is not the case.*²⁰⁰

Kant did not directly address professors at the university but scholarly gentlemen, freethinkers, or members of learned societies. In the *Societas Physicae Experimentalis* in Danzig, the experiments of the *Acta Eruditorum* were repeated and put to the test,²⁰¹ so Kant's choice of topic and possible audience seems spot on. To dedicate the book to Bohl also meant drawing upon his position in academic societies in Danzig and St. Petersburg as well as in Königsberg. It is not surprising that it was initially reviewed in Göttingen²⁰² where Bohl's close friend Albrecht von Haller was professor.

The text scarcely received the kind of attention for which Kant had wished: but what did he wish for? Historical appreciation for the text is scarce. As Polonoff notes, "Kant [...] was delving into metaphysical matters at a time when science needed to analyze, simplify, and reduce the multiplicity of accepted principles. The spirit that animated D'Alembert and others passed him by."²⁰³ According to Polonoff, Kant was addressing a problem, that of how to estimate living force, which had already been solved by D'Alembert, and he made the attempt in the unfashionable manner of metaphysics. When Leibniz criticized Descartes's estimation of the conservation of force through the formula mv , he held that the true estimation of living force would be mv^2 . Polonoff points out that Kant's position in the matter was "...an odd one. He agreed that living forces exist and admitted that they could be measured by the product of mass by velocity squared, but he denied that the manner in which the Leibnizians accounted for the existence and measure of *vis viva* was correct. In fact, he considered the Leibnizians' derivation to be mathematical and in this respect the Cartesian estimation was strictly speaking better justified."²⁰⁴ If it was expected that Kant should join one of the two sides in the matter or come up with a new formula that would once and for all solve the matter, his position would certainly be regarded an "odd one". However, the narrow disciplinary analysis which only considers Kant's text as part of an on-going

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 18. "Zu der Zeit der Unterscheidungen, welche auch die Zeit der Rauigkeit der Sitten war, würde man geantwortet haben: daß man die Sätze von allen persönlichen Vorzügen ihrer Urheber abgesondert beurtheilen müsse. Die Höflichkeit dieses Jahrhunderts aber legt mir ein ganz ander Gesetz auf. Ich würde nicht zu entschuldigen sein, wenn die Art meines Ausdrucks die Hochachtung, die das Verdienst großer Männer von mir fordert, beleidigte. Allein ich bin versichert, daß dieses nicht sei." AA I: 12.

²⁰¹ See Januszajtis, "Societas Physicae Experimentalis - The First Physics Society in Poland. The Origins of the Society."

²⁰² See *Göttingische Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen: auf das Jahr. 1750* (Univ.-Buchh., 1750), 290–94.

²⁰³ Polonoff, *Force, Cosmos, Monads and Other Themes of Kant's Early Thought*, 42.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 40.

contribution to the development of mechanics may overlook what Kant is doing when entering into the debate. Rather than giving a mathematical answer, he wants to show the limits of mathematics when measuring something like living forces. It was a way of demonstrating the limits of mathematics. To understand this, however, we need to approach the text as something more than a work on mechanics.

Measuring the Soul

To understand what Kant was dealing with when entering into the debate about living forces, we have to ask about the position of this question within a larger framework. As late as 1796, when reflecting on “the physiological systems of our own day,” Kant noted:

...that now instead of the word 'soul', we have taken to using that of living force (and rightly so, since from an effect we can certainly infer to the force that produces it, but not forthwith to a substance specially adapted to this type of effect); we locate life, therefore, in the action of animating forces (life-impulse) and the ability to react to them (living-capacity), and call that man healthy in whom a proportionate stimulus produces neither an excessive nor an altogether too small effect: while conversely, the animalic operation of nature will pass over into a chemical one, which has decay as its consequence, so that it is not (as used to be thought) decay that must follow from and after death, but death that must follow from the preceding decay.²⁰⁵

The notion of the soul as a principle of life had undergone a transformation from being interpreted as a substantial principle through Leibniz to be interpreted as force. The measurement of living force hence signifies two things: on the one hand, an attempt to measure the soul and, on the other, a distortion of this attempt separating it from any interest in the human soul by isolating it as a distinct mathematical problem of measurement.

²⁰⁵ Immanuel Kant, “Proclamation of the Imminent Conclusion of a Treaty of Perpetual Peace in Philosophy (1796),” in *Theoretical Philosophy after 1781*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 453. “...daß man jetzt statt des Worts Seele das der Lebenskraft zu brauchen beliebt hat (woran man auch Recht thut: weil von einer Wirkung gar wohl auf eine Kraft, die sie hervorbringt, aber nicht sofort auf eine besonders zu dieser Art Wirkung geeignete Substanz geschlossen werden kann), das Leben aber in der Einwirkung reizender Kräfte (dem Lebensreiz) und dem Vermögen auf reizende Kräfte zurückwirken (dem Lebensvermögen) setzt und denjenigen Menschen gesund nennt, in welchem ein proportionirlicher Reiz weder eine übermäßige noch eine gar zu geringe Wirkung hervorbringt: indem widrigenfalls die animalische Operation der Natur in eine chemische übergehen werde, welche Fäulniß zur Folge hat, so daß nicht (wie man sonst glaubte) die Fäulniß aus und nach dem Tode, sondern der Tod aus der vorhergehenden Fäulniß erfolgen müsse.” AA VIII, 413.

For Kant, the debate on living forces proves to be a critical investigation of the endeavor to measure the soul understood as a life force: he uses it to reflect a specific understanding of the body-soul relationship. When Bilfinger first came to Königsberg in 1724, he had just published his *De harmonia animi et corporis humani, maxime praestabilita, ex mente illustris Leibnitii, commentatio hypothetica*.²⁰⁶ In this work, he systematized the huge variety of existing philosophical positions and reduced them to three basic positions on the relationship between the body and soul. While the occasionalist position, which held that the causal relation between body and soul were ascribed to God, only had a minor influence in the German debates, the two latter positions, pre-established harmony and physical influx, came to play an important role. While the position of physical influx argued for a causal relation between body and soul, the position held by the Leibniz-Wolff school argued the impossibility of any causal relationship between two qualitatively different substances. Instead, it was argued, the body and soul changed in parallel due to a pre-established harmony. During the 1720s and 30s, however, several followers of the Leibniz-Wolffian school began to argue for physical influx as the most probable position.

This is why Kant introduces the text with metaphysical reflexions regarding the body and soul. The problem is, Kant interjects, that "...we always think of the motion that would result if resistance were removed."²⁰⁷ In this understanding, a body containing force can only be at rest if it encounters resistance. "But motion is commonly regarded as what force produces when it really breaks loose and what is the sole effect of force."²⁰⁸ This equivalent of force with motion "...is why it is so difficult in metaphysics to imagine how matter is capable of producing representations in the human soul in a truly effective manner (i.e., through physical influence). What, one asks, does matter do except cause motions? Hence, at most, all its force will end up moving the soul from its location. But how is it possible for a force that produces only motions to generate representations and ideas? These are, after all such different kinds of things that it is incomprehensible how the one can be the source of the other."²⁰⁹ Equally difficult is the reversed question of how the soul "is

²⁰⁶ Georg Bernhard Bilfinger, *De Harmonia Animi Et Corporis Humani, Maxime Praestabilita, Ex Mente Illustris Leibnitii, Commentatio Hypothesica: Accedunt Solutiones Difficultatum, ab Erudissimis Viris, DNN. Foucherio, Baylio, Lamio, Tourneminio, Newtono, Clarkio, atque Stahllo motarum* (Mezler, 1723).

²⁰⁷ Kant, "Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces and Assessment of the Demonstrations That Leibniz and Other Scholars of Mechanics Have Made Use of in This Controversial Subject, Together with Some Prefatory Considerations Pertaining to the Force of Bodies in General (1746-1749)," 24. "...so denken wir immer auf die Bewegung zurück, die erfolgen würde, wenn man den Widerstand wegräumte." AA I: 19-20.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. "Allein gemeiniglich wird die Bewegung als dasjenige angesehen, was die Kraft thut, wenn sie recht losbricht, und was die einzige Folge derselben ist." AA I: 20

²⁰⁹ Ibid. "Denn eben daher wird es in der Metaphysik so schwer, sich vorzustellen, wie die Materie im Stande sei, in der Seele des Menschen auf eine in der That wirksame Art (das ist, durch den physischen Einfluß) Vorstellungen hervorzubringen. Was thut die Materie anders, sagt man, als daß sie Bewegungen verursache? Daher wird alle ihre

capable of setting matter in motion.”²¹⁰ In order to solve this question, Kant points to a specific understanding of the soul as having a place for a possible solution:

Both difficulties disappear, however, and more than a little light is shed on physical influence, when the force of matter is ascribed not to motion, but rather to its actions on other substances, actions that must not be further specified. For the question whether the soul can cause motions, that is, whether it has moving force, is transformed into the question whether its essential force can be determined toward an externally directed action, that is, whether it is capable of acting outside itself on other entities and of producing changes. One can answer this question decisively by saying that the soul must be able to act externally by reason of the fact that it is in a location. For when we analyse the concept of what we call location, we find that it suggests the actions of substances on one another. All that kept a certain acute author from making the triumph of physical influence over pre-established harmony complete was nothing more than this little confusion of concepts, a confusion that is easily overcome as soon as one's attention is directed to it.”²¹¹

By having a location, the soul is by definition already understood as being in a relation with other things in space, meaning that its possibility to act on things is already presupposed. This definition, however, says more about the soul than about motion as such, as the soul may also be changed through changes in location. The soul may itself be a moving force, however: “It is incorrect to describe motion as a kind of action, and thus to attribute to it a force of the same name.”²¹² While an action may always be a motion, not every motion is an action. The question is thus: as only motions are empirically accessible, how does one distinguish between the motions

Kraft darauf hinaus laufen, daß sie höchstens die Seele aus ihrem Orte verrücke. Allein wie ist es möglich daß die Kraft, die allein Bewegungen hervorbringt, Vorstellungen und Idden erzeugen sollte? Dieses sind ja so unterschiedene Geschlechter von Sachen, daß es nicht begreiflich ist, wie eine die Quelle der andern sein könne.” AA I: 20.

²¹⁰ Ibid. “...ob die Seele auch im Stande sei die Materie in Bewegung zu setzen.” AA I: 20.

²¹¹ Ibid., 24–25. Beide Schwierigkeiten verschwinden aber, und der physische Einfluß bekommt kein geringes Licht, wenn man die Kraft der Materie nicht auf die Rechnung der Bewegung, sondern der Wirkungen in andre Substanzen, die man nicht näher bestimmen darf, setzt. Denn die Frage, ob die Seele Bewegungen verursachen könne, das ist, ob sie eine bewegende Kraft habe, verwandelt sich in diese: ob ihre wesentliche Kraft zu einer Wirkung nach draußen könne bestimmt werden, das ist, ob sie außer sich in andere Wesen zu wirken und Veränderungen hervorzubringen fähig sei? Diese Frage kann man auf eine ganz entscheidene Art dadurch beantworten: daß die Seele nach draußen aus diesem Grunde müsse wirken können, weil sie in einem Orte ist. Denn wenn wir den Begriff von demjenigen zergliedern, was wir den Ort nennen, so findet man, daß er die Wirkungen der Substanzen in einander andeutet. Es hat also einen gewissen scharfsinnigen Schriftsteller nicht mehr verhindert, den Triumph des physischen Einflusses über die vorherbestimmte Harmonie vollkommen zu machen, als diese kleine Verwirrung der Begriffe, aus der man sich leichtlich herausfindet, sobald man nur seine Aufmerksamkeit darauf richtet.” AA I: 20–21

²¹² Ibid., 23. “Man redet nicht richtig, wenn man die Bewegung zu einer Art Wirkungen macht und ihr deswegen eine gleichnamige Kraft beilegt.” AA I: 18.

deriving from material causation and the kind of motions caused spontaneously by the soul as actions?

It is said that a body in motion has a force. For everyone describing the overcoming of obstacles, the compressing of springs, and the shifting of masses as 'acting.' If one looks no further than to what the senses teach, one will consider this force as something communicated solely and entirely from the outside, something the body does not have when it is at rest. With the sole exception of Aristotle, the whole lot of philosophers prior to Leibniz was of this opinion.²¹³

In order to discover a distinct kind of movement which can be regarded as action, one has to go beyond empirical observations, which is Leibniz's great contribution. "Leibniz, to whom human reason owes so much, was the first to teach that an essential force inheres in a body and belongs to it even prior to extension."²¹⁴ He gave this the name of active force. What Kant appreciates in Leibniz's discovery is the distinction between dead force, which originates from material causation, and living forces, which have the properties of *free motion*. With living forces, "...the state in which a substance is found as it continues in free motion with a certain velocity is completely grounded in internal determinations, this substance endeavours at the same time to maintain itself in this state."²¹⁵ While at first complimenting Leibniz for his discovery of these phenomena of living forces, Kant notes that Leibniz was limited in his ability to describe them as spontaneous, free actions: "Leibniz should not have specified actual motion alone as the mark of living force; it was also necessary to add free motion. For if the motion is not free, then the body will never have living force."²¹⁶ What Leibniz believed to be a great achievement, as it "...can be used in physics and it provides a method for reducing forces to geometrical calculation",²¹⁷ Kant finds to be problematic: "...mathematics can never offer any proofs in favour of living forces, and that a force estimated in this way, even if it does take place, nevertheless lies outside the domain of

²¹³ Ibid., 22. "Man sagt, daß ein Körper, der in Bewegung ist, eine Kraft habe. Denn Hindernisse überwinden, Federn spannen, Massen verrücken: dieses nennt alle Welt wirken. Wenn man nicht weiter sieht, als etwa die Sinne lehren, so hält man diese Kraft für etwas, was dem Körper ganz und gar von draußen mitgetheilt worden, und wovon er nichts hat, wenn er in Ruhe ist. Der ganze Haufe der Weltweisen vor Leibnizen war dieser Meinung, den einzigen Aristoteles ausgenommen." AA I: 17.

²¹⁴ Ibid. "Leibniz, dem die menschliche Vernunft so viel z verdanken hat, lehrte zuerst, daß dem Körper eine wesentliche Kraft beiwohne, die sogar noch vor der Ausdehnung zukommt." AA I: 17.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 32. "Weil der Zustand, in welchem die Substanz sich befindet, indem sie in freier Bewegung mit einer gewissen Geschwindigkeit fortläuft, sich auf den innerlichen Bestimmungen vollkommen gründet [...]." AA I 30

²¹⁶ Ibid., 35. "Er hätte nicht eine wirkliche Bewegung allein als das Kennzeichen der lebendigen Kraft angeben sollen, es war auch nöthig eine freie Bewegung hinzuzusetzen. Denn wenn die Bewegung nicht frei ist, so hat der Körper niemals eine lebendige Kraft." AA I: 34.

²¹⁷ See Polonoff, *Force, Cosmos, Monads and Other Themes of Kant's Early Thought*, 10.

mathematical consideration.”²¹⁸ As the mathematical approach to living force divides movement into points in time, it fails to capture the actual free movement of living force. One should, however, not disregard the insights one gains from the mathematical understanding of living forces, but be aware of its limits. It is by engagement with the mathematical problem from the point of view of metaphysics that Kant becomes able to pinpoint the limits of mathematics:

After such varied and great efforts by geometers of these two centuries to dispose of the disagreement between Descartes and Herr von Leibniz with the help of mathematical doctrines, it may appear rather strange that I should begin by denying that this science can decide the issue. Some time ago there was indeed an argument over whether this science favors Descartes’s laws or whether it defends Herr von Leibniz’s party. But everyone in this conflict agreed that one must rely on the verdict of mathematics to settle the issue of the estimation of forces.²¹⁹

Negative Magnitudes

On 23 August 1749, Kant wrote to professor of medicine Albrecht von Haller, Bohl’s close friend in Göttingen, offering him a copy of his *thoughts on the living forces*, on which, as he wrote, “so much depends within the doctrine of nature.”²²⁰ Von Haller had engaged with living forces as a physiological phenomenon since the late 1740s in order to initiate his anatomical and physiological experiments in the years between 1750 and 1752, which resulted in his *Dissertation on the Sensible and Irritable Parts of Animals*.²²¹ This dissertation dealt with the human body, as is made clear through its German title. Kant’s thoughts were reviewed in the Göttingen journal,²²²

²¹⁸ Kant, “Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces and Assessment of the Demonstrations That Leibniz and Other Scholars of Mechanics Have Made Use of in This Controversial Subject, Together with Some Prefatory Considerations Pertaining to the Force of Bodies in General (1746-1749),” 40. “...daß die Mathematik niemals einige Beweise zum Vortheil der lebendigen Kräfte darbieten könne, und daß eine auf diese Weise geschätzte Kraft, wenn sie sonst gleich statt hat, dennoch zum wenigsten außerhalb dem Gebiete der mathematischen Betrachtung sei.” AA I: 40.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 41. “Nach so vielfältigen und großen Bemühungen, die sich die Geometrer dieser beiden Jahrhunderte gemacht haben, die Streitsache des Cartes und des Herrn von Leibniz durch die Lehren der Mathematik abzuthun, scheint es sehr seltsam zu sein, daß ich anfangs dieser Wissenschaft die Entscheidung derselben abzusprechen. Man hat zwar eine Zeit her gestritten, ob diese Wissenschaft Cartesens Gesetze günstig sei, oder ob sie die Partei des Herrn von Leibniz vertheidige. Allein bei diesem Zweispalte ist jedermann darin einig: daß man es, um die Streitfrage der Kräftenschätzung recht aufzulösen, auf den Ausspruch der Mathematik müsse ankommen lassen.” AA I: 41.

²²⁰ “darauf in der Naturlehre so vieles ankommt” AA X: 1.

²²¹ Albrecht von Haller, *Abhandlung des Herrn von Haller von den empfindlichen und reizbaren Theilen des menschlichen Leibes* (Jacobi, 1756). For further on von Haller’s discovery see: Hubert Steinke, *Irritating Experiments: Haller’s Concept and the European Controversy on Irritability and Sensibility, 1750-90* (Rodopi, 2005).

²²² Kant reception in *Göttingischen Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* 1750 (p. 290-294)

although he did not gain any further fame for these early thoughts. To von Haller, however, he had promised that “I have another continuation of these thoughts in preparation.”²²³

Kant’s hopes for the future give us an understanding of the work. It was not a piece of mechanical science or math, but rather an attempt to show the limits of this approach and pave the way for an empirical investigation. In addressing the question of living force, Kant did not think, as most commentators presuppose, that it should be addressed as a purely mechanical question; on the contrary, the entire context for investigating living force was that of medicine. Although the aim was to describe this mechanically, what a close reading of Kant’s involvement shows is that he did not simply attempt to give a mathematical answer, but also sought to show that a mechanical-mathematical solution of the matter was, although useful, a reductionist approach to understanding living force.

Despite his exemplary demonstration of “vitalist” tendencies in Kant’s early work, Simon Schaffer unfortunately upholds Kant’s work on living forces as a mechanical-mathematical work in order to depict a “transition from the discussion of purely mathematical forces in his essay on *Living forces* of 1747, to the vitalist tendencies already clearly visible in the *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte* and his thesis *De igne* of 1755.”²²⁴ However, as we have seen, what is at the core of Kant’s argument in the text on *living forces* is precisely a “vitalist” understanding of matter. Kant may write within a mechanistic language, but he does so partly to show the limits of such a perspective. The physiological experimentalist perspective that von Haller was developing pointed in a different direction. Albrecht von Haller was partly critical of Stahl’s understanding of the soul as a living force.²²⁵ According to von Haller, one needed to carefully distinguish between different forms, which one can only determine through experiments.²²⁶ Von Haller differentiated between two different forms of living forces: irritability, which he understood as muscular contractions, and sensibility, which he understood as that “which is presented to the soul through touch.”²²⁷ While he understood the former as involuntary motions, he understood the latter, standing in relation to the soul, as voluntary motions. Von Haller’s distinction, rather than operating within the framework of freedom and necessity, seems to adopt a different framework between the involuntary motions of irritability and the voluntary motions of sensibility.

²²³ “Ich habe noch eine Fortsetzung dieser Gedanken in Bereitschaft” AA X: 1.

²²⁴ Schaffer, “The Phoenix of Nature,” 191.

²²⁵ See Haller, *Abhandlung des Herrn von Haller von den empfindlichen und reizbaren Theilen des menschlichen Leibes*, 37–38.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

²²⁷ „Einen empfindlichen Theil des menschlichen Leibes nenne ich denjenigen, dessen Berührung der Seele vorgestellt wird; [...]“ *Ibid.*

Following up on his friend's work back in Königsberg, Bohl, in his *On the necessary prudence in which experiences on the insensibility of the tendons in living creatures are to be made*,²²⁸ perceived the division of living forces as the key to self-government. For the doctor, it was important to be able to distinguish carefully between the two forces in order to give the proper treatment. It was equally important to be able to attune these two opposing forces to each other, as it was through this attunement "...that man becomes this whole man, and only through this can he assert the nobility of his humanity, direct, change, repeat, renew, and maintain his movements through a wonderful mastery of himself."²²⁹ It is this medical notion between two opposing forces, which comes to be at the heart of anthropology as an on-going riddle for man's inability to understand himself. As Kant would write in his *Universal Natural History and Theory of Heaven*, "we are not even properly familiar with what a human being actually is, even though consciousness and our senses should inform us about it."²³⁰

It is through this conflict that Kant initially begins to formulate the moral questions of human practice in the conclusion of his *Universal Natural History*: "The action of reflection and of ideas enlightened by reason is an arduous state into which the soul cannot place itself without resistance and out of which it soon falls back into the passive state by natural tendency of the bodily machine since the sensory stimulations determine and govern all its actions."²³¹ Man has a tendency to fall "back into the passive state," making moral actions an active struggle. A few years later, Kant followed up on these thoughts in his *Attempt to Introduce the Concept of Negative Magnitudes into Philosophy* (1763), where he describes this conflict as the origin of human fallibility, which is implicitly a specific characteristic of humanity: "Human beings are capable of error: the ground of this fallibility is to be found in the finitude of man's nature, for if I analyse the concept of a finite mind, I see that fallibility is to be found in it. In other words, I recognise that fallibility

²²⁸ Johann Christoph Bohl, *Von der nöthigen Vorsichtigkeit bey denen in lebendigen Geschöpfen anzustellenden Erfahrungen, von der Unempfindlichkeit der Sehnen*, 1766.

²²⁹ "...durch welche der Mensch dieser ganze Mensch wird, und nur hiedurch den Adel seiner Menschlichkeit behauptet, seine Bewegungen durch eine wundervolle Herrschaft über sich selbst richtet, verändert, wiederholt erneuret, einhält." *Ibid.*, 2.

²³⁰ Immanuel Kant, "Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens or Essay on the Constitution and the Mechanical Origin of the Whole Universe according to Newtonian Principles," in *Natural Science*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge Univ Press, n.d.), 307. "Es ist uns nicht einmal recht bekannt, was der Mensch anjetzt wirklich ist, ob uns gleich das Bewußtsein und die Sinne hievon belehren sollten [...]." AA I: 366.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 299. "Die Handlung des Nachdenkens und der durch die Vernunft aufgeklärten Vorstellungen ist ein mühsamer Zustand, darein die Seele sich nicht ohne Widerstand setzen kann, und aus welchem sie durch einen natürlichen Hang der körperlichen Maschine alsbald in den leidenden Zustand zurückfällt, da die sinnlichen Reizungen alle ihre Handlungen bestimmen und regieren." AA I: 357.

is identical with what is contained in the concept of a mind.”²³² While an animal cannot act in any other way than according to its nature and therefore can do neither right nor wrong,²³³ man, who is driven by two forces, is capable of error because he has the capacity to do right.

Although it is tempting to ascribe this conflict between right and wrong to a particular Christian notion, it is important to note how Kant develops his line of argument against Christian dogma. In a critical remark, he writes:

*I realise, of course, that readers of an enlightened understanding will have found the above explanation unnecessarily long. But I shall be pardoned for my discursiveness if they remember that, apart from themselves, there is a breed of people who are not very amenable to teaching, and who, having spent their whole lives poring over a single book, understand nothing which is not contained therein; in their case even the most extreme discursiveness would not be superfluous.*²³⁴

Kant’s critical remark on people who only read the Bible is not merely a remark regarding the reader, but one that also refers back to the content of his text. In his *Attempt to introduce the concept of negative magnitudes into philosophy*, Kant draws on the new natural philosophy in order to give an understanding of the concept of negation distinct from the scholastic conception. While the concept of negation in scholastic metaphysics consisted of the negation of a positive logically resulting in nothing, the negative magnitude Kant found in the new natural philosophy referred to something real, a positive force which would conflict with and negate another positive force through actual opposition. As he noted, “suppose that motive force is a positive ground: a real conflict can only occur in so far as there is a second motive force connected with it, and in so far as each reciprocally cancels the effect of the other.”²³⁵ This, for example, makes it possible to understand rest not as the absence of action, but as the result of one positive force negating another positive force.

²³² Immanuel Kant, “Attempt to Introduce the Concept of Negative Magnitudes into Philosophy (1763),” in *Theoretical Philosophy, 1755-1770* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 240. “Der Mensch kann fehlen; der Grund dieser Fehlbarkeit liegt in der Endlichkeit seiner Natur, denn wenn ich den Begriff eines endlichen Geistes auflöse, so sehe ich, daß die Fehlbarkeit in demselben liege, das ist, einerlei sei mit demjenigen, was in Begriffe eines Geistes enthalten ist.” AA II: 202

²³³ *Ibid.*, 221–22. AA II: 183.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 223. “Ich bemerke wohl: daß Lesern von aufgeklärter Einsicht die bisherige Erläuterung weitläufiger vorkommen werde, als nöthig ist. Allein man wird mich entschuldigen, so bald man bedenkt, daß es sonst noch ein sehr ungelehriges Geschlecht von Beurtheilern gebe, welche, indem sie ihr Leben nur mit einem einzigen Buche zubringen, nichts verstehen, als was darin enthalten ist, und in Ansehung deren die äußerste Weitläufigkeit nicht überflüssig ist.” AA II: 184

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 215. “Es sei Bewegkraft ein positiver Grund: so kann ein realer Widerstreit nur statt finden, in so fern eine andere Bewegkraft mit ihr in Verknüpfung sich gegenseitig die Folge aufheben.” AA II: 175–176.

However, for Kant, the concepts of real opposition are not simply applicable to the description of natural forces; for him, it is imperative to demonstrate how they "...also have a useful application in moral philosophy."²³⁶ It is here where he breaks with scholastic philosophy by describing evil not simply as the absence of good (or God), but in itself a positive force. The inner law, as a positive reason to do good, can negate a positive inclination to do bad:

For vice can only occur in so far as a being has within him an inner law (either simply conscience or consciousness of a positive law as well), which is contravened by his actions. This inner law is a positive reason for a good action, and the consequence can only be zero if the consequence which would result from consciousness of the law on its own is cancelled. What we have here is, accordingly, a deprivation, a real opposition, and not merely a lack.²³⁷

By making the leap from the natural description of living forces to moral matters, Kant also adopts a new additional perspective in his attempt to understand human life as something where the basic characteristic of man is life, which has understanding. However, one does not need to see this leap as a step away from medicine and natural philosophy towards philosophy, but rather as a step from one form of medicine to another. In her work on Georg Ernst Stahl, Johanna Geyer-Kordesch has shown how Stahl's thoughts survived through his function as court physician. Although Stahl's medical practice was not institutionalized in the medical colleges, "the actual healing practices to which patients turned – at court as well as elsewhere – speak for a major concern with the diagnosis and context of illness."²³⁸ The lay practices of 18th-century medicine did not reflect the ideas cultivated in the anatomical theatre as much as the practices of "diagnosis and to interpret and manage disease."²³⁹ It was the accounts of "observations at the bedside" (*observations clinicae*) which were communicated through the medical literature, creating a language for the interpretation of the body and the mind. This means, as Geyer-Kordesch suggests, "...that the historian has to recognize the discursive quality of a transfer in medical knowledge which chose language and 'signs', not inductive science, as its medium."²⁴⁰ To

²³⁶ Ibid., 221. "Die Begriffe der realen Entgegensetzung haben auch ihre nützliche Anwendung in der praktischen Weltweisheit." AA II: 182.

²³⁷ Ibid. "Denn Untugend kann nur Statt finden, in so fern als in einem Wesen ein inneres Gesetz ist (entweder bloß das Gewissen oder auch das Bewußtsein eines positiven Gesetzes), welchem entgegengehandelt wird. Dieses innere Gesetz ist ein positiver Grund einer guten Handlung, und die Folge kann bloß darum Zero sein, weil diejenige, welche aus dem Bewußtsein des Gesetzes allein fließen würde, aufgehoben wird. Es ist also hier eine Beraubung, eine reale Entgegensetzung und nicht bloß ein Mangel." AA II: 182-183.

²³⁸ Geyer-Kordesch, "Court Physicians and State Regulation," 170.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

understand the human life-form one needs to understand that its main characteristic is that it has understanding.

Method and Madness

The Perfect Child

In February 1764, a story written by Johann Georg Hamann appeared in the *Königsberger Gelehrte und Politische Zeitungen* about a peculiar creature, a Polish religious fanatic named Jan Pawlikowicz Zdomożyrskich Komarnicki – the so-called *goat-prophet*. The *goat-prophet*, who had come to Königsberg, was accompanied by a herd of cows, sheep, goats, and a little boy. His naked body was wrapped in animal skins and they both lived off the milk from the animals. The transformation of the goat-prophet had begun seven years earlier; suffering from stomach cramps and digestion problems, the prophet had fasted for 20 days and Jesus had appeared to him. He had initiated a seven-year-long pilgrimage. Referring to an anonymous piece that followed the account of Hamann, Kant's friend and biographer Ludwig Ernst von Borowski wrote the following: "Everyone went to observe the adventurer and his lad. Also K. who ... went there and made the following *raisonnement*."²⁴¹ The *raisonnement*, which was published anonymously next to Hamann's text, reads as follows:

According to the judgment of a local scholar, the most remarkable thing in the above note about the inspired faun and his lad for such eyes as gladly spy out raw nature, which commonly becomes very unrecognizable under the discipline to which human beings are subjected, is that the little wild one, who grew up in the woods, has learned to bid defiance to all hardships of weather with a joyful liveliness and whose face displays no vulgar frankness and has nothing about it of the stupid embarrassment which is an effect result of servitude or of the forced attentiveness in finer education; and to be brief, who seems to be (when one takes away that in which a few people have already corrupted him by teaching him to ask for money and to enjoy sweets), a perfect child in that understanding in which an experimental moralist could wish it, one who would be reasonable enough not to count the words of Herr Rousseau among the beautiful phantoms until he had tested them. At least this admiration, of which not all observers are capable, is less to be laughed at than that in which the notorious Silesian child with the golden tooth was

²⁴¹ "Jeder ging hin und betrachtete den Abentheurer und seinen Buben. Auch K. der sein Gutachten über die sonderbare Erscheinung zu geben, von Mehren aufgefordert ward, ging hin und machte folgendes *Raisonnement* bekannt:" Borowski, *Darstellung Des Lebens Und Charakters Immanuel Kant's*, 208.

held by many German scholars, until a goldsmith relieved them of the trouble of tiring themselves out any longer by explaining this wonder.²⁴²

It is the “*little wild one*” who catches Kant’s interest, not the religious fanatic. For Kant, this is a “*perfect child*” in the sense that it puts Jean Jacques Rousseau’s theories about society and human nature to the test. In his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, Rousseau had posed a severe critique of civil society and all its institutions, praising man as he was in his natural state before entering into a society.

If nature has destined us to be healthy, I almost dare to affirm that the state of reflection is a state contrary to nature and that the man who meditates is a depraved animal. When one thinks about the stout constitutions of the savages, at least of those whom we have not ruined with our strong liquors; when one becomes aware of the fact that they know almost no illnesses but wounds and old age, one is strongly inclined to believe that someone could easily write the history of human maladies by following the history of civil societies.²⁴³

Whereas the *goat-prophet* was already corrupted by society, the child was perhaps the closest a citizen of Königsberg could come to man in a state of nature. However, Kant went to see him not because he wanted to see the person described by Rousseau, but rather as an “experimental moralist” to test the writings of Rousseau.

The appearance of the *goat-prophet* and his *little wild one* was a spectacle, which, as its reception in the growing number of popular journals²⁴⁴ shows, fitted into a wider debate, to a large degree centered on Rousseau, about the status of civil society and its illnesses. Rousseau had put the enlightened status of civil society to the test. Following up on the anonymous text on the *little wild one*, Kant entered these debates within the popular journals as a stylist and essayist with “an excellent, lightly written and widely read essay”²⁴⁵ on the *maladies of the head*. Along with the publisher Johann Jakob Kanter Hamann, the editor of *Königsberger Gelehrte und Politische Zeitungen*, had been trying to get Kant to contribute to the journal.

²⁴² Immanuel Kant, *Anthropology, History, and Education* (Cambridge UK ;New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 63–64; Borowski, *Darstellung Des Lebens Und Charakters Immanuel Kant's*, 208.

²⁴³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings (Second Edition)* (Hackett Publishing, 2010), 50.

²⁴⁴ On the growing public in Königsberg see Botho Rehberg, *Geschichte der Königsberger Zeitungen und Zeitschriften* (Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1942); Wolfgang-Dieter Baur, *Johann Georg Hamann als Publizist: zum Verhältnis von Verkündigung und Öffentlichkeit* (Walter de Gruyter, 1991).

²⁴⁵ “Ein vortreflicher, leicht geschriebener und viel gelesener Aufsatz.” Borowski, *Darstellung Des Lebens Und Charakters Immanuel Kant's*, 64.

Finishing at the university, Kant had undergone a change. By 1755, he had successfully defended his thesis *A brief presentation of some thoughts concerning fire*, thus earning him the right to teach at the university. The *magister* and *privatdocent* did not receive any salary from the university, but were dependent on the fees from the students. Already in the first year, Kant lectured on mathematics, physics, logic, and metaphysics, and he soon added geography and ethics. Lectures had to be based on a textbook or compendium, and Kant was oriented towards Halle and Wolffian philosophy. In his lectures on logic, Kant used Georg Friedrich Meier's *Auszug aus der Vernunftlehre* (1752), Alexander Gottlieb Bamgarten's *Metaphysica* for his lectures on metaphysics, and his *Ethica* for his lectures on ethics. For mathematics, he used Wolff's *Anfangsgründe aller mathematischen Wissenschaften* (1710) and *Auszug aus den Anfangsgründen aller mathematischen Wissenschaften* (1713), while, at least his early lectures on physics, he used Johann Peter Eberhard's *Erste Gründe der Naturlehre* (1753).²⁴⁶ At this point, Kant already had an eye for metaphysics and logic, and in 1756 he applied for what he called the “most distinguished field of my endeavours,”²⁴⁷ the associate professorship in logic and metaphysics, which had been vacant since Knutzen's death in 1751. In the same year, the Seven Year's War had begun, making Königsberg subject to Russian administration by 1758. The occupation brought about a rise in commercial as well as cultural and social activity. Officers began to attend Kant's mathematics lectures, and he also gave private lessons (*privatissima*). Not just quantity but also popularity were essential to the success of Kant's lectures, which “were freely delivered, spiced with wit and good humour, often with quotations of books he had just read, and at times with anecdotes, which, however, were always relevant.”²⁴⁸ In 1763, Königsberg was abandoned by the Russian army; in 1766, he had earned enough money to move into his publisher Kanter's house.

The house held Kanter's bookshop, which functioned as an academic center.²⁴⁹ It was practically run like a library, with a reading room allowing students to read the newspapers for free two days a week. It held, lectures, debates, and readings. As August Hagen describes it, “at 11 o'clock, the learned notabilities gathered daily to confer with each other about the currents in the learned world. The political element of the establishment was at that time still noticeable.”²⁵⁰ Living in the house, Kant could borrow all the books he wanted and even take them to his room.

²⁴⁶ Kuehn, *Kant*, 108–9.

²⁴⁷ “vornehmsten Felde meiner Bestrebungen” AA X: 3.

²⁴⁸ See Kuehn, *Kant*, 106.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 159–60.

²⁵⁰ “Um elf Uhr versammelten sich täglich die gelehrten Notabilitäten und verhandelten mit einander über die Bewegung im Reich der Geister. Das politische Element der Unterhaltung war damals noch kaum bemerkbar.” A. Hagen, *Neue preussische Provinzial-blätter* (Königsberg: In commission bei Tag and Koch, 1850), 242.

For Kant, it was not only a time of writing but of excessive reading. Inspired by popular journals like Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *The Spectator*, a number of enlightened journals flourished. Alongside *Königsberger Gelehrte und Politische Zeitungen*, several learned medical journals also appeared with the aim to enlighten the public. Johann August Unzer, who was significantly entangled with the rational physicians of Halle who conflated medicine and philosophy,²⁵¹ published *Der Arzt. Eine medicinische Wochenschrift* from Hamburg,²⁵² while Peter Ernst Wilde, who had studied in Königsberg, began publishing his *Der Landarzt – The Country Doctor* in 1765 in Mittau.²⁵³ These popular journals provided substantial empirical material for anthropological research. The reader could reflect him or herself in the material. It was no coincidence that Rousseau, like others, had alluded to the inscription at the temple at Delphi when he spoke of knowledge of man:²⁵⁴ *Gnothi Seauton* (know thyself!) even came to be the title of one of the German medical journals.²⁵⁵ Understanding life was not simply understanding life as an object but as a subject with self-understanding. The reflection of one's self in one's reading was a double-edged sword: by reading studies on man, one could get to know one's self, but it also had the danger of becoming unhealthy or even harmful. As Kant later wrote:

*Since this sort of melancholia (hypochondria vaga) has no definite seat in the body and is a creature of the imagination, it could also be called fictitious disease, in which the patient finds in himself symptoms of every disease he reads about in books. The opposite of the mind's self-mastery, in other words, is fainthearted brooding about the ills that could befall one, and that one would not be able to withstand if they should come. It is a kind of insanity; for though some sort of unhealthy condition (such as flatulence or constipation) may be the source of it, this state is not felt immediately, as it affects the senses, but is misrepresented as impending illness by inventive imagination.*²⁵⁶

²⁵¹ Zelle, *Vernünftige Ärzte*.

²⁵² Johann August Unzer, *Der Arzt: Eine Medicinische Wochenschrift*, 3 (Berth, 1778); Matthias Reiber, *Anatomie Eines Bestsellers: Johann August Unzers Wochenschrift "Der Arzt" (1759-1764)* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1999).

²⁵³ Roger Bartlett, "German Popular Enlightenment in the Russian Empire: Peter Ernst Wilde and Catherine II," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 84, no. 2 (2006): 256–78.

²⁵⁴ Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings (Second Edition)*, 39.

²⁵⁵ Karl Philipp Moritz, *Gnothi sautón oder Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde als ein Lesebuch für Gelehrte und Ungelehrte* (Mylius, 1784).

²⁵⁶ Immanuel Kant, "The Conflict of the Faculties," in *Religion and Rational Theology*, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 318. "...die Grillenkrankheit (*hypochondria vaga*), welche gar keinen bestimmten Sitz im Körper hat und ein Geschöpf der Einbildungskraft ist und daher auch die dichtende heißen könnte – wo der Patient alle Krankheiten, von denen er in Büchern liest, an sich zu bemerken glaubt, ist das gerade Widerspiel jenes Vermögens des Gemüths über seine krankhafte Gefühle Meister zu sein, nämlich Verzagtheit, über Übel, welche Menschen zustoßen könnten, zu brüten, ohne, wenn sie kämen, ihnen widerstehen zu können; eine Art von Wahnsinn, welchem freilich wohl irgend ein Krankheitsstoff (Blähung oder Verstopfung) zum Grunde liegen mag, der aber nicht unmittelbar, wie er den Sinn afficirt, gefühlt, sondern als bevorstehendes Übel von der dichtenden Einbildungskraft vorgespielt wird [...].” AA VII: 103.

Kant was a notoriously enthusiastic reader and later admitted to having “a natural disposition to hypochondria,” which in his earlier years had made him “almost weary of life.”²⁵⁷ In this immense material of medical and anthropological literature, he uncovered the question of how to judge between the validity of this vast, sometimes contradictory material²⁵⁸ and how to observe and judge yourself in the light of this material: “Noticing oneself (*animadvertere*) is not yet *observing* oneself (*observare*).” He added: “The latter is a methodical compilation of the perceptions formed in us, which deliver material for a diary of an *observer of oneself*, and easily lead to enthusiasm and madness.”²⁵⁹ If self-observation and self-interpretation could lead to madness,²⁶⁰ an additional question appeared: how does one distinguish between the validity of one’s own judgments?

This chapter investigates how Kant engages with this problem, in particular through his reflections on Rousseau,²⁶¹ whom he grouped “among the doctors of the Sorbonne” (“*What fantasts!*”),²⁶² and Emanuel Swedenborg,²⁶³ whose “*fanatical intuition*”²⁶⁴ according to Kant could make him a candidate for the “asylum.”²⁶⁵ He partly identified with both and his reflections on them can to a large degree be read as self-reflexion.

Der Arzt: changing lives.

When Rousseau published his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* in 1754, it immediately became a center of attention and discussion. Moses Mendelssohn’s German translation came out in 1756,

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 316. AA VII: 100.

²⁵⁸ On Kant’s reading see Chapter 5 in Chad Wellmon, *Organizing Enlightenment: Information Overload and the Invention of the Modern Research University*, 1 edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).

²⁵⁹ Kant, “Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View (1798),” 243. “Das Bemerkten (*animadvertere*) ist noch nicht ein Beobachten (*observare*) seiner selbst. Das letztere ist eine methodische Zusammenstellung der an uns selbst gemachten Wahrnehmungen, welche den Stoff zum Tagesbuch eines Beobachters seiner selbst abgiebt und leichtlich zu Schwärmerei und Wahnsinn hinführt.” AA VII: 132

²⁶⁰ On Madness and Enlightenment see: Michel Foucault, *History of Madness* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2006); Hans-Jürgen Schings, *Melancholie Und Aufklärung Melancholiker U. Ihre Kritiker in Erfahrungsseelenkunde U. Literatur D. 18. Jh.* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973); Wolf Lepenies, *Melancholie Und Gesellschaft*, 1. Aufl. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1998); Anthony J. La Vopa, “The Philosopher and the ‘Schwärmer’: On the Career of a German Epithet from Luther to Kant,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60, no. 1/2 (1997): 85–115.

²⁶¹ For the latest literature on Rousseau see Avi Lifschitz, *Engaging with Rousseau* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

²⁶² Immanuel Kant, “Essay on the Maladies of the Head (1764),” in *Anthropology, History and Education*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 73.

²⁶³ For the latest literature on Swedenborg see Karl Grandin, ed., *Emanuel Swedenborg--Exploring a “World Memory”*: *Context, Content, Contribution*, 1 edition (Swedenborg Foundation Publishers, 2014).

²⁶⁴ Immanuel Kant, “Dreams of a Spirit-Seer Elucidated by Dreams of Metaphysics (1766),” in *Theoretical Philosophy, 1755–1770*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 347.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 335.

and one could read in *Der Chamäleon*: “Scarcely had this kind of writing appeared publicly before, in all coffeehouses, assemblages, and not infrequently at the council office, one could hear animated dispute for and against life in society.”²⁶⁶ Mendelsohn added a postscript to his translation wherein he shared his “speculative observations.”²⁶⁷ His main point of criticism was Rousseau’s concern for the human body. “It is clear that Rousseau has not taken anything else but the body into consideration,”²⁶⁸ Mendelsohn wrote, adding, “Rousseau turns the character of human nature around”²⁶⁹ when he places the body higher than the soul, “our true self.” Mendelsohn did not deny that man was dependent on physical needs and needed to tend to these in order to survive. However, this takes second place to what he describes as “our noblest care”,²⁷⁰ that of the soul. In *Physikalische Belustigungen*, a letter addressed to the translator followed up on Mendelsohn’s critique, this time dealing with Rousseau from a physical point of view. The anonymous author noted that “Mr. Rousseau has not engaged himself so much with the diseases as I think he ought to have done in order to prove his opinion.”²⁷¹ In addition to this view, Johann August Unzer, in his popular medical journal *Der Arzt*, took up Rousseau’s accusations against medicine “that physicians are liars and deceivers”²⁷² in order to defend the medical profession.

Educated in Halle, Unzer belonged to a group of thinkers also counting the physician Johann Gottlob Krüger and the philosophers Baumgarten and Meier, the “most radical brand of Leibnizian-Wolffian philosophy.”²⁷³ In an extension of the French idea of the *médecin-philosoph*,²⁷⁴ Unzer construed himself a *rational physician*.²⁷⁵ Eclectically pairing philosophy and

²⁶⁶ “Kaum ist diese Schrift öffentlich erschienen: so hörte man auf allen Caffeehäusern in allen Versammlungen, und so gar nicht selten auf der Rathsstube für und wider das gesellschaftliche Leben mit vieler Hitze straiten.” *Der Chamäleon: Eine moralische Wochenschrift* (Birnstiel, 1759), 136.

²⁶⁷ To Lessing: „Lassen Sie sich mit mir in jene speculativischen Betrachtungen ein...” Moses Mendelsohn et al., *Moses Mendelsohns gesammelte Schriften* (F.A. Brockhaus, 1843), 376.

²⁶⁸ „Es ist klar, daß Rousseau nichts anders als unsern Leib in Betrachtung gezogen hat; und da ihm dieser nothwendig hat thierisch scheinen müssen, so hat er die irrige Folge nicht vermeiden können, auf welche man verleitet wird, so bald man in der Erklärung ein wesentliches Stück übersieht.“ *Ibid.*, 386.

²⁶⁹ “Rousseau kehrt die Beschaffenheit der menschlichen Natur um, wenn er sie obenansetzt, wenn er sie für die einzige Obliegenheit hält, dazu die Menschen verbunden sind.“ *Ibid.*, 380.

²⁷⁰ „Die Vorzüge der Seele, der Gegenstand unsrer vornehmsten Sorge, wird von beiden versäumt.“ *Ibid.*, 384.

²⁷¹ “Herr Rousseau hat sich überhaupt nicht so viel auf die Krankheiten eingelassen, als er meines Erachtens vielleicht zum Beweise seiner Meynung hätte thun können.” Anonymous, “Rousseau, J.J.: Abhandlung von Dem Ursprunge Der Ungleichheit Unter Den Menschen. Berlin: Voß 1556.: Rezension, ‘Sendschriben an Den Herrn Uebersetzer Der Abhandlung von Der Ungleichheit Der Menschen Des Herrn Rousseau,’” *Physikalische Belustigungen* 1756 (n.d.): 1302.

²⁷² Unzer answers an objection from Rousseau: “...daß die Aerzte Lügner und Betrüger sind.” Unzer, *Der Arzt*, vol. 4 Stück 202; 602.

²⁷³ Kuehn, *Kant*, 109.

²⁷⁴ Zammito writes: “Medical thinkers made the ‘whole man’ an issue. They had no choice but to intrude into the sacrosanct spheres of metaphysics, to become *philosophical* physicians. This created the opportunity for *philosophers* – even those who were not physicians – to share this persona. The consolidated cadre of *médecins-philosophes* found the anti-metaphysical thrust of empiricism distinctly to their liking.” John H. Zammito, “Médecin-Philosoph: Persona for Radical Enlightenment,” *Intellectual History Review* 18, no. 3 (2008): 428.

medicine in order to create a philosophy of the whole man, physicians drew on the reasoning of the philosophers while the philosophers drew on observations of the physicians. The philosophers perceived of themselves as analogues to physicians. As Meier wrote, “cognition relates to the power of cognition the same way as food does to the human body. Only healthy and nutritious food is able to contribute to the preservation of the human body.”²⁷⁶ The task of the physician was similar to that of the philosopher. Through this union of philosophy and medicine, Baumgarten and Meier expanded the categorical logic with a logic of sensibility and experience. For Meier, this meant partly adopting Locke’s experience-based theory of human understanding into his system.²⁷⁷ The *persona* of the physician had gained a new authority, which Unzer sought to defend against Rousseau’s criticism.

It is clear from Unzer’s text that Rousseau’s objections were not new to him: “Why must you haunt me with Mr Rousseau,”²⁷⁸ he writes before repeating Rousseau’s argument from *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* and *Emilé*. His strategy is not to refute Rousseau’s claim but rather “to prove that he has not proven it.”²⁷⁹ However, as we shall see, his polemic against Rousseau does point in the direction of a professionalization of the physicians whereby one can distinguish between good and bad physicians.

“Medicine is the fashion among us,” Rousseau writes, indicating that medicine has come to assume a privileged position in society. Continuing, he adds: “It is the entertainment of idle people without occupation who, not knowing what to do with their time, pass it in preserving themselves.”²⁸⁰ To Rousseau, the physicians are not servants of nature; rather, they are part of civil society, a new fashion adopted by its citizens. It is by looking at society through this new fashion that Rousseau indicates a criticism of society as well as of medicine. This criticism is not a scientific but a moral criticism. As he writes, “I have no intention of enlarging on the vanity of medicine here. My object is only to consider it from the moral point of view.”²⁸¹ Rousseau formulates this moral criticism by pronouncing the transformation of man from being in a state of nature to becoming a citizen perfected by society.

²⁷⁵ Zelle, *Vernünftige Ärzte*, 10.

²⁷⁶ „Die Erkenntniß verhält sich zur Erkenntnißkraft, wie die Speise zu dem menschlichen Körper. Gesunde und nahrhafte Speisen sind nur im Stande, zur gehörigen Erhaltung des menschlichen Körpers das ihrige beizutragen.“ George Friedrich Meier, *Vernunftlehre* (Gebauer, 1752), 58.

²⁷⁷ Robert Sommer, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der deutschen Psychologie und Aesthetik von Wolff-Baumgarten bis Kant-Schiller* (Georg Olms Verlag, 1892), See 24.57.

²⁷⁸ „Warum wollen Sie mich mit dem herrn Rousseau verhetzen?“ Unzer, *Der Arzt*, 602.

²⁷⁹ “Ich will das, was herr Rousseau wider die Aerzte und ihre Kunst sagt, selbst wiederholen; und alles, was ich hinzusetzen werde, soll nur beweisen, daß er es nicht bewiesen habe.“ *Ibid.*, 603.

²⁸⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile: Or, On Education* (Basic Books, 1979), 54.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

“Why is man alone subject to becoming an imbecile?” Rousseau asks:

Is it not that he thereby returns to his primitive state, and that, while the animal which has acquired nothing and which also has nothing to lose, always retains its instinct, man in losing through old age or other accidents all that his perfectibility has enabled him to acquire, thus falls even lower than the animal itself? It would be sad for us to be forced to agree that this distinctive and almost unlimited faculty is the source of all man's misfortunes; that this is what, by dint of time, draws him out of that original condition in which he would pass tranquil and innocent days; that this is what [...] eventually makes him a tyrant over himself and nature.²⁸²

Through self-cultivation, man is perfected, but it comes at a price; in order to perfect himself, he must deprive him of his own instincts. Hence, with the loss “through old age or other accidents” of all that he has acquired, he is left with nothing – an animal without instinct is not even an animal.

Rousseau's moral point of view enables him to turn things around: instead of perceiving society as the cure of all diseases, he can depict it as its origin. It is by introducing this perspective that Rousseau can determine not just how medicine is a new fashion in society, but also how the practice of medicine fashions man in a certain way. It does so not only in terms of their habits and everyday customs, but also in the basic way they perceive and understand themselves: “... man in the state of nature hardly has any need [...] of remedies, much less of physicians,”²⁸³ Rousseau claims; rather, it is first and foremost by entering into society that man becomes ill. This does not mean that Rousseau discards any kind of illness or disease in the state of nature; however, in nature disease either kills you or makes you stronger. Hence, unlike in society where man may live in a constant state of feeling ill, in the state of nature man does not fear for his life. According to Rousseau, it is with this new fashion of medicine that men increasingly begin to feel ill, just like how Kant's hypochondriac interprets any feeling of bodily discontent as a sign of illness. Rousseau writes:

A frail body weakens the soul. This is the origin of the empire of medicine, an art more pernicious to men than all the ills it claims to cure. As for me, I do not know of what illness the doctors cure us; but I do know that they give us quite fatal ones [...]. If they cure the body, they kill courage. What difference does it make to us that they make cadavers walk? It is men we need, and none is seen leaving their hands.²⁸⁴

²⁸² Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings (Second Edition)*, 45.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Rousseau, *Emile*, 54.

It is not the people that die by mistake in the hands of the doctor that Rousseau mourns, but the ones who lose all courage when confronted with disease. It is from the doctors that we not only receive the hope of surviving but also the fear of dying. This knowledge, according to Rousseau, brings about a change in our lives; we lose our courage and are turned into patients. The fear that the physicians inflict in their patients is rooted in the uncertainty of the medical practice. Rousseau does not contest that the medical practice may cure some people: "I do not, therefore, dispute that medicine is useful to some men," Rousseau writes, "but I say that it is fatal to humankind."²⁸⁵ It is not a lack of scientific progress which makes Rousseau discard medicine, but its moral discouragement of humanity. Therefore one must "...balance the advantage of a cure effected by the doctor against the death of a hundred sick persons killed by him."²⁸⁶ Rousseau is therefore quite aware of the possible utility of medicine, but points out that it is not through the blind adoption of medicine and science that one may find a moral guide; rather, one needs to be able to differentiate between good and bad medicine: "Science which instructs and medicine which cures are doubtless very good. But science which deceives and medicine which kills are bad. Learn, therefore, to distinguish them."²⁸⁷

It is within this opening that Unzer presents his defense of the medical profession, as he sees the latter point as "...the strongest of what Herr Rousseau has said against the art of medicine."²⁸⁸ Unzer does agree with Rousseau that through medicine more maladies than health have originated; however, he does not see it as an argument against medicine in its totality but only against bad doctors. That some doctors do not cure does not mean that all doctors are bad, only that Rousseau has met some charlatans. Rousseau, however, would say that if it is the doctors and not medicine that makes the mistakes, "...then let it come without the doctor..."²⁸⁹ This conclusion, simply to omit doctors, is to Unzer absurd. If one takes what Rousseau writes to be true, namely "the only useful part of medicine is hygiene. And hygiene is itself less a science than a virtue",²⁹⁰ one is left with a reduced kind of medicine. And even when it comes to hygiene, Unzer finds that man would be much better off by following the physician's advice than being left with

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ „In der That ist dies das Stärkste, was Herr Rousseau wider die Arzneykunst gesagt hat.“Unzer, *Der Arzt*, 606.

²⁸⁹ Rousseau, *Emile*, 54.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 55.

what could be a fatal process of trial and error. In order to realize the education *Aemil*, Unzer notes, Rousseau is dependent on the physical wellbeing ensured by the doctor.²⁹¹

What Unzer wants to address therefore is the criticism raised by Rousseau that medicine can be dangerous and sometimes deadly. However, for Unzer the answer should not be abandoning medicine but instead obtaining good doctors. Therefore the answer would be to have professional physicians and a medical college to guarantee their license, hence excluding the element of chance when choosing a doctor. Discarding Rousseau's moral critique, Unzer had therefore turned Rousseau's objections around, concluding that the answer was not less but more medicine – and by that also more controlled medicine.

Gnothi Seauton: From *Observations* to Reflections:

“Of all the branches of human knowledge, the most useful and the least advanced seems to me to be that of man; and I dare say that the inscription on the temple at Delphi alone contained a precept more important and more difficult than all the huge tomes of the moralists.”²⁹² So writes Rousseau, alluding to the inscription on the temple at Delphi: *Gnothi Seauton*, know thyself! To fashion a science of man is not only determined by the purpose of self-knowledge, but such a science must also itself originate from man's self-understanding. Kant's interest in man was part of a contemporary trend; however, his interest may also have been driven by a search for self-understanding. Following the short text on the *goat-prophet*, Kant, in 1764, wrote a small essay entitled *Versuch Über die Krankheiten des Kopfes* (*Essay on the maladies of the head*). Earlier the same year, he had written another piece of popular philosophy *Observations on the Feelings of the Beautiful and the Sublime*, influenced by Rousseau. In his own words, his approach had been more that “...of an observer than of the philosopher”;²⁹³ however, in the margin of a volume, to these observations Kant added a series of reflexions which gradually distanced him from Rousseau. As he wrote, “it is a burden for the understanding to have taste. I must read Rousseau so long that the beauty of his

²⁹¹ Unzer asks retorically: „Was kann dem Menschen ein größeres Gut seyn, als die Erhaltung und Wiederherstellung der Gesundheit? Alles, was Herr Rousseau aus seinem Aemil bilden will, kann er nur unter der Bedingung der Gesundheit aus ihm bilden.“ Unzer, *Der Arzt*, 616.

²⁹² Rousseau, *The Basic Political Writings (Second Edition)*, 39.

²⁹³ Immanuel Kant, “Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime (1764),” *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 23. “...mehr das Auge eines Beobachters als des Philosophen.” AA II: 207

expressions no longer disturbs me, and only then can I first investigate him with reason.”²⁹⁴ Kant literally had to work through Rousseau and develop his own ideas, not simply to dismiss him; as he wrote, “*Rousseau* has set me right.”²⁹⁵

Faced with the multitude of observations in the ever-expanding literature on man, Kant was challenged by the lack of a fixed point from whence these observations can be structured and systematized into an actual science of man. In his notes, he writes: “Everything passes by us in a river, and the changeable taste and the different forms of human beings make the entire game uncertain and deceptive. Where do I find fixed points of nature that the human being can never disarrange, and that can give him signs as to which bank he must head for [...]”²⁹⁶ It is in Rousseau that Kant finds that this endless stream of changing forms is brought to order: “Rousseau discovered for the very first time beneath the manifold of forms adopted by the human being the deeply hidden nature of the same and the hidden law, according to which providence is justified by his observations.”²⁹⁷ What Kant found in Rousseau was “the idea of law and social justice” as the “new norm for human existence.”²⁹⁸ For Kant, it is by developing the measure of social justice and injustice as a touchstone of mankind that Rousseau provides a fixed point on which a science of man can be developed. As with medicine, such a science is not purely descriptive; on the contrary, the aim of such a moral science is to cure. Accordingly Kant writes:

In medicine one says that the doctor is the servant of nature: just the same is valid in morality. Only hold off the external ill, [and] nature will take the best course. [/] If the doctor said that nature in itself is corrupted, by what means would he improve it. Likewise the moralist²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴ Immanuel Kant, *Notes and Fragments Logic, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, Aesthetics* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2005), 5. „Es ist eine Beschwerde vor den Verstand Geschmack zu haben. Ich muß den *Rousseau* so lange lesen bis mich die Schönheit der Ausdrücke gar nicht mehr stöhrt u. dann kann ich allererst ihm mit Vernunft untersuchen“ AA XX: 30

²⁹⁵ Immanuel Kant, *Kant: Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime and Other Writings* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 96. “*Rousseau* hat mich zurecht gebracht.“ AA XX: 44

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 97. „Alles geht in einem Flusse vor uns vorbei u. der Wandelbare Geschmack u. die verschiedenen Gestalten des Menschen machen das gantze Spiel ungewis und trüglich. Wo finde ich feste Punkte der Natur die der Mensch niemals verrücken kann uns ihm die Merkzeichen geben können an welches Ufer er sich zu halten hat“ AA XX: 46

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 105. „*Rousseau* entdeckte zu allererst unter der Mannigfaltigkeit der Menschlichen angenommenen Gestalten die tief verborgene Natur desselben u. das versteckte Gesetz nach welchem die Vorsehung durch seine Beobachtungen gerechtfertigt wird.“ AA XX: 58-59.

²⁹⁸ Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton University Press, 1951), 154.

²⁹⁹ Kant, *Kant*, 83. „In der *Medicin* sagt man daß der Arzt der Diener der Natur sey: in der *moral* gilt eben dasselbe. Haltet nur das äusere Übel ab die Natur wird schon die beste Richtung nehmen [/] Wenn der Arzt saget daß die Natur an sich verderbt sey durch welches Mittel wollte er sie bessern. Eben so der Moralist“ AA XX: 25.

Kant will adopt this basic view, but he will differ in his approach. “*Rousseau* proceeds synthetically and starts from the natural human being, I proceed analytically and starts from the civilized one.”³⁰⁰ It is by taking civil society as a given in order to analyze the *maladies of the head* that Kant develops a different path than Rousseau’s.

“Doctors of the understanding“

*I live among wise and well-mannered citizens, that is to say, among those who are skilled at appearing so, and I flatter myself that one would be so fair as to credit me with as much finesse that even if I were presently in possession of the most proven remedies for dislodging the maladies of the head and the heart, I would still hesitate to lay this old-fashioned rubbish in the path of public business, well aware that the beloved fashionable cure for the understanding and the heart has already made desirable progress and that particularly the doctors of the understanding, who call themselves logicians, satisfy the general demand very well since they made the important discovery: that the human head is actually a drum which only sounds because it is empty.*³⁰¹

Located in the midst of the “wise and well-mannered citizens” of Königsberg, Kant addressed a wider public of educated readers by alluding to a line in the tale *Days with Sir Roger de Coverly*, which Joseph Addison published in his journal *The Spectator*. The line reads: “Thou art a person of a light mind; thy drum is a type of thee, it soundeth because it is empty”,³⁰² an implicit reference to John Locke’s description of the mind as a *Tabula rasa*. Locke, whom Kant later described as “a physiologist of reason,”³⁰³ is indicated as one of the “doctors of the understanding”, but also as one of the *rational physicians* of Halle. Like Rousseau, Kant seeks to examine *the maladies of the head* as the result of civil society: “The simplicity and frugality of nature demands and forms only common

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 75. „*Rousseau*. Verfäbrt syntetisch u. fängt vom natürlichen Menschen an ich verfare analytisch u. fange gesitteten an“ AA XX: 14.

³⁰¹ Kant, “*Essay on the Maladies of the Head* (1764),” 66. “Ich lebe unter weisen und wohlgesitteten Bürgern, nämlich unter denen, die sich darauf verstehen, so zu scheinen, und ich schmeichle mir, man werde so billig sein, mir von dieser Feinigkeit auch so viel zuzutrauen, dass, wenn ich gleich in dem Besitze der bewährtesten Heilungsmittel ware, die Krankheiten des Kopfes und des Herzens aus dem Grunde zu heben, ich doch Bedenken tragen würde, diesen altväterischen Plunder dem öffentlichen Gewerbe in den Weg zu legen, wohlbewusst, dass die beliebte Modekur des Verstandes und des Herzens schon in erwünschtem Fortgange sei und dass vornehmlich die Ärzte des ersteren, die sich Logiker nennen, sehr gut dem allgemeinen Verlangen Gnüge leisten, seit dem sie die wichtige Entdeckung gemacht haben: dass der menschliche Kopf eigentlich eine Trommel sei, die nur darum klingt weil sie leer ist.” AA II: 259-260.

³⁰² Joseph Addison and Sir Richard Steele, *The Spectator: A New Edition* (Applegate, 1860), 182.

³⁰³ Kant, *Notes and Fragments Logic, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, Aesthetics*, 197. AA XVIII: 14.

concepts and a clumsy sincerity in human beings; artificial constraint and the luxury of a civil constitution hatches punsters and subtle reasoners, occasionally, however, also fools and swindlers [...].”³⁰⁴ But, unlike Rousseau or Locke, he does not aim to analyze such a malady in the light of an original state or an original experience; rather, Kant intends to evaluate these maladies through a careful analysis of the different forms of illness. Kant’s primary interest is not to gain an understanding of man in a state of nature, but to understand the structures of the mind perfected by “artificial constraint” through an analysis of its negation, the deranged, disturbed, and suffering mind.

The essay consists of three parts: first an introduction, which directly addresses the audience, situates the text within the context of civil society, and outlines the aim of the essay, an onomastic of the “maladies of the head.” The second part demonstrates the classification of different mental illnesses by analyzing which mental capacities for reasoning are not functioning, thereby indirectly outlining the architecture of reason. The third part takes up the relationship between the physician, in this case Johann August Unzer, and the philosopher, outlining a dependency as well as a division of work. Kant’s remarks on Unzer are subject to some disagreement. While Steffan Bilger, who writes on Unzer, notes that Kant’s reference to Unzer is “*Zustimmend*”,³⁰⁵ Zammito reads the same reference as a sign of “ironic humor.”³⁰⁶ Initially, for Kant, he adopts the persona of the physician, claiming “...I see nothing better for me than to imitate the method of the physicians, who believe they have been very helpful to their patient when they give his malady a name, and will sketch a small onomastic of the frailties of the head.”³⁰⁷

By contributing with a categorization, a so-called onomastic, of the various *maladies of the head*, Kant does not simply offer a description or an order, but various distinctions that may

³⁰⁴ Kant, “Essay on the Maladies of the Head (1764),” 65. “Die Einfalt und Gnügsamkeit der Natur fordert und bildet an dem Menschen nur gemeine Begriffe und eine plumpe Redlichkeit, der künstliche Zwang und die Üppigkeit der bürgerlichen Verfassung heckt Witzlinge und Vernünftler, gelegentlich aber auch Narren und Betrüger aus [...].” AA II: 259.

³⁰⁵ Stefan Bilger, *Üble Verdauung Und Unarten Des Herzens: Hypochondrie Bei Johann August Unzer (1727-1799)* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1990), 62.

³⁰⁶ Zammito, *Kant, Herder, and the Birth of Anthropology*, 193.

³⁰⁷ Kant, “Essay on the Maladies of the Head (1764),” 66. „Ich sehe demnach nichts Besseres für mich, als die Methode der Ärzte nachzuahmen, welche glauben ihrem Patienten sehr viel genutzt zu haben, wenn sie seiner Krankheit einen Namen geben und entwerfe eine kleine Onomastik der Gebrechen des Kopfes, von der Lähmung desselben an in der Blödsinnigkeit bis zu dessen Verzuckungen in der Tollheit; aber um diese ekelhafte Krankheiten in ihrer almählichen Abstammung zu erkennen, finde ich nötig, zum voraus die mildere Grade derselben, von der Dummköpfigkeit an bis zur Narrheit zu erläutern, weil diese Eigenschaften im bürgerlichen Verhältnisse gangbar sind und dennoch zu den ersteren führen.” AA II: 259-60.

help to diagnose a disease and hence prescribe a cure. Kant's division of the different maladies can therefore also prescribe a division in tasks between the physician and the philosopher.

Initially Kant introduces a distinction between the maladies of the head and the heart as disturbances of understanding and will, and hence problems of reason and morals. As already indicated in the title, Kant focuses on the maladies of the head and therefore restricts himself to the disturbances of the understanding and of reason. It is the variety in the characteristics of these that is his area of focus. Here Kant distinguishes between two fundamental categories, one of simple imbecility [*Blödsinnigkeit*] and one of the *disturbed mind* [*das gestörte Gemüt*]. As we have seen, Rousseau focused on the causes and characteristics of the imbecile, but it is the latter that has captured Kant's attention. There is a fundamental distinction between the two categories, for while the former, the *imbecile*, may still be included in society, the latter, the *disturbed mind*, classifies those who in one way or another are excluded from civil society. On the latter category, Kant writes:

*I come now from the frailties of the head which are despised and scoffed at to those which one generally looks upon with pity, or from those which do not suspend civil community to those in which official care provision takes an interest, and for whom it makes arrangements.*³⁰⁸

With regard to this category, a whole list of illnesses can be named, such as a “*Stumpfer Kopf*”, “*Dummkopf*,” “*Einfaltpinsel*,” or “*Hohlkopf*”. There is also a different kind which may be treated medically or can result in the placement of a patient under the care and observation of an asylum. Within this sub-category, Kant differentiates between three principal kinds: 1) derangement (*Verrückung*), 2) dementia (*Wahnwitz*), and 3) insanity (*Wahnsinn*).³⁰⁹ *Derangement* is characterized by the inability to distinguishing one's imagination from experience – imagination becomes reality. As Kant writes, “the deranged person is thus a dreamer in waking.”³¹⁰ *Dementia* is characterized not by the inability to distinguish experience from imagination, but the inability to judge these experiences. As Kant writes, “a disturbance of the understanding on the contrary

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 69. “Ich komme von den Gebrechen des Kopfes, welche verachtet und gehöhnet warden, zu denen, die man gemeiniglich mit Mitleiden ansiehet, von denen, welche die freie bürgerliche Gemeinschaft nicht aufheben, zu denjenigen, deren sich die obrigkeitliche Vorsorge annimmt und um welcher willen sie Verfügungen macht” AA II: 263

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 70. AA II: 264.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 71. AA II: 265.

consists in judging in a completely opposite manner from otherwise correct experience [...].”³¹¹ Although witnessing an event correctly, the demented may be unable to judge the intentions of people involved, hence projecting imaginary intentions and agendas onto others. Both *derangement* and *dementia* can be characterized by projecting one’s mind onto the world: the deranged projects his visions, while the demented projects his intentions onto the world. With regards to the *insane*, he may simply be caught in his own world, as reason simply is “...brought into disorder, insofar as it errs in a nonsensical manner...”³¹² Unlike the deranged and the demented, the insane may not make any sense to others, and as Kant adds: “If the unfortunate person at the same time overlooks the judgments of experience, then he is called *crazy*.”³¹³

Within this catalogue of possibilities of mental error, Kant is most attuned to the first; for the deranged, caught up in his own fantasy world, is exactly that, a *fantast*: as someone who lives caught up in his own ideas, the border between fantasy and philosophy is dim. As if talking from experience, Kant writes:

*The fantastical mental condition is nowhere more common than in hypochondria. [...] he talks of nothing more gladly than of his indisposition, he likes to read medical books, he recognizes everywhere his own misfortunes; in society he may even suddenly find himself in a good mood, and then he laughs a lot, dines well and generally has the look of a healthy human being.*³¹⁴

Such fantasies may, however, not be directed entirely inwards, but may be the source of inspiring systems of thought. Kant also perceives Rousseau as the type of fantast he calls an enthusiast, whereto he adds: “...and nothing great has ever been accomplished in the world without it.”³¹⁵ The thin line between the philosopher and the fantast may initially seem to disqualify the philosopher from taking on the role of the physician, but this is not the case; any person can come subject to illness, yet the philosopher, through his work with reason and understanding, is the one who is most familiar with the mysteries of the mind. It is in the light of these distinctions that

³¹¹ Ibid., 73. “Eine Störung des Verstandes dagegen besteht darin: daß man aus allenfalls richtigen Erfahrungen ganz verkehrt urtheilt [...]” AA II: 267-68.

³¹² Ibid., 74. “...die in Unordnung gebrachte Vernunft, in so fern sie sich in eingebildeten feineren Urtheilen über allgemeine Begriffe auf eine ungereimte Art verirrt...” AA II: 268.

³¹³ Ibid. “Wenn der Unglückliche hiebei zugleich die Erfahrungsurtheile vorbei geht, so heißt er aberwitzig.” AA II: 268.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 72. “Die phantastische Gemüthsbeschaffenheit ist nirgend gemeiner als in der Hypochondrie. [...] Er redet daher von nichts lieber als von seiner Unpäßlichkeit, liest gerne medicinische Bücher, findet allenthalben seine eigenen Zufälle, in Gesellschaft wandelt ihn auch wohl unvermerkt seine gute Laune an, und alsdann lacht er viel, speiset gut und hat gemeinlich das Ansehen eines gesunden Menschen.” AA II: 266.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 73. “...es ist niemals ohne denselben in der Welt etwas Großes ausgerichtet worden.” AA II: 267.

Kant introduces a rather mild critique of Unzer's one-sided approach. Unzer had treated the question of mental illness in a number of articles in *Der Arzt*,³¹⁶ which Kant felt the need to address. Unzer's point of departure is first and foremost practical; following Boerhaave's writings on the matter, he is more concerned with treating these illnesses than understanding their cause. Here Unzer points to the problem of digestion and the diet as the best treatment:

*It only depends on that I prove, how most mental- and nervous diseases commonly have their distant cause in a defect in the digestion, and that therefore the reason for this ill [...] should be sought not so much in the brain but rather in the abdomen.*³¹⁷

Even though Kant recognizes that these illnesses may originate in the body, as Unzer suggests, he argues for the use of the philosopher, since while "...it is the physician whose assistance one chiefly has to seek in this", Kant maintains that he "would rather not exclude the philosopher, who could prescribe the diet of the mind."³¹⁸ Here we see how Kant ascribes a practical function to the philosopher similar to that of the physician. It is not purely in the diagnosis that the philosopher may assist the physician but even with regard to the cure in some cases. In response to Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope's³¹⁹ suggestion "that Poetry is a natural or Morbid Secretion from the Brain,"³²⁰ Kant rhetorically asked:

³¹⁶ Kant refers explicitly to the following three contributions by Unzer in his medical journal *Der Arzt. Eine medicinische Wochenschrift* Part VI. Hamburg 1761: "Vom Zusammenhang des Verstandes mit der Verdauung", "Beweis, dass alle Arten des Unsinnns durch die Verbesserung der Verdauung curirt werden müssen" and "Derselbe Beweis insbesondere von einigen hitzigen Deliris."

³¹⁷ „Es kommt nur darauf an, dass ich beweise, wie die meisten Gemüths- und Nervenkrankheiten ihre entferntere Ursache gemeinlich in einem Fehler der Verdauung haben, und dass also der Grund dieser Uebel, [...] nicht sowol im Gehirne, als vielmehr im Unterleibe gesucht werden müsse.“ Unzer, *Der Arzt*, 583.

³¹⁸ Kant, "Essay on the Maladies of the Head (1764)," 77. "Doch möchte ich ehrenhalber den Philosophen nicht gerne ausschliessen, welcher die Diät des Gemüts verordnen könnte; nur unter dem Beding, dass er hievor, wie für seine mehreste andere Beschäftigung, keine Bezahlung fordere. Zur Erkenntlichkeit würde der Arzt seinen Beistand dem Philosophen auch nicht versagen, wenn dieser bisweilen die grosse, aber immer vergebliche Kur der Narrheit versuchete." AA II: 271.

³¹⁹ Although Kant ascribes the first text to Swift it was written by Pope: Pope und Longinus Swift Sammelband 2 in 1-, 1. *Peri Bathous (Graece) S. Anti-Sublime: Das Ist D. Swifts Neueste Dicht-Kunst, Oder Kunst in Der Poesie Zu Kriechen*, (Groß, 1733); It has a strong connection to: Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub, Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind ... To Which Is Added, An Account of a Battle between the Ancient and Modern Books*, 1781; which has been demonstrated by: Dustin Griffin, *Swift and Pope: Satirists in Dialogue* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) especially pp 104-106.

³²⁰ Alexander Pope, *The Works of Alexander Pope Esq*, Vol 6 (J. and P. Knapton [and others], 1751), 169.

*If, according to the observations of Swift, a bad poem is merely a purification of the brain through which many detrimental moistures are withdrawn for the relief of the sick poet, why should not a miserable brooding piece of writing be the same as well?*³²¹

Could not philosophy or any piece of writing help cure mental illnesses? Pope had argued that writing not only seems to have a physical cause in the brain but also a healing function (for example bringing tranquility to melancholics) similar to that of wiping one's nose: "As I would not suddenly stop a cold in the head or dry up my neighbour's issue, I would as little hinder him from necessary writing."³²² However, the mere healing question was addressed in the context of a much wider discourse. Swift's text bore the title *The Use and Improvement of Madness in a Commonwealth*, and it was within this discourse that Swift articulated the question of freedom of the press, as the question of bad poetry might be of danger to the State. Did the danger of mad poetry outweigh the pursuit of great philosophy? For Swift, as we may assume for Kant, this raises the question of the relation between great philosophy and madness:

*Let us next examine the great introducers of new schemes in philosophy, and search till we can find from what faculty of the soul the disposition arises in mortal man, of taking it into his head to advance new systems with such an eager zeal in things agreed on all hands impossible to be known; from what seeds this disposition springs, and to what quality of human nature these grand innovators have been indebted for their number of disciples; because it is plain, that several of the chief among them, both ancient and modern, were usually mistaken by their adversaries, and indeed by all, except their own followers, to have been persons crazed, or out of their wits; having generally proceeded in the common course of their words and actions, by a method very different from the vulgar dictates of unrefined reason...*³²³

It is Swift's point that society cannot necessarily determine which "new schemes in philosophy" are rational and which are simply products of mental disturbances. One may "...pass for a fool in one company, when in another you might be treated as a philosopher."³²⁴ For Swift, depriving the world of madness would mean depriving the world of great philosophy. Kant, however, is

³²¹ Kant, "Essay on the Maladies of the Head (1764)," 77. "Denn da nach den Beobachtungen des Swifts ein schlecht Gedicht bloß eine Reinigung des Gehirns ist, durch welches viele schädliche Feuchtigkeiten zur Erleichterung des kranken Poeten abgezogen werden, warum sollte eine elende grüblerische Schrift nicht auch dergleichen sein?" AA II: 271.

³²² Pope, *The Works of Alexander Pope Esq.*, 169.

³²³ Swift, *A Tale of a Tub, Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind ... To Which Is Added, An Account of a Battle between the Ancient and Modern Books*, 179.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 181.

somewhat more skeptical. As he had already categorized these mental disturbances in opposition to civil society, he gives, if not different, then more nuanced advice, as he writes that when dealing with the sick: "...it would be advisable to assign nature another path to purification so that he would be thoroughly and quietly purged of the ill without disturbing the common wealth through this."³²⁵ For Kant, there are therefore two directions: the first is for the severely ill who may need to be institutionalized and who need the care of a physician as well as a philosopher, and the second is the philosophical criticism in the public debate that Kant himself is exercising, for example in his reading of Rousseau.

As we see, Kant's relation to medical thinking is ambivalent. On the one hand, Kant outlines some limits of medicine, but on the other suggests cooperation between medicine and philosophy. Still, a growing separation of the two fields is emerging, along with a lurking skepticism towards the universal success of medicine. Yet, in addressing the problem of mental illnesses, Kant offers a skeptical approach towards subtle philosophical systems as well as a critical stance towards oneself. It is in his engagement with the Swedish thinker and scientist Emmanuel Swedenborg that he develops his analytical criticism in practice: still, the analysis may just as much be about himself as about Swedenborg.

Dreams

Writing to the much younger Charlotte von Knobloch,³²⁶ Immanuel Kant, at the age of 39, reported "from a Danish officer", his friend and former pupil. Königsberg had just been abandoned by its Russian occupiers; however, it was "a remarkable incident [...] at the Court of the Queen of Sweden" that was on his mind. Allegedly, Emanuel Swedenborg, natural philosopher and spirit-seer, had conveyed a message from Queen Luise Ulrike's brother, the Prussian Prince August Wilhelm. Prince August Wilhelm had died in 1758. Following in the footsteps of Leibniz, Swedenborg had developed a radical theory about the community of spirits independent of the material world. Kant had had the accuracy of this account investigated and confirmed: he published his curiosity and doubts in *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer*. Having kept his interest in Swedenborg private, with the publication of *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer* Kant opened what he himself regarded a controversial topic: "...stories of this kind are probably only ever believed secretly,

³²⁵ Kant, "Essay on the Maladies of the Head (1764)," 77. "In diesem Falle aber wäre es rathsam, der Natur einen andern Weg der Reinigung anzuweisen, damit das Übel gründlich ind in aller Stille abgeführt werde, ohne das gemeine Wesen dadurch zu beunruhigen." AA II: 271.

³²⁶ (1740-1894), daughter of General Karl Gottfried von Knobloch, who housed Borowski.

whereas publicly they are dismissed with contempt by the incredulity which is currently in fashion.”³²⁷ Knowing the obstacles of approaching such a topic, Kant accommodated the reader: “I do not, therefore, blame the reader at all,” he wrote, “...if, instead of regarding the spirit-seers as semi-citizens of the other world, he simply dismisses them without further ado as candidates for the asylum, thus saving himself the trouble of any further enquiry.”³²⁸ Although superstition had not been exterminated, civilization had still progressed, as “...whereas it was once found necessary in the past on occasion to *burn* some of them [spirit-seers], it will now suffice simply to *purge* them.”³²⁹ However, while addressing the presumptions of his readers, he was preparing them to be open to Swedenborg’s work. Maybe one should not discard him immediately:

*I formerly used to regard the human understanding in general merely from the point of view of my own understanding. Now I put myself in the position of someone else’s reason, which is independent of myself and external to me, and regard my judgements, along with their most secret causes, from the point of view of other people.*³³⁰

Although one did not need to see eye to eye, the perspective of the other could still expand one’s horizons. For Kant, however, Swedenborg was not merely a spirit-seer. It is often overlooked when Swedenborg is being read in the light of a Kabbalistic and Hermetic tradition that the basis of his philosophy was in the Leibnizian and Wolffian tradition.³³¹ When Kant was engaging with Swedenborg, he was also implicitly engaging with his own philosophical background. Publicly, however, he kept a certain distance: “I declare, without further ado, either that one must suppose that there is more cleverness and truth in Schwedenberg’s writings than first appearances would suggest, or that, if there is any agreement between him and my system, it is a matter of pure

³²⁷ Kant, “Dreams of a Spirit-Seer Elucidated by Dreams of Metaphysics (1766),” 340. “Und so werden die Erzählungen von dieser Art wohl jederzeit nur heimliche Gläubige haben, öffentlich aber durch die herrschende Mode des Unglaubens verworfen werden.” AA II: 353-54.

³²⁸ Ibid., 335. “Daher verdenke ich es dem Leser keinesweges, wenn er, anstatt die Geisterseher für Halbbürger der andern Welt anzusehen, sie kurz und gut als Candidaten des Hospitals abfertigt und sich dadurch alles weiteren Nachforschens überhebt.” AA II 348.

³²⁹ Ibid., 335-36. “Wenn nun aber alles auf solchen Fuß genommen wird, so muß auch die Art dergleichen Adepten des Geisterreichs zu behandeln von derjenigen nach den obigen Begriffen sehr verschieden sein, und da man es sonst nöthig fand, bisweilen einige derselben zu brennen, so wird es jetzt gnug sein, sie nur zu purgiren.” AA II: 348.

³³⁰ Ibid., 336. “Sonst betrachte ich den allgemeinen menschlichen Verstand blos aus dem Standpunkte des meinigen: jetzt setze ich mich in die Stelle einer fremden und äußeren Vernunft und beobachte meine Urtheile sammt ihren geheimsten Anlässen aus dem Gesichtspunkte anderer.” AA II: 349

³³¹ See Friedemann Stengel, *Aufklärung bis zum Himmel: Emanuel Swedenborg im Kontext der Theologie und Philosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 40.

chance.”³³² Kant and Swedenborg may have presented a certain similarity, but for Kant the question was of how to construct a philosophy which would not be considered the work of a mad man. Kant sought to submit this possible madness to an acute examination:

*I think I can offer a reasonable explanation of that type of mental disturbance which is called madness, and which, if it is more serious, is called derangement. The distinctive feature of this malady consists in this: the victim of the confusion places mere objects of his own imagination outside himself, taking them to be things which are actually present before him.*³³³

What Kant sought to demonstrate was how Swedenborg’s possible madness did not consist in that he imagined things or that he was unable to reason, but rather that he was not able to distinguish between what he was sensing and what he was imagining. Swedenborg’s situation meant that he “...cannot banish his illusion by means of subtle reasoning. He cannot do so because, true or illusory, the impressions of the senses itself precedes all judgment of the understanding and possesses an immediate certainty, which is far stronger than all other persuasion.”³³⁴ It is a condition which cannot be cured by sheer will; rather, Kant ascribes it to a physiological condition:

*...as a result of some accident or malady, certain organs of the brain are so distorted and their natural balance so disturbed that the motion of the nerves, which harmoniously vibrate with certain images of the imagination, moves along the lines indicating the direction which, if extended, would intersect outside the brain – if all this is supposed, then the focus imaginarius is located outside the thinking subject, and the image which is the product of the mere imagination, is represented as an object present to the outer senses.*³³⁵

³³² Kant, “Dreams of a Spirit-Seer Elucidated by Dreams of Metaphysics (1766),” 346. “Ich [...] erkläre kurz und gut, daß man entweder in Schwedenbergs Schriften mehr Klugheit und Wahrheit vermuthen müsse, als der erste Anschein blicken läßt, oder daß es nur so von ungefähr komme, wenn er mit meinem System zusammentrifft, wie Dichter bisweilen, wenn sie rasen, weissagen, wie man glaubt, oder wenigstens wie sie selbst sagen, wenn sie dann und wann mit dem Erfolge zusammentreffen.” AA II: 359.

³³³ Ibid., 333–34. “Wenn man dieses einräumt, so dünkt mich, daß ich über diejenige Art von Störung des Gemüths, die man den Wahnsinn und im höhern Grade die Verrückung nennt, etwas Begreifliches zur Ursache anführen könne. Das Eigenthümliche dieser Krankheit bewteht darin: daß der verworrene Mensch bloße Gegenstände seiner Einbildung außer sich versetzt und als wirklich vor ihm gegenwärtige Dinge ansieht.” AA II: 346.

³³⁴ Ibid., 335. “...da die Krankheit des Phantasten nicht eigentlich den Verstand, sondern die Täuschung der Sinne betrifft, der Unglückliche seine Blendwerke durch kein Vernünfteln heben könne: weil die wahre oder scheinbare Empfindung der Sinne selbst von allem Urtheil des Verstandes vorgeht und eine unmittelbare Evidenz hat, die alle andre Überredung weit übertrifft.” AA II: 347

³³⁵ Ibid., 333–34. “Wenn ich also setze, daß durch irgend einen Zufall oder Krankheit gewisse Organen des Gehirnes so verzogen und aus ihrem gehörigen Gleichgewicht gebracht seien, daß die Bewegung der Nerven die mit einigen Phantasien harmonisch beben, nach solchen Richtungslinien geschieht, welche fortgezogen sich außerhalb dem

Kant's distinction between mental illnesses originating from either the body or the mind is useful when it comes to diagnosing a malady and prescribing a treatment:

*The deception of reason could to a large extent be prevented by subjecting the powers of the mind to control by the will, and by exercising rather more restraint over an idle inquisitiveness. The deception of the senses, on the other hand, concerns the ultimate foundation of all our judgements, and if that foundation were defective, there is little that the rules of logic could do to remedy the situation!*³³⁶

The ability to make these distinctions is also effective when it comes to a critical investigation of the faculties of the mind as such: when one wants a cure for a philosophy, one needs a proper diagnosis. It is in making these kinds of investigations that Kant finds the purposeful use of metaphysics, not as a constructed system, but as a way of raising questions:

*It consists both in knowing whether the task has been determined by reference to what one can know, and in knowing what relation the question has to the empirical concepts, upon which all our judgments must at all times be based. To that extent metaphysics is a science of the limits of human reason...*³³⁷

It is through this analysis that Kant can conclude that the problem in Swedenborg is not that he sees spirits as such but that he perceives them as if they were located in space, i.e. we cannot exclude the existence of spirits as it does not go against reason but against the senses. And so Kant proclaims, "from now on it will be possible, perhaps, *to have all sorts of opinions* about but no longer *knowledge* of such beings. [...] The theory [of spirit-beings] can be completed, albeit in the *negative* sense of the term [...]."³³⁸As we cannot therefore exclude the existence of spirits, Kant supplements his analysis with some brief reflections on the possible nature of the soul. As he

Gehirne durchkreuzen würden, so ist der *focus imaginarius* außerhalb dem denkenden Subject gesetzt und das Bild, welches ein Werk der bloßen Einbildung ist, wird als ein Gegenstand vorgestellt, der den äußeren Sinnen gegenwärtig wäre." AA II 346.

³³⁶ Ibid., 347. "...der Betrug der Vernunft, dessen Gründe bekannt genug sind, und der auch großen Theils durch willkürliche Richtung der Gemüthskräfte und etwas mehr Bändigung eines leeren Vorwitzes könnte verhütet werden, da hingegen jene das erste Fundament aller Urtheile betrifft, dawider, ween es unrichtig ist, die Regeln der Logik wenig vermögen!" AA II: 360-61.

³³⁷ Ibid., 354. "...besteht darin: einzusehen, ob die Aufgabe aus demjenigen, was man wissen kann, auch bestimmt sei und welches Verhältniß die Frage zu den Erfahrungsbegriffen habe, darauf sich alle unsre Urtheile jederzeit stützen müssen. In so fern ist die Metaphysik eine Wissenschaft von den Grenzen der menschlichen Vernunft..." AA II: 367-68.

³³⁸ Ibid., 338-39. "...daßman davon vielleicht künftighin noch allerlei meinen, niemals aber mehr wissen könne." AA II: 351.

writes, "...the appeal to immaterial principles is the resort of lazy philosophy."³³⁹ This is why he is also:

*...convinced that Stahl, who is disposed to explain animal processes in organic terms, was frequently closer to the truth than Hofmann or Boerhaave, to name but a few. These latter, ignoring immaterial forces, adhere to mechanical causes, and in so doing adopt a more philosophical method. This method, while sometimes failing of its mark, is generally successful. It is also this method alone which is of use in science. But as for the influence of incorporeal beings: it can at best be acknowledged to exist; the nature of its operation and the extent of its effect, however, will never be explained.*³⁴⁰

In the light of Stahl's notion of an embodied soul, Kant develops his argument further by taking the first person perspective as his point of departure: "The body, the alterations of which are *my* alterations – this body is *my* body; and the place of that body is at the same time *my* place."³⁴¹ It is in this experience of having a body, of inhabiting a place that we get the sense of having a soul, our own mind. Should someone ask, however, "where then is *your* place (that of the soul) in this body? Then I should suspect there was a catch in the question."³⁴² It is this catch which has tricked physicians like Boerhaave and Hoffmann, along with many philosophers, to believe that the soul inhabits a particular place in the body:

*No experience teaches me to regard some parts of my sensation of myself as remote from me. Nor does any experience teach me to imprison my indivisible 'I' in a microscopically tiny region of the brain, either so as to operate from there the levers governing my body-machine, or so as myself to be affected in that region by the working of that machinery.*³⁴³

³³⁹ Ibid., 318. "Übrigens ist die Berufung auf immaterielle Principien eine Zuflucht der faulen Philosophie..." AA II: 331.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 319. "Gleichwohl bin ich überzeugt, daß Stahl, welcher die thierische Veränderungen gerne organisch erklärt, oftmals der Wahrheit näher sei, als Hofmann, Boerhaave u.a.m., welche die immaterielle Kräfte aus dem Zusammenhange lassen, sich an die mechanische Gründe halten und hierin einer mehr philosophischen Methode folgen, die wohl bisweilen fehlt, aber mehrmals zutrifft, und die auch allein in der Wissenschaft von nützlicher Anwendung ist, wenn anderseits von dem Einflusse der Wesen von unkörperlicher Natur höchstens nur erkannt werden kann, daß er da sei, niemals aber, wie er zugehe und wie weit sich seine Wirksamkeit erstrecke." AA II: 331

³⁴¹ Ibid., 312. "Derjenige Körper, dessen Veränderungen meine Veränderungen sind, dieser Körper ist mein Körper, und der Ort desselben ist zugleich mein Ort." AA II: 324.

³⁴² Ibid., 312. "Wo ist denn dein Ort (der Seele) in diesem Körper?, so würde ich etwas Verfängliches in dieser Fragen vermuthen." AA II: 324.

³⁴³ Ibid., 312–13. "Keine Erfahrung lehrt mich einige Theile meiner Empfindung von mir für entfernt zu halten, mein untheilbares Ich in ein mikroskopisch kleines Plätzchen des Gehirns zu versperren, um von da aus den Hebezeug meiner Körpermaschine in Bewegung zu setzen, oder dadurch selbst getroffen zu werden." AA II: 324–25.

Rather, Kant unfolds the idea of an embodied soul that inhabits a place in the world as a body:

The question presupposes, namely, that my thinking 'I' is in a place which is distinct from the places of the other parts of that body which belongs to my self. But no one is immediately conscious of a particular place in his body; one is only immediately conscious of the space which one occupies relatively to the world around. I would therefore rely on ordinary experience and say, for the time being: Where I feel, it is there that I am. I am as immediately in my finger-tip as I am in my head.³⁴⁴

Awakening:

In 1751, in the seventh volume of the *Hamburgisches Magazin oder gesammlete Schriften, zum Unterricht und Vergnügen, aus der Naturforschung und den angenehmen Wissenschaften überhaupt* published by Abraham Gotthelf Kästner and Johann August Unzer, a translation of the French physician François Boissier de Sauvages de Lacroix's "Observations on the Soul in Catalepsy and Sleepwalking" appeared. It had originally been published in 1742 as part of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de Paris*, but in Kästner and Unzer's journal it appeared with an extensive comment by an anonymous author. The author noted that:

The somniloquists are deprived of their senses, yet their speech is rational and without repetition as often as they speak, and it is the same with their other functions, they go to places where there is enough to stumble upon without bumping into anything, even knowing how to find their way back into bed.³⁴⁵

In addition, the author describes how a maid in her sleep could flawlessly cite the entire Catechism, something she was not able to do while awake. The observations had caught Kant's attention; in 1763, he complained that:

...no attention has been paid to what is probably a great mystery of nature: the fact, namely, that it is perhaps during sleep that the soul exercises its greatest facility in rational thought. The only objection

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 312. "...nämlich daß mein denkendes Ich in einem Orte sei, der von den Örtern anderer Theile desjenigen Körpers, der zu meinem Selbst gehört, unterschieden wäre. Niemand aber ist sich eines besondern Orts in seinem Körper unmittelbar bewußt, sondern desjenigen, den er als Mensch in Ansehung der Welt umher einnimmt. Ich würde mich also an der gemeinen Erfahrung halten und vorläufig sagen: Wo ich empfinde, da bin ich. Ich bin eben so unmittelbar in der Fingerspitze wie in dem Kopfe." AA II: 324.

³⁴⁵ Bey den Schlafrednern fehlet der Gebrauch der Sinne, doch reden sie vernünftig, und nicht einerley, so oft sie reden, und so ist es auch mit ihren übrigen Verrichtungen beschaffen, sie gehen an Oertern, wo Anstoßes genug ist, und stoßen nicht an, wissen auch ihr Bette wieder zu finden." *Hamburgisches Magazin oder gesammlete Schriften zum Unterricht und Vergnügen aus der Naturforschung und den angenehmen Wissenschaften überhaupt* (Grund, 1751), 507.

*which could be raised against this supposition is the fact that we have no recollection of such rational activity when we have woken up; but that proves nothing.*³⁴⁶

The example contradicted the way in which philosophers often used the concepts people had in deep sleep or in dreams as illustrations of obscure concepts. Kant suggested the possibility that the obscurity of these instances was not the result of an obscure consciousness but rather due to the fact that when one awoke he would have forgotten what a little while earlier had been so clear. Hence, when one discards the clarity of something, he should bear in mind that "...the term 'consciousness' is ambiguous,"³⁴⁷ That something may not appear clear because one had forgotten about it differs from the obscurity of nonsense. For Kant, darkness, sleep, mental illnesses, and dreams, could not simply be rejected as nonsense, since they represented a logic of their own, one which might even be key to unlocking the structure of human reason.

Looking back at his philosophical development, Kant would describe his philosophical breakthrough as a sudden awakening from his "dogmatic slumber."³⁴⁸ Despite this philosophical awakening, Kant did not suddenly wake up, but developed his thought through a long and laborious process. The possibility of error due to different 'maladies of the head' posed a central challenge to his philosophical thought throughout the 1760s. At the same time, the problem of reason and madness also presented him with a way forward and a key to unlocking the mind. This way was not simply a process of isolated speculation and observation, but provided Kant with a way to engage critically with his own philosophy as well as those of others. Equally important, Kant defined his position in opposition to that of the physician. Each had their role to play in society. Yet the philosopher was not simply restricted to playing the role of a therapist: he or she was to engage in public dialogue in order to prevent public discourse from becoming a multitude of monologues. It was a type of philosopher that should engage critically in order to transcend the egoism of the fantasists. As he later wrote in his *Anthropology*:

³⁴⁶ Immanuel Kant, "Inquiry Concerning the Distinctness of the Principles of Natural Theology and Morality (1764)," in *Theoretical Philosophy, 1755-1770*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 263. "Indessen wird dadurch, daß man gar zu leicht ans Schließen geht, ohn vorher durch Aufmerksamkeit auf verschiedene Fälle jedesmal dem Begriffe seine Bedeutung gegeben zu haben, in diesem Falle ein vermuthlich großes Geheimni der Natur mit Achtlosigkeit übergangen: nämlich daß velleicht im tiefsten Schalfe die größte Fertigkeit der Seele im vernünftigen Denken möge ausgeübt werden; denn man hat keinen andern Grund zum Gegentheile, als daß man dessen sich im Wachen nicht erinnert, welcher Grund aber nicht beweist." AA II: 290.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Immanuel Kant, "Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics That Will Be Able to Come Forward as Science (1783)," in *Theoretical Philosophy after 1781*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 57. AA IV: 260.

The logical egoist considers it unnecessary also to test his judgment by the understanding of others; as if he had no need at all for this touchstone (criterium veritas externum). But it is so certain that we cannot dispense with this means of assuring ourselves the truth of our judgment that this may be the most important reason why learned people cry out so urgently for freedom of the press.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁹ Kant, "Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View (1798)," 240. "Der logische Egoist hält es für unnöthig, sein Urtheil auch am Verstande anderer zu prüfen: gleich als ob er dieses Probirsteins (*criterium veritatis extrenum*) gar nicht bedürfte. Es ist aber gewiß, daß wir dieses Mittel, uns der Wahrheit unseres Urtheils zu versichern, nicht entbehren können, daß es velleicht der wichtigste Grund ist, warum das gelehrte Volk so dringend nach der Freiheit der Feder schreit [...]." AA VII: 128.

Revolution and Reform

Appointments

The two beadles of the university were to announce the coming dissertations on the university blackboard; on Sunday, the printed disputations, along with invitations, were distributed at the castle and the three main churches. It was an event for all the intelligentsia of the city. Dressed in red robes, they, as the only students, had the special privilege of carrying the academic silver scepters in front of the rector and standing next to him by the lectern throughout the entire defense.³⁵⁰ Defenses could often last the entire day. In 1749, it had been decided that no one could become an extraordinary professor if had he not defended at least three disputations as *praeses*.³⁵¹ However, as this amounted to 40 to 50 disputations a year, it had been decided that it should be possible to become a professor without defending a disputation. However, one had to give an inaugural defense on commencement of the professorship.³⁵² So in, August 1770, it was announced that:

A dissertation for the proper obtainment of the post of ordinary professor of logic and metaphysics which, according to the requirement of the statutes of the university, will be publicly defended by Immanuel Kant. The function of respondent will be undertaken by Marcus Herz of Berlin, of Jewish decent, a student of medicine and philosophy, against the opponents: Georg Wilhelm Schreiber of Königsberg in Prussia, student in the Faculty of Philosophy; Johann August Stein of Königsberg in Prussia, candidate in both

³⁵⁰ Goldbeck, *Nachrichten von der königlichen Universität zu Königsberg*, 56–57.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 39.

*laws; and Georg Daniel Schröter of Elbing, candidate in sacred theology. [The defense will be held] in the large lecture theatre at the usual morning and afternoon hours on 21 August of the year 1770.*³⁵³

Having been turned down for the professorship in metaphysics and logic in 1758, Kant had been offered a professorship of poetry in 1764, but declined. At this point, however, he was aware of his reputation and had already been offered a professorship in Jena in January 1770. When Professor of mathematics Langhansen passed away on 15 March 1770, Kant wrote to Berlin the following day. He suggested two different scenarios. The first was to transfer the *Christiani ordinary* professor of moral philosophy to the mathematics chair so that Kant could take over the former position: this was “my actual purpose”,³⁵⁴ as Kant would later describe it. Kant’s wish to become a moral philosopher was, however, not satisfied, although his second suggestion was approved: he would take the position he had applied for in 1758, while Buck would be transferred to the professorship of mathematics.³⁵⁵ Despite his new position, Kant’s understanding of moral philosophy as his actual purpose was not forgotten; nonetheless, following his dissertation, Kant remained practically silent for ten years as he reworked the ideas presented in this work. To develop a new understanding of moral philosophy meant to rethink its metaphysical foundations.

This chapter traces a parting of the ways between Kant and medical anthropology by focusing firstly on Kant’s relationship with his early student Marcus Herz and secondly on the conflict between Kant and Johann Daniel Metzger, the new professor of medicine. John Zammito, through his work on Kant and Herder, has described this parting as “the disciplinary ‘calving’ of anthropology from philosophy.”³⁵⁶ This chapter, however, takes a different stance by analyzing the development of professionalization primarily in terms of the establishment of the medical and philosophical faculties as distinct institutions, each with its own disciplinary scope. Kant’s development is regarded neither as a turn away from the body nor from anthropology. Rather, by taking as his point of departure his own subjective experiences with hypochondria, Kant revisited the subjective preconditions of any anthropology in order to subject them to critical analysis. It is through the critical analysis of the subjective sources of anthropology that he developed a philosophical approach in opposition to physiological anthropology.

³⁵³ Immanuel Kant, “On the Form and Principles of the Sensible and the Intelligible World (1770),” Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 375.

³⁵⁴ “meiner eigentlichen Bestimmung” AA X: 91.

³⁵⁵ AA X: 93-94.

³⁵⁶ Zammito, *Kant, Herder, and the Birth of Anthropology*, 1.

Dissertation

As respondent for his dissertation Kant had chosen his former student, the doctor of medicine Marcus Herz. Due to his Jewish background, it was an unusual choice and not one without problems: the *Albertina* was a Protestant university. As von Haller noted, just as Protestants were prevented from being promoted as doctors in Paris and other Catholic universities, “the old Protestant universities, Jena, Wittenberg, and Leipzig, usually reject candidates of the Jewish nation. Göttingen, Halle, and the Dutch academies think more tolerantly...”³⁵⁷

For Kant, Herz was one of the few who fully understood his philosophy, and the beginning of Herz’s own academic reputation was deeply connected with Kant’s dissertation. In 1771, Herz published his *Observations from Speculative Philosophy*,³⁵⁸ which was largely based on the dissertation: one review even described it as a “commentary” on Kant’s work.³⁵⁹ As a doctor, however, Herz saw his *Observations* as beneficial for a medical understanding of the body.³⁶⁰ Herz’s publication was mutually beneficial for both men. For Kant, it was a way of promoting his philosophy further outside Königsberg, while it was a way for Herz to establish his own name in Berlin. Despite the fact that the two texts were intertwined, Herz and Kant, the physician and the philosopher, would each develop in different directions. However, the two texts show their shared point of departure. Herz described his and Kant’s project as follows:

His main purpose is to confront the different methodologies of subjective and objective ways to philosophize, and to specify principles from which one is to proceed, both from the first as well as from the second, especially from those who must never lose sight of metaphysics, understood as a science of pure reason and hence of objective knowledge. In order to make the abstract teaching useful, he chooses the concept of a world, observes it in so far as we obtain the sensual faculty of knowledge and in so far as it is presented to us through pure reason. And after he has shown the great differences which are to

³⁵⁷ „Die alten protestantischen Universitäten, Jena, Wittenberg und Leipzig, pflegen die Candidaten jüdischer Nation abzuweisen. Göttingen, Halle und die holländischen Akademien denken toleranter, und wehren denen nicht den Catheder zu besteigen, die sich durch Gelehrsamkeit und gute Aufführung dieser Ehre würdig machen...“ Albrecht von Haller, *Vorlesungen über die gerichtliche Arzneiwissenschaft: aus einer nachgelassenen lateinischen Handschrift übersetzt: zweyten bandes: zweyter theil* (bey der neuen Typographischen Gesellschaft, 1784), 84–85.

³⁵⁸ Markus Herz, *Betrachtungen aus der spekulativen Weltweisheit* (Bey Johann Jakob Kanter, 1771). Further on Marcus Herz see: Martin L. Davies, *Identity Or History?: Marcus Herz and the End of the Enlightenment* (Wayne State University Press, 1995).

³⁵⁹ “Diese Betrachtungen sind eigentlich ein Commentarius über die 1770 von Hr. Kant zu Königsberg gehaltene Disp. Pro loco: *De mundi sensibilis forma et principiis*, bey welcher Hr. Herz Respondens war. Er trägt nun in Form eines Schreibens umständlicher vor, was er in Ansehung der Kantschen Principien, theils für sich verstanden, theils von seinem Lehrer gehört, theils auch selbst dabey anzumerken gefunden hat.“ J. H. Lambert, “Recension (by Sw) of M. Herz Betrachtungen Aus Der Spekulativen Weltweisheit. 1771, Königsberg.,” *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* 20, no. 1. St. (1773): 227.

³⁶⁰ Herz, *Betrachtungen aus der spekulativen Weltweisheit*, 2–3.

*be found between both ways to obtain the concept, he develops the nature of subjective and objective knowledge as such...*³⁶¹

Kant sought to overcome worldviews that only expressed the personal world of a single person, as had been the problem with Swedenborg: "...the so-called *egoistic* world, which is completely constituted by a unique simple substance together with its accidents, is not properly called a world, unless, perhaps, it is called an *imaginary* world."³⁶² However, Kant's intent was not to replace one understanding of the world with another, but rather to investigate which structures would persist in all different philosophies. Kant found that all these presupposed notions of space and time were not empirical facts but simply modes of structuring any world. As he wrote, "...in any world there is a certain constant and invariable form, which, as the perennial principle of each contingent and transitory form belonging to the state of that world, must be regarded as belonging to its nature. Those who consider this investigation to be superfluous are baffled by the concept of *space* and *time*."³⁶³ The task that Kant now set himself was to be able to distinguish empirical concepts from concepts of pure reason, i.e. which concepts could be derived from experience and which could not. Kant wanted to show that concepts of experience should not be mistaken for intellectual concepts, just as intellectual concepts could not be explained as mere abstractions from experience:

The common concepts of experience are called empirical, and the objects of experience are called phenomena, while the laws both of experience and generally of all sensitive cognition are called the laws of phenomena. Thus empirical concepts do not in virtue of being raised to greater universality, become

³⁶¹ „Herr Kant, welcher, nach dem Ausspruche der größten Kenner, unter der kleinen Klasse von Philosophen, der Zierde Deutschlands, gewiß nicht die letzte Stelle verdien, hat eine Schrift bekannt gemacht,³⁶¹ welche die Aufmerksamkeit der gelehrten Welt ganz verdient, und sie um desto mehr verdient, da er Aussichten darinn entdeckt, die vielleicht einst zur Vollkommenheit der ganzen Metaphysik nicht wenig beytragen können, und nach seiner gewöhnlichen Art mit unangewandten Augen der Wahrheit gerade entgegengehet, ohne sich von Liebe oder Abneigung gegen irgend ein System von dem Wege, welchen seine Scharfsinnigkeit ihm bahnt, im mindesten abbringen zu lassen. Sein hauptzweck ist, die verschiedenen Methoden der subjektiven und objektiven Art zu philosophiren, auseinanderzusetzen, und Grundsätze anzugeben, nach welchen man sowol bey dieser als bey jener zu verfahren hat, besonders diejenigen, welche in der Metaphysik, als einer Wissenschaft der reinen Vernunft und folglich der objektiven Erkenntniß, nie aus den Augen gelassen werden müssen. Um diese abstrakten Lehren brauchbar zu machen, wählt er den Begriff einer Welt, betrachtet ihn, insofern wir ihn durch das sinnliche Erkenntnißvermögen erlangen, und insofern er durch die reine Vernunft uns dargeboten wird. Und nachdem er die große Verschiedenheit gezeigt hat, welche zwischen diesen beyden Arten, den Begriff zu erlangen, sich findet, entwickelt er die Natur der subjektiven und objektiven Erkenntniß überhaupt, und unterlässet nicht, bey jedem Schritte von dem allgemeinen auf den gewählten Begriff die Anwendung zu machen.“ Ibid., 10–12.

³⁶² Kant, "On the Form and Principles of the Sensible and the Intelligible World (1770)," 380. AA II: 389.

³⁶³ Ibid., 381. AA II: 391.

*intellectual in the real sense, nor do they pass beyond the species of sensitive cognition; no matter how high they ascend by abstracting, they always remain sensitive.*³⁶⁴

As we shall see in the following, this distinction came to play an essential role for the development of Kant's moral philosophy, since Kant came to argue that moral concepts should not be perceived as empirical concepts. "A *distinct* cognition," Kant noted, "...continues to belong to the understanding, even though they are confused. Such, for example, is the case with *moral* concepts, which are cognised not by experiencing them but by the pure understanding itself."³⁶⁵

Kant as Educator

Upon leaving for Berlin, Herz proclaimed in a letter to Kant dated 11 September 1770 that "I shall never cease to regard the day that I dedicated myself to the sciences as the happiest and the day that you became my teacher as the first day of my life."³⁶⁶ During the 60s and 70s, Kant's reputation as a teacher had grown. This was partly due to his popular and practical appeal even in matters such as metaphysics. His lectures did not begin with ontological questions, but with examples from the empirical sciences, empirical psychology, physics, and natural history; it was through these that he approached ontological and theological questions. During his early lectures on metaphysics and logic, Kant quickly saw deficiencies in the students' education: "Right at the beginning of my academic career, I realised that students were being seriously neglected, particularly in this respect: early on they learned the art of subtle argumentation but they lacked any adequate knowledge of historical matters which could make good their lack of *experience*."³⁶⁷ In response to this, Kant initially conducted a seminar on physical geography; then, during the 70s, he developed a seminar on anthropology.

Kant's approach was not dogmatic or authoritative; on the contrary, he encouraged his students to think for themselves: in his classes, one did not learn philosophies but how to

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 386. AA II: 394.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 387. AA II: 395.

³⁶⁶ Kant, *Correspondence*, 110. AA X: 100.

³⁶⁷ Immanuel Kant, "M. Immanuel Kant's Announcement of the Programme of His Lectures for the Winter Semester 1765-1766 (1765)," in *Theoretical Philosophy 1755-1770*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 298. "Als ich gleich zu Anfange meiner akademischen Unterweisung erkannte, daß eine Große Vernachlässigung der studirenden Jugend vornehmlich darin bestehe, daß sie frühe vernünfteln lernt, ohne gnugsame historische Kenntnisse, welche die Stelle der Erfahrung vertreten können [...]."
AA II: 312.

philosophize. To do this, the students were introduced to an array of conflicting systems, all of which were to be taken seriously:

When I hear a new apparently nonsensical sentence from a man, then I believe him to have a more sound sense than me, as it is easier to discover falsities than truths: then I do not consider myself as an opponent (which is the most absurd point of view in the world) but put myself in his place, as his person, consider the subject from his own point of view, the good side and the partial truths. However, if I see errors, then I investigate how the errors have become possible and how they could have originated from the nature of the human soul. For every error is a real phenomenon and appearance in the human soul.³⁶⁸

What one needed to understand in philosophical systems was the need to investigate matters of error as much as matters of truth. And while the first were to be studied within metaphysics, the latter fell under the category of empirical psychology or anthropology: after all, it is human to err.

Kant's linkage of metaphysics with natural philosophy and anthropology also had a practical purpose. The student who did not finish the course, Kant pointed out, "will, nonetheless, have benefitted this much: [...] he will have heard something which he can use, because of the frequency with which it can be given application in life."³⁶⁹ This sentiment appealed to the Minister of Culture Karl Abraham von Zedlitz, who was trying to reform the education system in Prussia by promoting practical knowledge for the benefit of the state. In 1770, the *Albertina* was the subject of a university reform that brought a stricter separation and definition of the four faculties, giving more autonomy to the philosophical faculty. Zedlitz followed Kant's lectures as popularized in Berlin by Marcus Herz.³⁷⁰ In 1778, he asked Kant to use his "heuristic talent" to

³⁶⁸ "Wenn ich von einem Manne einen neuen, widersinnig scheinenden Satz höre: so traue ich ihm mehr Richtig des Verstandes als mir zu. Da es leichter ist, Falschheiten als Wahrheiten zu finden: so betrachte ich mich nicht als Gegner (das der absurdeste Gesichtspunkt von der Welt ist) sondern setze mich in seinen Zustand, als seine Person, betrachte die Sache in seinem eigenen Gesichtspunkt, untersuche/ die gute Seite und die Partialwahrheiten. **B** sehe ich doch Irrtümer so untersuche ich aus der Beschaffenheit der Menschlichen Seele, wie die Irrtümer möglich gewesen und wie er darauf habe kommen können. Denn jeder Irrtum ist ein wirkliches Phänomen und Erscheinung in der Menschlichen Seele." AA XXVIII: 7)

³⁶⁹ Kant, "M. Immanuel Kant's Announcement of the Programme of His Lectures for the Winter Semester 1765-1766 (1765)," 296. "So behält die gedachte Lehrart eine ihr eigene Nutzbarkeit. Denn der Zuhörer [...] würde gleichwohl etwas gehört haben, was ihm durch seine Leichtigkeit faßlich, durch das Interessante annehmlich und durch die häufige Fälle der Anwendung im Leben brauchbar wäre [...]." AA II: 309-310.

³⁷⁰ AA X: 222.

strengthen the faculty of philosophy³⁷¹ – it was Kant’s idea of knowledge of the world which appealed to him.

However, the relative status of metaphysics and anthropology took a turn in Kant’s work, as he noted in a letter to Herz on 20 October 1778: “My discussion of empirical psychology is now briefer, since I lecture on anthropology.” Kant did not fail to see the importance of his most devoted student Minister von Zedlitz: “Especially I beg you to do me the favour of announcing to His Excellency, Herr von Zedlitz, through his secretary, Herr Biester, that the aforementioned Herr Kraus will deliver the requested transcript.”³⁷² Kant was well aware of Herz’s contribution to the popularization of his thought and name among Berlin “professors of medicine, preachers, lawyers, [and] government administrators.”³⁷³ “What is unexpected in this is [...] the popularity you have achieved that, in a project of this sort, would have made me fearful.” Kant replied in January 1779, continuing:

*For some time I have been reflecting in idle moments on the principles needed to achieve popularity in the sciences generally [...] especially in philosophy, and I think that from this perspective I can not only describe a different selection but also a wholly different organization than the methodical, scholastic one that always remains fundamental requires.*³⁷⁴

Kant was developing a new approach with which to re-organize the order of metaphysics as well as empirical studies, giving his empirical approach and use of examples more of a pedagogical value than a systematic one.

³⁷¹ Zedlitz an Kant 1 Aug. 1778. “Erstreckt sich Ihr Hevristisches Talent so weit, so geben Sie mir doch Mittel an die Hand, die Studenten auf Universitaeten von den Brodt Collegiis zurück zu halten u. ihnen begreiflich zu machen daß das bischen Richterey, ja selbst Theologie u. ArzneyGelarheit unendlich leichter u. in der Anwendung sichrer wird wenn der Lehrling mehr philosophische Kenntniß hat, daß man doch nur wenige Stunden des Tages Richter, Advocat, Prediger, Arzt, u. in so vielen Mensch ist wo man noch andre Wißenschaften nötig hat – kurz dieß alles sollen Sie mich lehren den Studenten begreiflich zu machen. Gedruckte Anweisung, Leges Reglements das ist alles noch schlimmer als das BrodtColleg selbst.“ AA X: 236.

³⁷² Kant, *Correspondence*, 170. AA X: 243.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 171–72. AA X: 244–245.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 173. AA X: 247.

Philosophers and Physicians

Kant confided in Herz that he was not feeling well, and so the latter offered to consult other physicians in Berlin: “How fortunate I would deem myself if I could make the smallest contribution to your well-being!”³⁷⁵ Later, towards the end of 1773, Kant remarked:

Training in the practice of medicine, under the guidance of a capable teacher, is exactly what I wish. The cemetery must in the future not be filled before the young doctor has learned how to attack the disease properly. Do make many careful observations. Here as elsewhere, theories are often directed more to the relief of the idea than to the mastery of the phenomenon. Macbride’s Systematic Medical Science (I believe you are already acquainted with it) appealed to me very much in this regard. In general, I now feel much better than before. The reason is that I now understand better what makes me ill. Because of my sensitive nerves, all medicines are without exception poison for me. [...] Study the great variety of constitutions. My own would be destroyed by any physician who is not a philosopher.³⁷⁶

Kant’s occupation with his own health went hand in hand with the postponing of his work: the magnitude of his endeavor was becoming clear to him. It was a theoretical work, but he revealed to Herz his hopes that it would give philosophy a “durable form” and present a “more favourable turn” for morality.³⁷⁷ Like in the case of medicine, Kant was hoping to found philosophy as a science for the benefit of mankind. Hence, Kant’s suspicion towards “any physician who is not a philosopher” may indicate an emerging rivalry. It is therefore by no means surprising that Kant in the same letter contrasts himself with Ernst Platner, who had written an *Anthropology for Doctors and Philosophers (Weltweise)*³⁷⁸ which Herz had reviewed.³⁷⁹

Platner advocated a new discipline of anthropology which was to combine the physician’s knowledge of the body and the philosopher’s knowledge of the soul. In this way, he sought to re-unify two disciplines that had been divided by Hippocrates,³⁸⁰ arguing that moral philosophers often knew more about the body than physicians did about the soul and that

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 111. AA X: 101.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 139. AA X: 143–44.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 140. AA X: 144.

³⁷⁸ Ernst Platner, *Anthropologie für Aerzte und Weltweise* (Dyck, 1772).

³⁷⁹ Markus Herz, “Rezension: „Platner, E.: Anthropologie Für Aerzte Und Weltweise“,” *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* 20, no. Bd. 1 (1773): 25–51.

³⁸⁰ Wenn das Wachsthum der Arzneykunst nach den Zeiten des Hippocrates die Trennung derselben von der Philosophie, wie man sagt, nothwendig gemacht hat; so getraue ich mir zu behaupten, daß diese Wissenschaft durch ihr Wachsthum mehr verlohren als gewonnen hat. Es kommt alles darauf an, was man unter der Philosophie versteht. Ich denke mir nichts anders dabey, als die Wissenschaft des Menschen und anderer Körper und Geister, welche zu seiner Natur ein Verhältnis und auf seine Glückseligkeit eine Beziehung haben. Nach diesem Begriffe wäre die Arzneykunst offenbar (und ich glaube das sind eigentlich alle Wissenschaften) ein Theil der Philosophie.“ Platner, *Anthropologie für Aerzte und Weltweise*, III–IV.

physicians could learn from philosophers just as philosophers could from physicians. Platner sought to restore the reputation of the philosopher in the eyes of the populace, giving him the same professional reputation as the physician.³⁸¹ This understanding of a physician-philosopher also intended to turn psychology into a subject for physicians, whereas now, as Herz noted in his review. "...he who would pose as a teacher of medical psychology would make a rare phenomenon."³⁸²

Herz showed enthusiasm for the simplicity of Platner's approach. As he describes it, "from a simple hypothesis, which he assumes from the movement of the nerve juices, he deduces from this with an uncommon insight a lot of changes in the condition of the body, which follow different ideas or different powers of the soul."³⁸³ Despite his enthusiasm for the new attempt at cooperation between medicine and philosophy, however, Herz introduced some criticism, which was not directed towards the project as such but instead towards some of its preconceptions. Herz wished that Platner had "tested and thorough experience, and ever less [through] attachment to a certain philosophical system, which often has forced him to put the true concept of the connection between mind and body out of sight"³⁸⁴ For Herz, Platner's refusal to engage with metaphysical speculation regarding the relationship between body and soul essentially turned him in to a dogmatic. Claiming "...that there are no ideas in the soul which are not obtained through the

³⁸¹ „...vielleicht würden manche Aerzte mehr Philosophie lernen, wenn der Pöbel so zu schließen gewohnt oder vielmehr fähig wäre: dieser ist ein guter Arzt, denn er ist ein Philosoph. Man setze den unerhörten Fall, daß in irgend einer Stadt kein Arzt wäre, aber es lebte in dieser Stadt ein Philosoph der den Menschen und die ganze Natur auf das allervollkommenste kannte. Alle Einwohner, die Vornehmen so gut als die Geringen, werden in dem Falle, daß sie der Hülfe der Kunst bedürfen, zuverlässig eher einen unwissenden Bader oder einen vorwitzigen Apotheker um Rath fragen, als den Philosophen, weil ein Bader oder Apotheker mit einem Arzte eine gewisse sinnliche Aehnlichkeit hat. Es sind mir in unserer Stadt, wo die Quacksalberey schon längst über das finkende Ansehen der Aerzte triumphirt hat, einige Weiber bekannt, welche eine sehr starke Praxin haben, und dieselbe ursprünglich ganz allein der Geschicklichkeit Clystiere zu setzen, zu verdanken haben – Mit einem Worte, alles hat in den Augen des Pöbels und nach der Meinung derjenigen Aerzte, welche um den Beyfall desselben mehr als um den wahren Erfolg ihrer Kunst bekümmert sind, mit der Arzneykunst eher ein Verhältnis als die Philosophie. Man hält sie, wenn es hochkommt, für einen anständigen Zeitvertreib eines gelehrten Arztes, und man denket nicht an das Beyspiel eines Borhavens, Hallers, Tissots, Zimmermanns und anderer vortrefflichen Männer, welche eben dadurch groß geworden sind, daß sie Philosophen waren.“Ibid., VII–IX.

³⁸² „...der würde eine seltene Erscheinung auf der Universität ausmachen, der sich zum Lehrer einer medicinischen Psychologie aufwefen würde. Herr P. bemerkt sehr richtig in seiner Vorrede, daß man oft die Theile und die Grenzen der Wissenschaften mehr nach sinnlichen Aehnlichkeiten als nach wahren Verhältnissen bestimmt, und daß dieses Vorurtheil aus dem gemeinen Leben herstammt.“ Herz, "Rezension: „Platner, E.: Anthropologie Für Aerzte Und Weltweise“,“ 29.

³⁸³ „Aus einer simpel Hypothese, die er bey der Bewegung des Nervensafts annimmt, leitet er hernach mit einer ungemeinen Scharfsinnigkeit eine Menge Veränderungen im Zustand des Körpers her, welche auf verschiedene Vorstellungen oder verschiedene Aeusserungen der Seelenkräfte folgen [...]“ Ibid., 32.

³⁸⁴ „...nur haben wir bisweilen etwas bewährtere und sorgfältigere Erfahrungen gewünscht, und überhaupt weniger Anhänglichkeit an ein gewisses philosophisches System, die ihn nicht selten gezwungen hat, den wahren Begriff der Verknüpfung zwischen Seele und Körper aus den Augen zu setzen, und zu einseitigen Erklärungen seine Zuflucht zu nehmen...“ Ibid.

contribution of the body, one sees that he has the Lockian system in mind”,³⁸⁵ which makes him both unable to understand phenomena which cannot be derived from experience, such as self-consciousness and human freedom, and misinterpret what may be the cause and effect of a given matter.³⁸⁶ Even an empirical anthropology based on physiology makes certain metaphysical assumptions. On this point. Kant agrees with Herz:

I have read you review of Platner’s Anthropology. I would not have guessed the reviewer myself but now I am delighted to see the evident progress of his skill. This winter I am giving, for the second time, a lecture course on anthropology, a subject that I now intend to make into a proper academic discipline. But my plan is quite unique. I intend to use it to disclose the sources of all the [practical] sciences, the science of morality, of skill, of human intercourse, of the way to educate and govern human beings, and thus of everything that pertains to the practical. I shall seek to discuss phenomena and their laws rather than the foundations of the possibility of human thinking in general. Hence the subtle and, to my view, eternally futile inquiries as to the manner in which bodily organs are connected with thought I omit entirely. I include so many observations of ordinary life that my auditors have constant occasion to compare their ordinary experience with my remarks and thus, from beginning to end, find the lectures entertaining and never dry. In my spare time, I am trying to prepare a preliminary study for the students out of this very pleasant empirical study, an analysis of the nature of skill (prudence) and even wisdom that along with physical geography and distinct from all other learning, can be called knowledge of the world.³⁸⁷

Interestingly, Kant formulates his vision for anthropology in such a way that Platner’s *Anthropology* comes to be seen as a dogmatic metaphysic focused on the question of physical influx, while his is the study of “phenomena and their laws.” Kant’s remark is, however, also directed towards his earlier view and his study of empirical psychology in his lectures on metaphysics. However, the new lecture course took a *pragmatic* turn.

Kant may follow Platner in giving philosophy a new value and level of acknowledgement. However, in the course of making philosophy useful to medicine, his views on it changed. As Platner noted, the issue is not just about the relationship between medicine and philosophy: “It all depends on what one understands by philosophy.”³⁸⁸ Here Kant does not stand

³⁸⁵ „Wenn der Hr. V. in der sechsten und siebenten Lehre behauptet, daß die Seele keine Idee hat, ausser denen, die sie durch den Beytrag des Körpers erhält, so siehet man, daß er das Lockische System vor Augen gehabt.” Ibid., 38–39.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 34.

³⁸⁷ Kant, *Correspondence*, 141. AA X: 145–146.

³⁸⁸ Platner, *Anthropologie für Aerzte und Weltweise*, III–IV.

as the metaphysician again the physician; indeed, he himself tries to distance himself from the metaphysical tradition. As he wrote to Herz on 24 November 1776:

It pleases me to learn from Herr Friedländer that your medical practice is making good progress. Quite apart from the benefits it bestows, medicine is a field in which new insights provide continual nourishment to the understanding, since moderate activity keeps the understanding busy without exhausting it in the way that our greatest analysts, people like Baumgarten, Mendelssohn, Garve, whom I follow from a distance, have been exhausted. They spin their brain nerves into the most delicate threads and thereby make themselves excessively sensitive to every impression or tension. I hope that with you this sort of mental activity will be only a refreshing play of thoughts and never become a burdensome occupation.³⁸⁹

One may note the physiological description of intellectual work, which is not at all strange to Kant. Perhaps more importantly, however, he sees medicine as an empirical engagement which “keeps the understanding busy without exhausting it.”

Metaphysics of Metaphysics

Reporting from Berlin on his first meeting with Moses Mendelssohn, Herz wrote to Kant on 11 September 1770:

We conversed for four whole hours over certain things in your dissertation. We have very different philosophies; he follows Baumgarten to the letter and he gave me to understand very clearly and distinctly that he could not agree with me on a number of points because they did not agree with Baumgarten's opinions. On the whole he likes the dissertation and he only regrets that you were not somewhat more expansive. [...] in short he thinks the whole dissertation an excellent work, though there are certain points with which he does not totally agree.³⁹⁰

The importance of Mendelssohn's approval could not be overemphasized, and Mendelssohn informed Kant himself that he had read the dissertation “with much pleasure.”³⁹¹ To be acknowledged as a great metaphysician among metaphysicians meant to be acknowledged in

³⁸⁹ Kant, *Correspondence*, 159–60. AA X: 198.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 110. AA X: 100.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 122. AA X: 113.

Berlin. Less than a year later, however, Herz expressed his concern, having heard that the Kant he had left in Königsberg was “...no longer such a great devotee of speculative philosophy” as he used to be. Friedländer, who had passed on the news, had told Herz that Kant “took metaphysics to be pointless head scratching”, too detached from the world “to bring about any of the changes that their theorizing” demanded. As it could not have any significant effect on the well-being of the world, Kant had allegedly taken a keen interest in moral philosophy instead, “...for here one may penetrate the heart, here one may study human feelings and try to regulate them by bringing them under the rules of common experience.” Herz’s concern was, however, put at ease by a letter from Kant: “You are still the same devotee of metaphysics as ever, it must have been only a bad mood that made you say otherwise.”³⁹² It is, however, likely that Kant had not simply been in a bad mood, but was honestly contemplating the importance of his new course on *anthropology*. If so, we should not understand anthropology and metaphysics as separate disciplines, as we have already seen how Kant used empirical psychology as an entry into the rational psychology of metaphysics. To understand anthropology, however, as a popular entry into the subject of metaphysics may be misleading; rather, the often conflicting assumptions in the anthropological material were used to bring forth paradoxes in metaphysical reflexions. This was a way of becoming aware of our presupposed assumptions about the world.

When Kant wrote to Herz on 21 February 1772, he noted how he, with interest returned to the dissertation: “...the project that we had debated, in order to adapt it to the whole of philosophy and the rest of knowledge and in order to understand its extend and limits.” These reflexions were the beginnings of a new work:

I had also long ago outlined [...] the principles of feeling, taste, and power of judgment, with their effects – the pleasant, the beautiful, and the good – and was then making plans for a work that might

³⁹² Herz writes to Kant July 9, 1771: “My friend Herr Friedländer said to me on his arrival that you are no longer such a great devotee of speculative philosophy as you used to be. What’s that I am saying – ‘not a devotee’? He said that you had told him explicitly on a certain occasion that you took metaphysics to be pointless head scratching, a subject understood only by a handful of scholars in their study chambers but far too removed from the tumult of the world to bring about any of the changes that their theorizing demands. Since most of the rest of the world has no comprehension of metaphysics at all, it cannot have the slightest effect on its well-being. You supposedly said to him that moral philosophy for the common man is thus the *only* appropriate subject for a scholar, for here one may penetrate the heart, here one may study human feelings and try to regulate them by bringing them under the rules of common experience. How I trembled at this news! What? I thought, was it all just deception when my teacher on so many occasions extolled the value of metaphysics? Or did he then really feel what he claimed to feel, though time has given him a more penetrating insight into the essential nature of science, an insight that has all at once converted his warmest dispositions into cold aversion? [...] your letter called me back in the nick of time from my rashness: You are still the same devotee of metaphysics as ever, it must have been only a bad mood that made you say otherwise.” Ibid., 129. AA X: 125.

perhaps have the title, The Limits of Sensibility and Reason. I planned to have it consist of two parts, a theoretical and a practical. The first part would have two sections, (1) general phenomenology and (2) metaphysics, but this only with regard to its nature and method. The second part likewise would have two sections, (1) the universal principles of feeling, taste, and sensuous desire and (2) the first principles of morality. As I thought through the theoretical part, considering its whole scope and the reciprocal relations of all its parts, I noticed that I still lacked something essential, something that in my long metaphysical studies I, as well as others, had failed to consider and which in fact constitutes the key to the whole secret of metaphysics, hitherto still hidden from itself. I asked myself this question: What is the ground of the relation of that in us which we call 'representation' to the object?³⁹³

What Kant had stumbled upon was an assumption within metaphysics which was constitutive for most further doctrines but still had not been put into question. It concerned the relationship between the object as it was *in itself* and its representation as it appeared *for me* as the subject of experience. What was assumed was that the grounds for this relation were to be located in the object; however, Kant had begun to put this into question in order to investigate the possibility of the subject being the constitutive ground for our understanding of the world, an investigation which might revolutionize philosophy. He soon came to describe it as an investigation of "... the sources of metaphysics, its methods and limits"³⁹⁴ and call it "a critique of pure reason." This endeavor was not a straightforward work of metaphysics, but rather a critical investigation of it, which may explain Kant's expressed criticism to Friedländer. It was, however, not a criticism of metaphysics from a different standpoint such as empiricism but instead a meta-endeavor, or what Kant described as "the *metaphysics of metaphysics*."³⁹⁵ On 24 November 1776, he confided in Herz: "...I see an open field before me whose cultivation will be pure recreation." By cultivating this field, Kant was hoping to constitute philosophy as a distinct and autonomous discipline:

You know that it must be possible to survey the field of pure reason, that is, of judgments that are independent of all empirical principles, since this lies a priori in ourselves and need not await any exposure from our experience. What we need in order to indicate the divisions, limits, and the whole content of that field, according to secure principles, and to lay the road marks so that in the future one can know for sure whether one stands on the floor of true reason or on that of sophistry – for this we need a critique, a discipline, a canon, and an architectonic of pure reason, a formal science, therefore, that can require nothing of those sciences already at hand and that needs for its foundations an entirely

³⁹³ Ibid., 132–33. AA X: 129–130.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 134. AA X: 132.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 181. AA X: 269.

*unique technical vocabulary. I do not expect to be finished with this work before Easter and shall use part of next summer for it, to the extent that my incessantly interrupted health will allow me to work.*³⁹⁶

For this new discipline, Kant was developing a new technical language: he also called for a critique, canon, and architecture of pure reason, which were to constitute philosophy as a distinct field with its own approach and problems.

After years of constantly feeling close to finishing his work, on 1 May 1781 Kant wrote Herz with the following words:

*In the current Easter book fair there will appear a book of mine, entitled Critique of Pure Reason. It is being published by Hartknoch's firm, printed in Halle by Grunert, and distributed under the direction of Herr Spener, the Berlin book dealer. This book contains the result of all the varied investigations, which start from the concepts we debated together under the heading 'the sensible world and the intelligible world' [mundi sensibilis und intelligibilis]. I am anxious to hand over the summation of my efforts to the same insightful man who deigned to cultivate my ideas, so discerning a man that he penetrated those ideas more deeply than anyone else.*³⁹⁷

The book was dedicated to Minister von Zedlitz, and he gave Herz instructions to assure that a copy from Kant himself would be in the hands of the minister before anyone else. Equally, aware of the necessity of reaching the right audience, three more copies were dedicated to Herz, Mendelsohn, and Dr. Sell. To Herz, he gave his gratitude for wanting to read it: "I can count on such efforts only from a very few readers now, though I am most humbly convinced that in time this will become more general; for one cannot expect a way of thinking to be suddenly led off the beaten track into one that has heretofore been totally unused."³⁹⁸ Despite having taken a different path to Mendelsohn, he regretted that Mendelsohn did not read his book: "He is the most important of all the people who could explain this theory to the world; it was on him, on Herr Tetens, and on you, dearest man, that I counted most."³⁹⁹ He was aware that his book, despite or maybe even because of his extensive work, would not become an overnight success and already had plans for a popular version.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 160. AA X: 199.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 179. AA X: 266.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 180–81. AA X: 269.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 181. AA X: 270.

Genealogy of the Body

The parting of ways between medicine and philosophy as evolved between Kant and Herz does not, as one might think,⁴⁰⁰ constitute a separation between the body as the object of medicine and the soul as the object of philosophy. Rather, it signifies a cultivation of perspectives. In the following, we shall see how Kant develops an understanding of the body not as an object of investigation but rather as constitutive for the subject's understanding of space.⁴⁰¹ What is often misunderstood is that Kant does not exclude the body from reason; rather, he provides a radical re-interpretation of understanding as located and constituted by human embodiment. This becomes clear in the development of Kant's analysis of space.

Already preceding his dissertation, Kant had, in 1768, published an investigation of space bearing the title *Concerning the ultimate ground of the differentiation of directions in space*. In this text, Kant radically changed his notion of space as he came to understand that the geometrical conception of it as an empty container could not account for certain aspects of our spatial experience. What came to be Kant's key focus in this development was the fundamental distinction between right and left. When I want to orientate myself, Kant noted, I may use a map and a compass; however, "such knowledge would be of no use to us unless we could also orientate the things thus ordered, along with the entire system of their reciprocal positions, by referring them to the sides of our body."⁴⁰² By shifting perspective from the geometrical description of space to a perspective that gives priority to human orientation, Kant initiates a new entry into the analysis of space, an analysis that puts the human body in the center:

*Since the distinct feeling of the right and the left side [is] of such great necessity for judging directions, nature has established an immediate connection between this feeling and the mechanical organisation of the human body. In virtue of this organisation, one side of the body, the right side, namely, enjoys an indisputable advantage over the other in respect of skill and perhaps strength, too. [...] And this it is that the two sides of the body are, in spite of their great external similarity, sufficiently distinguished from each other by a clear feeling.*⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ "...Kant gehört eher zur Geschichte der Verdeckung als der Entdeckung des Leibes." Böhme and Böhme, *Das Andere Der Vernunft*, 61.

⁴⁰¹ Nuzzo, *Ideal Embodiment*.

⁴⁰² Immanuel Kant, "Concerning the Ultimate Ground of the Differentiation of Directions in Space (1768)," in *Theoretical Philosophy 1755-1770*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 367. "...mit unserer gemeinsten Kenntniß der Lage der Örter bewandt, die uns zu nichts hilft, wenn wir die so geordnete Dinge und das ganze System der wechselseitigen Lagen nicht durch die Beziehung auf die Seiten unseres Körpers nach den Gegenden stellen können." AA II: 379.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 369. "Da das verschiedene Gefühl der rechten und linken Seite zum Urtheil der Gegenden von so großer Nothwendigkeit ist, so hat die Natur es zugleich an die mechanische Einrichtung des menschlichen Körpers geknüpft,

What is clear in Kant's description of the body and the distinction between left and right is that they refer to a physiological description of the structure of the body and a psychological description of a "clear feeling" of the difference between left and right. As Kant's analysis develops, the physiological and psychological descriptions fall into the background in order to give place to another characteristic of our distinction between left and right, which becomes apparent in the following example:

It is apparent from the ordinary example of the two hands that the shape of the one body may be perfectly similar to the shape of the other, and the magnitudes of their extensions may be exactly equal, and yet there may remain an inner difference between the two, this difference consisting in the fact, namely, that the surface which encloses the one cannot possibly enclose the other.⁴⁰⁴

Despite having the same velocity and shape, two identical hands, one the mirror image of the other, may still be distinguished in space as the left and right hand exactly by being inverted. This characteristic points to a fundamental difference, constitutive of our spatial experience, which also makes it possible to point out what is preconceived in the geometrical understanding of space. For, as Kant points out, the geometrical understanding of space is only possible through reference to an absolute space, which "cannot itself be immediately perceived."⁴⁰⁵ Fundamental to our spatial experience therefore is not the relation between points or the organisation of objects, as they already refer to a notion of absolute space, but rather the phenomena of incongruent counterparts, such as human hands, which present a fundamental distinction and notion of space.

It is this insight that Kant develops in his *Inaugural Dissertation*, which made him rethink his perception of space as constitutive for our outer perception as such:

The concept of space is not abstracted from outer sensations. For I may only conceive of something as placed outside me by representing it as in a place which is different from the place in which I am myself;

vermittelt deren die eine, nämlich die rechte Seite, einen ungezweifelten Vorzug der Gewandtheit und vielleicht auch der Stärke vor der linken hat. [...] Und so sind die beiden Seiten des menschlichen Körpers ungeachtet ihrer großen äußeren Ähnlichkeit durch eine klare Empfindung gnugsam unterschieden [...].” AA II: 380.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 270–71. “Es ist schon aus dem gemeinen Beispiele beider Hände offenbar: daß die Figur eines Körpers der Figur eines andern völlig ähnlich und die Größe der Ausdehnung ganz gleich sein könne, so daß dennoch ein innerer Unterschied übrig bleibt, nämlich der: daß die Oberfläche, die den einen beschließt, den andern unmöglich einschließen könne.” AA II: 382.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 369. AA II: 281.

*and I may only conceive of things outside one another by locating them in different places in space. The possibility, therefore, of outer perceptions as such presupposes the concept of space; it does not create it.*⁴⁰⁶

Central to this analysis is how Kant formulates his conception of space in relation to the subject as the key to understanding something as being outside oneself. This means that the conception of space according to Kant is to be understood as “subjective and ideal” instead of “objective and real”.⁴⁰⁷ By this, Kant does not mean that space is in itself something psychological and inner, but rather that it is the condition which constitutes the difference between inner and outer for the subject. This distinction between inner and outer is however not that of the anatomist, as Kant points out in his lectures on metaphysics:

*A human being whose body has been split open can see his entrails and all his inner parts, thus this inner is merely a bodily being, and wholly different from the thinking being. A human being can lose many of his members, but for that he still remains and can say: I am. A foot belongs to him. But if it is sawed off, then he looks upon it just as upon any other matter which he can no longer use, like an old boot which he must throw away. But he himself always remains unaltered, and his thinking I loses nothing.*⁴⁰⁸

This perception already misconceives the distinction by placing the inner somewhere in space: “...I cannot determine my location in the body, for then I would have to be able to intuit myself in an outer relation. The *location* that we represent to ourselves *of the soul in the brain* is only a consciousness of the closer dependence on that place of the body where the soul works most.”⁴⁰⁹ Rather, what is at stake is that the consciousness is placed somewhere: “...the soul is not in interaction with the body because it is detained in a certain place in the body; a determinate place in the universe is rather attributed to the soul because it is in reciprocal interaction with a certain body...”⁴¹⁰ Hence one of the most central characteristics of the soul as we know it is that it is located not in a particular place in the body, but that it has the characteristic of being located.

When Kant finally published *Critique of Pure Reason*, the examples of left and right were left out. This is partly because Kant avoided examples in this work and partly because the

⁴⁰⁶ Kant, “On the Form and Principles of the Sensible and the Intelligible World (1770),” 295. AA II: 402.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 397. AA II: 403.

⁴⁰⁸ Immanuel Kant, *Lectures on Metaphysics*, trans. Karl Ameriks and Steve Naragon (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 45. AA XXVIII: 225.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Kant, “On the Form and Principles of the Sensible and the Intelligible World (1770),” 415–16. AA II: 419.

concept of a body as a precondition for spatial experience may confuse the distinction between a body as a subject and as an object of experience. Space is here formulated in its clearest way as *a priori* conditions of experience, i.e. space and time are forms of sensibility (*Anschauungen*), and as such are pre-discursive. However, Kant did not leave the example behind; on the contrary, it was repeated in 1783 in his popular presentation of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, the *Prolegomena*.

What indeed can be more similar to, and in all parts more equal to, my hand or my ear than its image in the mirror? And yet I cannot put such a hand as is seen in the mirror in the place of its original; for if the one was a right hand, then the other in the mirror is a left, and the image of the right ear is a left one, which can never take the place of the former. Now there are no inner differences here that any understanding could merely think; and yet the differences are inner as far as the senses teach, for the left hand cannot, after all, be enclosed within the same boundaries as the right (they cannot be made congruent), despite all reciprocal equality and similarity; one hand's glove cannot be used on the other. What then is the solution? These objects are surely not representations of things as they are in themselves, and as the pure understanding would cognize them, rather, they are sensory intuitions, i.e., appearances, whose possibility rests on the relation of certain things, unknown in themselves, to something else, namely our sensibility."⁴¹¹

Kant's description does not merely present the distinction between left and right, but, and just as importantly, comes to the conclusion that our perception of things in space are constituted not "as they are themselves" but as they are in relation to "our sensibility." As we have seen in Kant's earlier investigations, such an understanding of our experience is precisely dependent on the locality, and hence the body, of our mind. However, the initial physiological description of the distinction between left and right, although it may give a psychological understanding of our distinction between left and right, cannot give meaning to it as the precondition of our spatial understanding. Kant's understanding of space as "subjective and ideal" therefore does not exclude the body; on the contrary, it presupposes it. However, it is not the body as an object of our experience, but the body as the subject of our spatial experience that Kant investigates through his analysis of space.

⁴¹¹ Kant, "Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics That Will Be Able to Come Forward as Science (1783)," 81–82. AA IV: 285–286

Transcendental Freedom

In our understanding of the world, we may rely on experience, and, as we have seen, our spatial understanding is intuitive and hence pre-discursive. However, our knowledge of the world is discursive. As Kant writes, "...besides intuition there is no other kind of cognition than through concepts. Thus the cognition of every, at least human understanding is a cognition through concepts, not intuitive but discursive."⁴¹² Although many of our concepts maybe traced back to our experience, there are certain concepts which cannot. Kant's interest in the sensible and the rational is to investigate which concepts originate from experience and which do not. However, rather than cast away the latter as mere fictions, he investigates the possibility of their function as a mode of ordering and structuring rules, just as a language has certain rules.

In this sense, Kant presupposes an understanding of language which cannot be reduced to experience. As he writes: "One learns many things, e.g. walking, without having been taught. One cannot be taught by others to think, just as one cannot learn to walk." However, this does not mean that thinking is without reason, as we can learn "...to subject it to rules." Thought, just as language, follows rules. Upon learning a dead language, one discovers "...that it is bound to certain constant rules, without which it could not be language, i.e. communication of ones thoughts. (Hence you have followed the rules of a language without having been able to nominate these rules). [...]. Language is communication of thoughts. Therefore, for all people, thinking is also tied up to certain rules."⁴¹³ While a grammarian may study language as an empirical object for the *understanding*, *reason* may study the transcendental preconditions, the rules one follows, when using one's *understanding*. This points to certain limits of the understanding which the understanding always attempt to transgress by judging transcendental concepts, such as the soul,

⁴¹² Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1998:205. "Es giebt außer der Anschauung keine andere Art zu erkennen, als durch Begriffe. Also ist die Erkenntniß eines jeden, wenigstens des menschlichen Verstandes eine Erkenntniß durch Begriffe, nicht intuitiv, sondern discursiv." AA III 85

⁴¹³ "Sie haben bisher vieles Gedacht, aber vermuthlich über ihr Denken nicht nachgedacht.

Eben so haben sie manche Jahre gesprochen, aber über die Sprache nicht nachgedacht. (Sprechen. Laut denken.) [✓] Man lernt viele Dinge, z. B. gehen, ohne sie gelehrt worden zu seyn. [✓] Denken kann man nicht von anderen lernen, so wenig wie gehen, aber wohl: sein Vermogen zu Denken unter Regeln bringen. [✓] Dennoch haben sie bey Erlernung einer todten Sprache gefunden haben [crossed out], daß sie (an) gewissen bestandigen Regeln gebunden sey, ohne die sie nicht Sprache, d. i. Mittheilung seiner Gedanken seyn könnte. (Also haben sie die Regeln einer Sprache befolgt, ohne diese Regeln selbst namhaft machen zu können. [...]. Sprache ist aber Mittheilung der Gedanken. Also wird das Denken auch bey allen Menschen an gewisse Regeln gebunden seyn.) [...]. (Es ist aber nöthig, dieser Regln zu kennen, wenn man zum künstlichen Denken in de [crossed out] Wissenschaften fortschreiten will; - im gemeinen Leben braucht man nur Übung. Gehen, tanzen, sprechen, reden.) [✓] Eine allgemeine Gedankenlehre macht [crossed out] is also auch [crossed out] also möglich, und aus ihr folgt auch eine allgemeine Sprachlehre. *Grammatica universalis*. So lehrt man nach der Haupteinrichtung der lateinischen Grammatik auch die französische, deutsche Sprache. [...]. Diese Allgemeine Lehre des Denkens ist logic. Alles Denken geschieht durch den Verstand; also Logik ist allgemeine Verstandeslehre. [✓] (Wissenschaft der Regeln des Denkens überhaupt.) [✓] Wenn sie also über ihr Denken nachdenken wollen, so müssen sie von einer Logik den Anfang machen als einer [crossed out] (Natürliche Logik ist, die durch Gebrauch des Verstandes erworben wird. Logik als Wissenschaft.)" AA XVI: 40

as if they were empirical. As these concepts have no empirical point of reference, they however constitute a transcendental paralogism:

A logical paralogism consists in the falsity of a syllogism due to its form, whatever its content may otherwise be. A transcendental paralogism, however, has a transcendental ground for inferring falsely due to its form. Thus a fallacy of this kind will have its ground in the nature of human reason, and will bring with it an unavoidable, although not insoluble, illusion.⁴¹⁴

Having no empirical reference, these issues are subject to debate, dialogue, and hence dialectic, and should be understood within this realm. However, in order to show that these concepts have no solid ground but rather a rational function of ordering, Kant engages in an analysis of these attempts and how they cannot be resolved. This falls under the category of a transcendental dialectic. Kant's point is to show that these concepts have a regulatory use, i.e. they are not themselves empirical, but, just as with the idea of "**pure earth, pure water, pure air**" in the sciences, they enable us to question nature with a certain expectancy.⁴¹⁵ For the understanding of human customs and morality, the concept of freedom is such a regulatory idea.

Freedom for Kant does not constitute the opposite of necessity; on the contrary, it constitutes a kind of necessity opposite to that which we apply to nature:

*In respect of what happens, one can think of causality in only two ways: either according to **nature** or from **freedom**. The first is the connection of a state with a preceding one in the world of sense upon which that state follows according to a rule.⁴¹⁶*

⁴¹⁴ Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 411. "Der logische Paralogismus besteht in der Falschheit eines Vernunftschlusses der Form nach, sein Inhalt mag übrigens sein, welcher er wolle. Ein transcendentaler Paralogismus aber hat einen transcendentalen Grund, der Form nach falsch zu schließen. Auf solche Weise wird ein dergleichen Fehlschluß in der Natur der Menschenvernunft seinen Grund haben und eine unvermeidliche, obzwar nicht unauflösliche Illusion bei sich führen." AA III: 262.

⁴¹⁵ "Such concepts of reason are not created by nature, rather we question nature according to these ideas, and we take our cognition to be defective as long as it is not adequate to them. Admittedly, it is hard to find **pure earth, pure water, pure air**, etc. Nevertheless, concepts of them are required (though as far as their complete purity is concerned, have their origin only in reason) in order appropriately to determine the share that each of these natural causes has in appearance; thus one reduces all materials to earths (mere weight, as it were), to salts and combustibles (as force), and finally to water and air as vehicles (machines, as it were, by means of which the aforementioned operate), in order to explain the chemical effects of materials in accordance with the idea of a mechanism. For even though it is not actually expressed this way, it is still very easy to discover the influence of reason on the classifications of students of nature." Ibid., 1998:592. AA III: 429.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 1998:532. "Man kann sich nur zweierlei Causalität in Ansehung dessen, was geschieht, denken, entweder nach der Natur, oder aus Freiheit. Die erste ist die Verknüpfung eines Zustandes mit einem vorigen in der Sinnenwelt, worauf jener nach einer Regel folgt." AA III: 362-363.

While the necessity we find in nature is that between a cause and an effect, the necessity ascribed to freedom is that of something being the cause of itself, and hence having the ability to act spontaneously: “By freedom in the cosmological sense, on the contrary, I understand the faculty of beginning a state **from itself**, the causality of which does not in turn stand under another cause determining it in time in accordance with the law of nature.”⁴¹⁷ Operating with a concept of freedom hence means to operate with two concepts of causality which may contradict each other: this is the ground for the dialectic. For if everything has a cause, how can freedom exist? Here Kant points to the limits of the concept of causality ascribed to nature, as it will lead to an infinite regress without itself being explanatory. Faced with this problem, we are willing to admit the possibility of a cause outside of nature: “...since in such a way no absolute totality of conditions in causal relations is forthcoming, reason creates the idea of a spontaneity, which could start to act from itself, without needing to be preceded by any other cause that in turn determines it to action according to the law of causal connection.”⁴¹⁸ The idea of spontaneity does not in itself prove its existence, only its possibility. However, Kant’s point is precisely that such a concept can neither be proven nor disproven, as it is a concept of reason and not of understanding:

*Freedom in this signification is a pure transcendental idea, which, first, contains nothing borrowed from experience, and second, the object of which also cannot be given determinately in any experience, because it is a universal law – even of the possibility of all experience – that everything that happens must have a cause, and hence that the causality of the cause, as **itself having happened** or arisen, must in turn have a cause; through this law, then, the entire field of experience, however far it may reach, is transformed into the sum total of mere nature.*⁴¹⁹

Freedom as a transcendental idea is thus not an empirical concept, and any attempt to deduce a concept from empirical facts is misleading (this does not, however, mean that as a practical idea it cannot be used to explain social interaction, but when dealing with empirical observations one

⁴¹⁷ Kant, “Critique of Practical Reason (1788),” 532. “Dagegen verstehe ich unter Freiheit im kosmologischen Verstande das Vermögen, einen Zustand von selbst anzufangen, deren Causalität also nicht nach dem Naturgesetze wiederum unter einer anderen Ursache steht [...]” AA III: 363.

⁴¹⁸ Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1998:533. “Da aber auf solche Weise keine absolute Totalität der Bedingungen im Causalverhältnisse heraus zu bekommen ist, so schafft sich die Vernunft die Idee von einer Spontanität, die von selbst anheben könne zu handeln, ohne daß eine andere Ursache vorangeschickt werden dürfe, sie wiederum nach dem Gesetze der Causalverknüpfung zur Handlung zu bestimmen.” AA III: 363.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid. “Die Freiheit ist in dieser Bedeutung eine reine transcendente Idee, die erstlich nichts von der Erfahrung Entlehntes enthält, zweitens deren Gegenstand auch in keiner Erfahrung bestimmt gegeben werden kann, weil es ein allgemeines Gesetz selbst der Möglichkeit aller Erfahrung ist, daß alles, was geschehen oder entstanden, wiederum eine Ursache haben müsse; wodurch denn das ganze Feld der Erfahrung, so weit es sich erstrecken mag, in einem Inbegriff bloßer Natur verwandelt wird.” AA III: 363.

should not mistake the concept of freedom as concept deduced from empirical facts). The possibility of freedom conceived as a transcendental idea does not therefore lead to an understanding of freedom as an empirical fact but to freedom as a practical concept:

*It is especially noteworthy that in this **transcendental** idea of **freedom** on which the practical concept of freedom is grounded, and the former constitutes the real moment of the difficulties in the latter, which have long surrounded the question of its possibility. **Freedom in the practical sense** is the independence of the power of choice from **necessitation** by impulses of sensibility. For a power of choice is **sensible** insofar as it is **pathologically affected** (through moving-causes of sensibility); it is called an **animal** power of choice (*arbitrium brutum*) if it can be **pathologically necessitated**. The human power of choice is indeed an *arbitrium sensitivum*, yet not *brutum* but *liberum*, because sensibility does not render its action necessary, but in the human being there is a faculty of determining oneself from oneself, independently of necessitation by sensible impulses.”⁴²⁰*

An understanding of practical freedom does not mean that human choices are not affected by “impulses of sensibility”, but rather that they are not determined by them. How such a will is possible not simply as an arbitrary (*Willkür*) choice but as a necessary will is what Kant attempts to investigate in his practical philosophy. This means to investigate the nature of certain kinds of rule-following, which we may call normative functions. It does not submit to the empirical investigation what may actually happen in social interaction, but what the grounds are for us to expect that something ought to happen. In such cases, we may turn to anthropology or psychology to pinpoint the problems, although the solutions may belong entirely to transcendental philosophy: “Here, then, as is generally found in the conflicts of reason with itself when it ventures beyond the boundaries of possible experience, the problem is really not **physiological** but **transcendental**. Hence the question of the possibility of freedom does indeed assail psychology, but since it rests merely on dialectical arguments of pure reason, its solution must be solely the business of transcendental philosophy.”⁴²¹ In this, we see how a critique is

⁴²⁰ Ibid. “Es ist überaus merkwürdig, daß auf diese transcendente Idee der Freiheit sich der praktische Begriff derselben gründe, und jene in dieser das eigentliche Moment der Schwierigkeiten ausmache, welche die Frage über ihre Möglichkeit von jeher umgeben haben. Die Freiheit im praktischen Verstande ist die Unabhängigkeit der Willkür von der Nöthigung durch Antriebe der Sinnlichkeit. Denn eine Willkür ist sinnlich, so fern sie pathologisch (durch Bewegurachen der Sinnlichkeit) afficirt ist; sie heißt thierisch (*arbitrium brutum*), wenn sie pathologisch necessitirt werden kann. Die menschliche Willkür ist zwar ein *arbitrium sensitivum*, aber nicht *brutum*, sondern *liberum*, weil Sinnlichkeit ihre Handlung nicht nothwendig macht, sondern dem Menschen ein Vermögen beiwohnt, sich unabhängig von der Nöthigung durch sinnliche Antriebe von selbst zu bestimmen.” AA III: 363-64.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 1998:534. “Es geschieht also hier, was überhaupt in dem Widerstreit einer sich über die Grenzen möglicher Erfahrung hinauswagenden Vernunft angetroffen wird, daß die Aufgabe eigentlich nicht physiologisch, sondern

formulated towards the anthropology of physicians such as Platner in order to outline a different understanding of moral philosophy than physiological anthropology:

...in regard to this empirical character there is no freedom, and according to this character we can consider the human being solely by **observing**, and, as happens in anthropology, by trying to investigate the moving causes of his actions physiologically.⁴²²

Conflicting Minds

With the death of Büttner, Johann Daniel Metzger became ordinary professor of medicine in 1777 and, in 1780, district physician of Samland and city-physician (*Stadtphysikus*) of Königsberg: this made him a doctor at the royal orphanage and the royal hospital. Metzger described himself as having something of a temper, which he ascribed to a strong sense of justice.⁴²³ This temper and need to reform made Metzger a controversial figure; in 1783, he managed to initiate a conflict by slandering the medical faculty in Königsberg through his friend Gruner, professor of medicine in Jena. Kant was to mediate in the matter;⁴²⁴ however, he also came to be subject of criticism, which one may see in *Vi Vitalis*, the dissertation of his student Schindelmeisser.⁴²⁵ This work repeats Schulz's critique of Kant that no ideas can exist which do not originate in experience. Together with Kant's former student Christoph Friedrich Elsner, Metzger published the journal *Medical Juridical Library*,⁴²⁶ which was to introduce and constitute the fields of forensic medicine and medical policing: these fields demonstrated the use of medicine for the well-being of the state.⁴²⁷ One review highlighted its contribution to forensic psychiatry by providing important material on the state of mind of the "*Inquisiten*", which was important for lawyers, doctors, and philosophers. In Königsberg, Metzger came to be the philosopher-physician that Kant had argued against:

transcendental ist. Daher die Frage von der Möglichkeit der Freiheit die Psychologie zwar anficht, aber, da sie auf dialektischen Argumenten der bloß reinen Vernunft beruht, samt ihrer Auflösung lediglich die Transcendentalphilosophie beschäftigen muß." AA III: 364.

⁴²² Ibid., 1998:541–42. "In Ansehung dieses empirischen Charakters giebt es also keine Freiheit, und nach diesem können wir doch allein den Menschen betrachten, wenn wir lediglich beobachten und, wie es in der Anthropologie geschieht, von seinen Handlungen die bewegenden Ursachen physiologisch erforschen wollen." AA III: 372–73.

⁴²³ Johann Daniel Metzger, "Metzgers Biographie - von Ihm Selbst," *Medicinischer Briefwechsel* II/1785 (n.d.): 1–26.

⁴²⁴ Euler and Stiening, "'...und Nie Der Pluralität Widersprach'? Zur Bedeutung von Immanuel Kants Amtsgeschäften," 58.

⁴²⁵ Schindelmeisser, *Diss. de vi Vitali: Propugn. 1785*, 1785, 171.

⁴²⁶ Cph Friedr Elsner, *Medicinish-gerichtliche Bibliothek*, 1784; Johann Daniel Metzger and Christoph Friedrich Elsner, *Medicinish-gerichtliche Bibliothek*, 1786. The library was a compilation of key-manuscripts in forensic medicine.

⁴²⁷ See 'Vorrede' (unpaged) in Metzger and Elsner, *Medicinish-gerichtliche Bibliothek*.

Metzger thus came to be an eager critic of Kant. However, and perhaps more importantly, with his aspiration to make medicine an authority within legal and juridical matters, he became a competitor for Kant's claim for authority in moral matters.

In 1785, when Kant published his first systematic contribution to ethics following the *Critique of Pure Reason*, entitled *Groundwork of The Metaphysics of Morals*, he commented on the importance of a "division of labor": "Where work is not so differentiated and divided, where everyone is a jack-of-all-trades, there trades remain in the greatest barbarism."⁴²⁸ This was directed at the variety of popular moral philosophers, including the physician-philosophers. "...It might be worth asking," Kant noted, "whether the whole of this learned trade would not be better off if a warning were given to those who, in keeping with the taste of the public, are in the habit of blending the empirical mixed with the rational in all sorts of proportions unknown to themselves...". "I ask only," Kant continued, "whether the nature of science does not require that the empirical part always be carefully separated from the rational part, and that a metaphysics of nature be put before physics proper (empirical physics) and a metaphysics of morals before practical anthropology, with metaphysics carefully cleansed of everything empirical..."⁴²⁹ This division of labor, intended to exclude or partly question the authority of anthropologists in moral matters, was, however, not considered to place moral authority in the hands of metaphysicians as such; on the contrary, Kant noted that "common understanding" can "...have as good a hope of hitting the mark as any philosopher can promise himself..."⁴³⁰ Kant's intent was not first and foremost to moralize, as common human reason "...knows very well how to distinguish in every case that comes up what is good and what is evil, what is in conformity with duty or contrary to duty...": "...we only, as did Socrates," Kant interjected, "...make it attentive to its own principle; and that there is, accordingly, no need of science and philosophy to know what one has to do in order to be honest and good, and even wise and virtuous."⁴³¹ In this sense, Kant's *Groundwork* is more of a critical investigation of moral reasoning and moral error than a moral work itself. That a philosopher would be more likely to fail in a moral matter than common understanding "...is almost more sure in this matter, because a philosopher, though he cannot have any other principle than that of common understanding, can easily confuse his judgment by a mass of considerations foreign and irrelevant to the matter and deflect in moral matters to leave the judgment of common

⁴²⁸ Kant, "Critique of Practical Reason (1788)," 215. AA V: 94.

⁴²⁹ Kant, "Groundwork of The Metaphysics of Morals (1785)," 44. AA IV: 388-89.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 59. AA IV: 405.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 58. AA IV: 404.

reason as it is..."⁴³² It is through philosophical justification that moral errors occur by introducing empirical reasons into the rational reasons of a system. "...From this there arises a *natural dialectic*, that is, a propensity to rationalize against those strict laws of duty and to cast doubt upon their validity, or at least upon their purity and strictness, and, where possible, to make them better suited to our wishes and inclinations, that is, to corrupt them at their basis and to destroy all their dignity – something that even common practical reason cannot, in the end, call good."⁴³³

By this, one may think that Kant is basically trying to dismiss anthropology from moral matters altogether. In his lectures, however, we find that the issue is much more complex. As he notes, "the metaphysics of morals, or *metaphysica pura*, is only the first part of morality; the second part is *philosophia moralis applicata*, moral anthropology, to which the empirical principles belong."⁴³⁴ Kant's point is rather that we cannot find moral justification within anthropology, not that it cannot give us any moral insight. While pure moral philosophy can tell us how man *ought* to behave, anthropology can investigate the causes for why man behaves as he does:

*So here we are considering a being that has free choice, who may not be a man only, but also any rational being. And we are examining the rule for the use of freedom, and that is practical philosophy in general. It thus has objective rules for free behaviour. Any objective rule says what ought to occur, even if it never does. The subjective rule says what actually does occur, for even among the wicked there are rules by which they act. Anthropology is concerned with subjective practical rules, it observes solely the actual behaviour of man; moral philosophy seeks to bring his good behaviour under rules, namely of what ought to occur. [...] The science of the rules of how man ought to behave is practical philosophy, and the science of the rules of his actual behaviour is anthropology; these two sciences are closely connected, and morality cannot exist without anthropology, for one must first know of the agent whether he is also in a position to accomplish what it is required from him that he should do. [...] Consideration of rules is useless if one cannot make man ready to follow them, so these two sciences are closely connected.*⁴³⁵

In this sense, moral philosophy can be filled with examples and experiments: "it is the same as when theoretical physics is combined with experiments, for we also make experiments with man. For example, we test a servant to find out if he is honest."⁴³⁶ In moral experiments, we test

⁴³² Ibid., 59. AA IV: 405.

⁴³³ Ibid., 59–60. AA IV: 405.

⁴³⁴ Immanuel Kant, *Lectures on Ethics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 226–27. AA XXIX: 599

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 42. AA XXVII: 244–45.

⁴³⁶ Ibid. AA XVII: 244–45.

whether people behave according to normative rules or whether they break them. It is when these rules are broken that anthropology can offer various explanations as to why. These may be through the imputation of a free will or the attribution of a causal explanation:

All imputation is the judgment of an action, insofar as it has arisen from personal freedom, in relation to certain practical laws. In imputation, therefore, there must be a free action and a law. We can attribute a thing to someone, yet not impute it to him; the actions, for example, of a madman or a drunkard can be attributed, though not imputed to them. In imputation the action must spring from freedom. The drunkard cannot, indeed, be held accountable for his actions, but he certainly can, when sober, for the drunkenness itself. So in imputation the free act and the law must be conjoined. A deed is a free action that is subject to the law.⁴³⁷

Hence, moral philosophy for Kant is not solely concerned with a rational and morally convinced being, but also with moral doubt and the weakness and frailty of human nature. Therefore Kant's moral philosophy is also concerned with cultivating human nature by disciplining the body:

The body must first be disciplined, because in it there are principia by which the mind is affected, and through which the body alters the state of the mind. The mind must therefore take care to exercise an autocracy over the body, so that it cannot alter the state of the mind.⁴³⁸

This kind of discipline should not, however, be seen as the total neglect of the body, but rather a cultivation of it: "The body must certainly be subjected to discipline, but it must not be destroyed by men, nor must its forces be impaired. So it will be a part of discipline to strengthen the human body, which may be accomplished by every useful toughening process, in which the body is cared for, indeed, but not pampered."⁴³⁹ "While on the one hand we can and should discipline the body, we have a duty, on the other, to take care of it."⁴⁴⁰ In this way, Kant creates a different view of our moral duty to our body by subsuming medical care under morality and not morality under medical care:

The majesty of duty has nothing to do with the enjoyment of life; it has its own law and also its own court, and even though one might want to shake both of them together thoroughly, so as to give them

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 80–81. AA XXVII: 288.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 151. AA XXVII: 378–379.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 152. AA XXVII: 379.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid. AA XXVII: 380.

*blended, like medicine, to the sick soul, they soon separate of themselves; if they do not, the former will effect nothing at all, and though physical life might gain some force, the moral life would fade away irrecoverably.*⁴⁴¹

On the Philosopher's Medicine of the Body

On 1 October 1786, at the end of his first rectorate at the Albertina, Kant addressed the faculty of medicine with a Latin speech *De Medicina corporis, qua Philosophorum est* (On the Philosopher's Medicine of the Body).⁴⁴² It was a time of transition: Kant's philosopher-king Frederick II had died on 17 August in the same year. No one knew what the future would bring. Furthermore, Bohl, who had been rector during the winter semester of 1785/86, had had to resign due to old age. Metzger wanted the position, but the Senate, including Kant, were opposed.⁴⁴³ The title of Kant's address was carefully chosen as an explicit reference to Hieronymus David Gaubius' (1705-80) text *De Regimine Mentis quod Medicorum est* (On the Physician's Treatment of the Mind). The successor of Boerhaave in Leiden, Gaub's *Institutiones pathologiae medicinalis* (Leiden, 1758) was one of the most influential books in medical teaching at the Albertina, after Boerhaave's *Institutiones medicae* (Leiden, 1708) that is.⁴⁴⁴ The German publication of Gaub's *Institutiones* was orchestrated by none other than Metzger's friend Gruner. As late as 1785, a German translation of the *De Regimine Mentis* (*Von der Regierung des Geistes, welche den Aerzten zukommt*) had appeared.⁴⁴⁵

In Kant's critical philosophy, he had formulated a distinct position which critically investigated the preconditions of any given anthropology. He had come to a critical conclusion directed towards a physiological anthropology that reduced the body to an object while himself formulating an understanding of a body subject. At the center of his anthropology, he had placed a specific notion of freedom. Although his position as a philosopher had been strongly solidified, he had come under attack, in particular from Metzger. Kant did not turn away from anthropology, but the increasing separation and professionalization of the medical and philosophical faculty had placed man in the middle of the struggle, with both faculties fighting over who would become the authority on anthropology. Kant's address was a defense politely formulated as an attack.

⁴⁴¹ Kant, "Critique of Practical Reason (1788)," 211. AA V: 89.

⁴⁴² See Brandt, "Immanuel Kant."

⁴⁴³ Euler & Stiening, "...und nie der Pluralität widersprach"? P. 59-60

⁴⁴⁴ Oberhausen and Pozzo, "The Place of Science in Kant's University," 357-58.

⁴⁴⁵ See *Repertorium für Physiologie*, 1784.

In his *Regimine Mentis*, Gaub had articulated the many different perspectives on man given by the arts and sciences, and in particular the difference between medicine and philosophy. While Gaub found that the mind traditionally had been philosophers' subject of investigation and the body physicians' subject of investigation, he wanted to "...speak of the government of the spirit, which belongs to the physician."⁴⁴⁶ To do this, he demonstrated how the body and soul influenced each other but in such a way "...that not only the spirit is governed by the body as is the body by the spirit but also that the former, namely the spirit, is governed even more by the spirit."⁴⁴⁷ By claiming that the spirit was fundamentally governed by the body, Gaub found it "...clear that the philosopher cannot manage without the help of the doctor."⁴⁴⁸ Instead he suggested a "friendly co-operation", where the philosopher would be required to "...entrust those forms of administration of the spirit to the physicians that lie in the government of the body."⁴⁴⁹ Gaub's text must have resonated at the medical faculty at the Albertina, and he was compelled to answer.

Instead of maintaining the soul as the territory of philosophy, Kant crossed the border and ventured into the territory of the physicians by claiming that while it was "...the doctors' business [...] to help the ailing mind by caring for the body," it was "the philosophers' to assist the afflicted body by a mental regimen."⁴⁵⁰ Kant reverses the relation: the physician should be directed towards the mind. For Kant, it was by no means the co-operation which he contested, but the hierarchization of the two faculties. Kant initially took on the persona of a distant thinker: "A philosopher," he said, "is one of those who turns his mind to things for the sake of cultivating reason [...] – he despises all the attractions and desires of the senses."⁴⁵¹ However, even philosophers are members of society, and so he continued: "...since we are bound down by the arduous duties of public life, we have to cultivate reason's gardens as people occupied in leisure activity, not as overwhelmed with business."⁴⁵² So even the philosopher, or as Kant argues,

⁴⁴⁶ „Ich werde nemlich von der Regierung des Geistes reden, welche den Aerzten zukommt. (de mentis regimine, quod medicorum est.) [...] Da aber hierüber lange und scharf von den Aerzten gestritten worden ist, und nicht alle gleicher Meynung sind, daß sie desfalls auch verschiedene Wege zu heilen gegangen sind“ Ibid., 219.

⁴⁴⁷ „... daß nicht allein der Geist von dem Körper, so wie der Körper vom Geist, sondern daß auch jener, nemlich der Geist, noch mehr vom Körper regiert werde.“ Ibid., 231.

⁴⁴⁸ „Also ist es meinen Bedünken nach deutlich, daß der Philosoph der Hülfe des Arztes nicht entbehren kann [...]“ Ibid., 265–66.

⁴⁴⁹ „Durch eine freundschaftliche Zusammenstimmung mögen also vielmehr die Philosophen den Aerzten diejenige Art Verwaltung des Geistes überlassen, welche in der Regierung des Körpers liegt [...]“ Ibid., 251–52.

⁴⁵⁰ Immanuel Kant, "On the Philosophers' Medicine of the Body (1786)," in *Anthropology, History, and Education*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 184. AA XV: 939–940.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 185. AA XV: 941.

⁴⁵² Ibid. AA XV: 941.

especially the philosopher, must care for his body so that it does not burden the mind. “The discipline of the body must, therefore, be considered properly the philosopher’s, not because he knows the body’s machinery, but because he knows about the body from experience.”⁴⁵³ In opposition to the doctor, the philosopher’s primary concern with his or her body is not as an object but with the body as a subject. Even though Kant concurs in the close relation between body and mind, he still honors the disciplinary distinction between medicine and philosophy:

*Since we want to act advisedly toward our end, and since the doctor and the philosopher obviously take different views of the nature of things and act accordingly, I think it is most important that neither of them crosses over the limits of his competence: seized with a certain meddlesomeness, the philosopher would seem to wish to play the doctor and the doctor the philosopher. There is no doubt as to what constitutes their respective limits: the doctor is qualified to treat the disordered mind by measures applied to the body; the philosopher, to treat the body through the influence of the mind.*⁴⁵⁴

Despite his comment, Kant does become the *meddlesome philosopher*. In order to approach the physicians of the faculty, Kant continued his talk by introducing another distinction, not between medicine and philosophy but between two types of medicine: the mechanical represented by Boerhaave and Friedrich Hoffmann and the Stahlian school of medicine that approached the body of the patient through his or her subjective experience of the body.

*The question is whether the art of medicine should be practiced on the human being in the same way as the art we call veterinary medicine is practiced on domestic cattle or whether it should take into account the force of the human mind. Those who pursue purely mechanical medicine, such as doctors trained in the school of Hoffmann, maintain that it should be practiced in the same way, in so far, to be sure, as the similar constitution of the body in either kind of living being allows. The followers of Stahl, who decide in favour of treating the human being differently, proclaim the remarkable force of the mind in curing diseases or bringing them to a head. It is for the philosopher to turn his mind to the latter.*⁴⁵⁵

With the new developments in medicine, philosophy has become the place to continue the tradition of Stahlian medicine. The question is one of the division of knowledge. As he notes, “the Greeks had religion without theology, legislation without jurisprudence, and doctors without

⁴⁵³ Ibid. AA XV: 941.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid. AA XV: 943.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 186. AA XV: 943.

medical science. It was all a matter of practice, stemming from tradition and improved by experience.”⁴⁵⁶ It was not until much later that these fields of knowledge became institutionalized, since “...the main sciences because they were essential to the well-being of the state.”⁴⁵⁷ It is here at the university in the service of the state that they “after a long period during which, like savages, they establish themselves apart from one another, they come together into a society [...]”⁴⁵⁸ This society is not, as Kant notes, a “universal monarchy” but a “federation” where each discipline maintains its own autonomy.

Perhaps outside this “well-ordered” federation, Kant finds a different space in the university, a neutral zone where conversations and disputes free from the restrictive laws of the disciplines may take place. Even for the philosopher, it is not the only aim to have a life free from disturbances. Even in social life, there may be a way to care for the body and liberate the mind:

It is not only when the mind is free from care and serene that it aids the vital functions of the body, but also when it is stirred up, at dinner, by the sport and jests of conversation – when, to enliven the gathering, the guests enter into a contest, and the enthusiasm and exertion of the conversationalists rises to the limits of an affect. To what extent this happens is experienced everyday by those who feast together: they can eat liberally and consume with impunity twice the amount of food they could safely eat if they were alone.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., 190. AA XV:953.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid. 191. AA XV: 953.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 191. AA XV: 953.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 189. AA XV: 949.

Matters of Taste

“...the True Metaphysicks of Life is Good Eating and Drinking.”

“Whilst his servant brought us a ragout of cod, turnips, barley pudding, dry’d fruits, & old canary, Herr Kant used a pestle to grind mustard, w^c he put on all his food.”⁴⁶⁰ On Tuesday 13 April 1784, Mr. James Boswell spent an evening at a dinner party in Königsberg with Kant. Boswell had been invited by Kant’s close friend, the British merchant Joseph Green. Green had told Boswell “...that Prof Kant in early manhood had been a Hypochondriack. He had master’d it by Strength of Will, & had wrote a book, On the Power of the Mind, by its mere Resolution, to Conquer it’s Sickly Feelings.” Boswell expressed his desire to read the book “...but Mr Green said, that it had not been published, because of Objections from the side of the Faculty of Physick.”⁴⁶¹ Despite Boswell’s interest in discussing philosophy upon finally meeting the professor, the dietetic of Kant’s unpublished work seemed to play an underlying role at the party. Upon discussing the philosophy of David Hume, Kant responded to Boswell:

*‘Sir, said he, the True Metaphysicks of Life is Good Eating and Drinking. School Philosophy, on the contrary, interferes with the Digestion, by drawing the blood to the Brain, at a time when it is needed in the belly, and so it is his Maxim, not to take up speculative Topics whilst dining.’ He had not heard of Mr Hume’s death & was distrest, when I told him, that poor David had died of a flux, scoffing at Religion. I try’d in vain to entice him into Liberty & Necessity, Immateriality of the Soul, also spectres & second sight, but he shunned it. Digestion.*⁴⁶²

⁴⁶⁰ James Boswell, *Mr. Boswell Dines with Professor Kant* (Thoemmes Press, 1995), 12.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 22.

According to Kant, as the philosopher was engaged with ideas floating “in the air before him,”⁴⁶³ without having the possibility to ground them in anything empirical, he would need to ground them and discuss them in a free and social setting in relation to experience. Therefore, for Kant, the dinner table was not alien to philosophy. On the contrary, he found that “eating alone (*solipsismus convictoriū*) is unhealthy for a scholar who *philosophizes* [...]”⁴⁶⁴ It would not be “...restoration but exhaustion (especially if it becomes solitary *feasting*); fatiguing work rather than a stimulating play of thoughts.”⁴⁶⁵ Kant’s avoidance of metaphysical questions at the dinner table was not an attempt to avoid philosophy altogether but a wish to have a place for open debate rather than a disciplined investigation of a given topic. The dinner table cultivated a form of socializing, which brought together sociability with physical wellbeing; hence he called it “the highest moral-physical good.”⁴⁶⁶ The concept of a “moral-physical good” is an oddity in Kantian vocabulary. As he notes himself:

*The two kinds of good, the physical and the moral, cannot be mixed together; for then they would neutralize themselves and not work at all toward the end of true happiness. Rather, inclination to good living and virtue conflict with each other, and the limitation of the principle of the former through the latter constitute, in their collision, the entire end of the well-behaved human being, a being who is partly sensible but partly moral and intellectual. But since it is difficult to prevent mixing in practice, the end of happiness needs to be broken down by counteracting agent (reagentia) in order to know which elements in what proportion can provide, when they are combined, the enjoyment of a moral happiness.*⁴⁶⁷

The conflict between the “inclination to good living and virtue” was what shaped “the well-behaved human being”, and it was through cultivation at the dinner table that the two would be most successfully combined.

Dinner parties had their own set of formalities that created an informal atmosphere for discussions. The number of participants followed Chesterfield’s recommendations and was designed to turn the party into a communal event that included everyone in common discourse. Sharing a meal should be accompanied with the sharing of information, making the dinner table

⁴⁶³ Kant, “Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View (1798),” 380. AA VII: 280.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid. AA VII: 280.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid. AA VII: 280.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 377. AA VII: 277.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. AA VII: 277.

the place where news could be gathered and exchanged. This laid the foundation for the following debate. The purpose was to follow a line that "...*animates* the company." This meant first and foremost "...to choose topics for conversation that interest everyone and always provide someone with the opportunity to add something appropriate [...]."468 The aim of inclusion was crucial to a successful dinner party as well as to avoiding silence and keeping the conversation going. In order to do this, it was important "...not to change the topic unnecessarily or jump from one subject to another: for at the end of the feast, as at the end of a drama [...] the mind inevitably occupies itself with reminiscing various phases of the conversation; and if it cannot discover a connecting thread, it feels confused and realizes with indignation that it has not progressed in culture, but rather regressed."469 Hence the discourse should not develop randomly but should display both consistency and progression.

For the play to develop, however, the participants should not "...let *dogmatism* arise or persist, either in oneself or in one's companions in the group; rather, since this conversation should not be business but merely play, one should avert such seriousness by means of a skilful and suitable jest."470 Like in a comedy, laughter could add a certain lightness to an otherwise heated debate that might end with enmity, which could itself be dissolved with amusement. Hence the aim was not to avoid all conflict, but rather to create an atmosphere where conflict was accepted without it resulting in personal rivalry. And even if a conflict did become serious, it should not be suppressed or avoided; instead, one should "...maintain discipline over oneself and one's emotions, so that mutual respect and benevolence always shine forth – here what matters is more the *tone* (which must be neither noisy nor arrogant) of the conversation than the content, so that no guest returns home from the gathering *estranged* from others."471 The dinner party created a space which enabled a certain kind of debate only made possible by the sociable conduct of gentlemen, a specific kind of play.

Unlike the written public sphere, the dinner party constitutes a private public which demands a "duty of secrecy" or discretion, as "...whatever is said publicly by an indiscreet table companion to the detriment of someone absent may not be used *outside* this party and may not be gossiped about."472 Discretion is not a formal rule of the dinner party, but part of the code of conduct which enabled a much freer discourse than one might find in the literary public. This

468 Ibid., 381. AA VII: 281.

469 Ibid. AA VII: 281.

470 Ibid. AA VII: 281.

471 Ibid. AA VII: 281

472 Ibid., 379. AA VII: 279.

promotes an open discourse, but also a closed space where debates cannot be eternalized by print: they have a temporal limit.

This chapter takes the informal space of the dinner table as its outset in order to trace the two directions of “the highest moral-physical good.” It does so by situating Kant’s analysis of the concept of *taste* in his *Critique of the Power of Judgment* within a wider framework of natural history in Königsberg. Here, natural history is not perceived as a narrow university discipline but as a foundational discourse which encapsulates a range of fields. Within the area of medicine, it both covers the solids, such as comparative anatomy and physiology, and the liquids (chemistry and apothecary science). Within the world of commerce and industry, Emma Spary has made us attentive towards the fact that apothecaries “...competed with a range of other expert corporate practitioners, such as cooks, grocers, and distillers [...]”⁴⁷³ Entangled with local industry and translocal commerce, these arts and sciences are perceived in light of their practical use. From this perspective of utility, nature is perceived teleologically as having an inherent purpose, which it is up to the various arts and sciences – such as cameral science, medical therapeutics, and even arts of regimen – to uncover. However, Kant’s conflation of aesthetics and natural history in the *Critique of the Power of Judgment* has for a long time challenged the philosophical reception of Kant’s so-called third *Critique*, which regards it as a work of aesthetics. As John Zammito would phrase it, “...why Kant should have brought his treatment of aesthetics and teleology together with systematic intent... why did teleology intrude?”⁴⁷⁴ Reversing the question, this chapter initially asks: *Why did Kant choose to frame his investigation of the teleology of natural history within the framework of aesthetics?* In doing so, the chapter progresses in terms of the three stages which Kant prescribed for the dinner party: 1) narration, 2) arguing, and 3) jesting.

“The first stage,” Kant writes, “concerns the news of the day, first domestic, then foreign, that has flowed in from personal letters and newspapers.”⁴⁷⁵ In this chapter, this consists of a narrative about the natural historians in Königsberg, namely the amateur collector, cameralist, and theologian Friedrich Samuel Bock and the pharmacologist and chemist Karl Gottfried Hagen.

The second stage of the dinner party consists of arguing, on which Kant writes:

⁴⁷³ E. C. Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), 11; see also Ursula Klein and Wolfgang Lefevre, *Materials in Eighteenth-Century Science: A Historical Ontology* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 2007).

⁴⁷⁴ John H. Zammito, *The Genesis of Kant’s Critique of Judgment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 2.

⁴⁷⁵ Kant, “Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View (1798),” 380. AA VII: 280.

When this first appetite has been satisfied, the party becomes even livelier, for in subtle reasoning it is difficult to avoid diversity of judgment over one and the same object that has been brought up, and since no one exactly has the lowest opinion of his own judgment, a dispute arises which stirs up the appetite for food and drink and also makes the appetite wholesome in proportion to the liveliness of this dispute and the participation in it.⁴⁷⁶

In order to stir up the appetite for food and drink, the second part of the chapter focuses on two things. First, we turn to the question regarding man in the system of nature. This question is in itself twofold in that it both raises the question of how man should be categorized in relation to other animals, apes in particular, and the question if man, as the organizer of this system, should be placed within this system at all. In order to address the latter part of the question, the chapter secondly deals with Kant's analysis of the concept of taste as a key concept, on the one hand, for characterizing the humanity of man and, on the other, as a key concept in building any kind of *system of nature*.

Finally, the chapter ends with one of Kant's few surviving jokes, as any good meal ought to end with laughter. As Kant writes:

... arguing is always a kind of work and exertion of one's powers, it eventually becomes tiresome as a result of engaging in it while eating rather copiously: thus the conversation sinks naturally to the mere play of wit, partly also to please the women present, against whom the small, deliberate, but not shameful attacks on their sex enable them to show their own wit to advantage. And so the meal ends with laughter, which, if it is loud and good-natured, has actually been determined by nature to help the stomach in the digestive process through the movement of the diaphragm and intestines, thus promoting physical well-being.⁴⁷⁷

Commercial Natures

In 1778 the Swiss mathematician Johann Bernoulli travelled from St. Petersburg through Europe. He made a stop in Königsberg, where he attended a dinner party hosted by Count von Keyserling. Here he met with the now famous Immanuel Kant. After the dinner, Kant showed Bernoulli and some of the other guests the Castle Library. In his travel book, Bernoulli wrote: "From the castle library I went with the gentlemen Bode [Bock], Kant, and others to the Sartoriusschen garden,

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid. AA VII: 280.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 380–81. AA VII: 280–281.

where the aforementioned large museum of natural history was being kept.”⁴⁷⁸ Since 1764, Friedrich Samuel Bock had been the caretaker of the Saturgus collection, with Kant working as his library assistant from 1766 onwards. The Saturgus family, a merchant family originally from Düsseldorf, had financed the collection, bringing together several private collections under one roof, including those of Fischer and Rappolt.⁴⁷⁹ Bock integrated the collection into his teaching at the Albertina; it was a spectacle of aesthetic display. Here the “rare specimens of natural things [...] collected from the three kingdoms of nature” were used “not only for the delight of the eyes” but also to demonstrate their “purpose and advantage” and to “stir up the veneration and worship of the supreme deity.”⁴⁸⁰ The collection was located in the Saturgus family’s rococo-style palace, which was surrounded by a garden with water features, a sundial, and a maze. The family hosted banquets, concerts, and plays at their palace. The collection had been founded on the prosperity of the Saturgus family’s local industrial concerns and was interwoven with its commercial networks. Upon Bernoulli’s visit, the wealth of the Saturgus family was in decline and the collection no longer belonged to them. As Bernoulli noted, “Mr. D. Bode no longer has it under his observation because the conditions of ownership have changed, through which the Cabinet will fall into other hands.”⁴⁸¹ Kommerzienrath Wulff bought it; eventually, part of it joined the zoological collection at the Albertina. Although the collection did not vanish, it lost its financial base and thus the possibility to develop further.

For Bock, however, the conflation of natural history, commerce, and aesthetic display continued. In 1773, Bock, receiving a “high command“ from President Johann Friedrich von Domhardt, initiated a weekly journal, *The Prussian Collector*. It was practically oriented and dealt with matters of the chamber.⁴⁸² It was in the light of Linnaeus’s cameralism⁴⁸³ that Bock sought to apply natural history in Königsberg. Linnaean science did not simply consist of a taxonomy for

⁴⁷⁸ “Von der Schloßbibliothek begab ich mich mit dem Herrn Bode, Kant und andern, nach dem sartoriußchen Garten, wo das schon erwähnte große Naturalienkabinet aufbewahret wird.” Johann Bernoulli, *Reisen durch Brandenburg, Pommern, Preußen, Curland, Rußland und Polen in den Jahren 1777 und 1778: Reise nach Danzig und Beschreibung der Merkwürdigkeiten dieser Stadt* (Fritsch, 1779), 66.

⁴⁷⁹ Stark, “Naturforschung in Königsberg, - ein kritischer Rückblick Aus den Präliminarien einer Untersuchung über die Entstehungsbedingungen von Kant’s Vorlesung über Physische Geographie,” 38.

⁴⁸⁰ Oberhausen and Pozzo, *Vorlesungsverzeichnisse der Universität Königsberg (1720-1804)*, 257.

⁴⁸¹ “Herr D. Bode hat es nicht mehr unter seiner Aufsicht, weil sich die Umstände des Eigenthümers verändert hatten, wodurch auch das Kabinet selbst in andere Hände gerathen dürfte.” Bernoulli, *Reisen durch Brandenburg, Pommern, Preußen, Curland, Rußland und Polen in den Jahren 1777 und 1778*, 66.

⁴⁸² Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, *Sämtliche Werke: Hippel’s Briefe, Bd. 13*, vol. 1838, n.d., 171–72.

⁴⁸³ For Linnaeus and Cameralism see: Koerner, *Linnaeus*; Further on natural history and economic theory see: Alix Cooper, *Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Andre Wakefield, *The Disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice* (University of Chicago Press, 2009).

categorizing the three realms of nature (minerals, plants, and animals), but was also part of an economic policy to use science to make Sweden financially independent of global trade. Natural history was instrumentalized to make exotic plants grow in Sweden or to discover and cultivate local plants that could replace foreign imports. In his *Industrial Natural History of the Kingdom of East- and West Prussia*, Bock wrote that “the entire industry is in its extensive scale nothing else than applied natural history for the promotion of anything useful for the economy or prevention of that which could be disadvantageous.”⁴⁸⁴ Natural history was justified through its utility for the state. Everything in nature has a purpose: the aim was “...to recognize the benefit and intent...” part of “...the order of nature established by God...”⁴⁸⁵ The divine order in nature was not simply an order of classes but a teleological order of purpose. It was the aim of the natural historian to uncover the purpose and hence the use of nature: “The eternal wisdom of the creator does not let us doubt that every creature, every clod of earth, every plant, every rock, every vermin, is created with a specific intent and utility.”⁴⁸⁶ Bock therefore understood his work on natural history as “...an economic history [*Wirtschaftsgeschichte*] based on the order of a system of nature. Here I understand,” Bock wrote, “the economy in the broad sense, and thus refer to all legitimate urban and rural industries where food, prosperity, wealth, comfort, and even health can be promoted and preserved.”⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ „Die ganze Wirtschaft ist in ihrem weitläufigen Umfange nichts anders, als eine angewendete Naturgeschichte, zur Beförderung des der Oekonomie irgend nützlichen, oder Abwendung dessen, was derselben nachtheilig seyn könnte.“ Friedrich-Samuel Bock, *Versuch einer wirthschaftlichen Naturgeschichte von dem Königreich Ost- und Westpreussen* (Buchh. der Gelehrten, 1783), xxix.

⁴⁸⁵ “Die Naturgeschichte führet uns zu einer klaren und deutlichen Erkenntniß von den materiellen Dingen, die zu diesem Erds und Waßerkörper gehören, in soferne solche ihren fleißigen Nachforschern bisher bekannt worden. Sie gebet damit um, alles, was durch die von Gott einmal vestgesetzte Ordnung der Natur hervor gebracht wird, so zu benennen und zu beschriben, daß solches von andern erkannt, von dem, was man kennen gelernet hat, der Nutzen und die Absicht eingesehen, des Schöpfers Weisheit und Güte darüber gepriesen, und der Menschen zeitliches Wohl und Bequemlichkeit dadurch befördert werde. Diese Wißenschaft lehret uns das große Buch recht verstehen, welches nicht mit einförmigen Buchstaben, sondern mit den vortreflichsten und unzähllichen Werken der göttlichen Macht, Weisheit und Güte zusammen gesetzt ist.“ Friedrich Samuel Bock, *Betrachtung über das Nutzbare und Anmuthige in der Naturgeschichte* (Zeis, 1767), 3.

⁴⁸⁶ „Die unendliche Weisheit des Schöpfers läßet uns nicht zweifeln, daß jedes Geschöpf, jeder Erdklumpe, jedes Gewächs, jeder Stein, jedes Ungeziffer, zu einer gewißen Absicht und eines besondern Nutzens wegen, hervorgebracht worden. Es ist unsern Nachdenken überlaßen, diese Absicht zu entdecken und unsern Vortheil zu bewürken. [...] Sind gleich nicht alle natürliche Schätze an einem einigen Orte angehäufet, welches der menschlichen Gesellschaft zum Nachtheil gereichen würde; so wird eben dadurch desto beßer Handel und Gewerbe durch den Umtausch der Güter befördert. Wir dörften so gewiß mehrere Schätze der Natur unserm Vaterlande eigen machen, wenn wir jene genauer kenneten [...]“ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁸⁷ „Man beurtheile aber mein Buch nicht als eine bloße Naturgeschichte, sondern als Naturgeschichte, die sich auf die Wirtschaft, oder aufs Nützliche nach aller Absicht beziehet. Es kann daher eben sowol auch eine nach der Ordnung eines Natursystems abgefaßte Wirtschaftsgeschichte genannt werden. Ich begreife hier die Wirthschaft im weitläufigen Verstande, und bezeichne damit alles rechtmäßige städtische und ländliche Gewerbe, wodurch Nahrung, Wohlstand, Reichthum, Bequemlichkeit, auch selbst die Gesundheit kann befördert und bewahret werden.“ Bock, *Versuch einer wirthschaftlichen Naturgeschichte von dem Königreich Ost- und Westpreussen*, xxviii.

The success of the Swedish state was used to endorse the Linnaean method. “The Swedish example in modern times shows how natural goods from other areas [of the world] can be put to use. [...] Should that which it has been possible to accomplish in Sweden not also be possible in other countries [...]?”⁴⁸⁸ Through Linnaeus, Sweden had saved a lot of money, as he had discovered medical plants in Sweden that used to be imported expensively. The same could be done in Prussia, Bock adjured. Ultimately, however, Bock found that the industrial use of natural history could only satisfy our brutish needs and desires, while the aesthetic and scientific appreciation spoke to our human minds.

The actual commercial application of natural history was reflected in the pharmacist Karl Gottfried Hagen’s work. He was the son of the pharmacist Heinrich Hagen, who unfortunately died in 1772 when Karl Gottfried was still young, leaving him the business. K. G. Hagen proved himself an accomplished natural historian and came to succeed Thiesen as professor of medicine while at the same time carrying on his practice.

In 1777, he published a study on the Hottentot flower.⁴⁸⁹ Baron von Großmann had collected the flower on his travels in Africa and, upon his stay in Warsaw, donated it to the Saturguischen Cabinet.⁴⁹⁰ Bock had given Hagen permission to describe the flower and make it known. Hagen, who was attempting to categorize it within the Linnaean taxonomy, could declare that someone “who a short while ago had spoken to the knighted Linnaeus and showed him a drawing of the flower was assured that the great naturalist was not aware of the flower and had eagerly wished for a description of it.”⁴⁹¹ Under the wing of Bock, Hagen saw himself as a contributor to the Linnaean botanical republic, and with Hagen the taxonomy of local natural historians was transformed into the Linnaean currency of a global economy of exchange and trade. Hagen’s obituary read that “his lectures, in which he introduced the Linnaean system to Prussia [...] were so well visited that there was a lack of space.”⁴⁹²

Kant did not obtain his own household until 1787, where he began to have regular guests. Among these was Karl Gottfried Hagen, Kant’s former student and court pharmacist. In

⁴⁸⁸ „Schwedens Beyspiel in den neuern Zeiten erweist, wie wir uns anderer Gegenden Naturgüter zu Nutze machen könnten. [...] Sollte das, was in Schweden zu bewerkstelligen möglich gewesen, nicht auch in andern Ländern möglich seyn, die sich noch zum Theil unter einem günstigeren Himmelstrich befinden?“ Bock, *Betrachtung über das Nutzbare und Anmuthige in der Naturgeschichte*, 11–12.

⁴⁸⁹ Karl Gottfried Hagen, “Beschreibung Der Hottentottenblumen, Oder Einer Neuen Art Wieder Auflebender Pflanzen,” *Berlinische Sammlungen* 9/1777 (n.d.).

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁴⁹² “Hagens Tod,” *Neues Journal Der Pharmacie Für Ärzte, Apotheker Und Chemiker* 18 (n.d.): 273.

his sixties, Kant's interest in chemistry had increased.⁴⁹³ Kant, despite primarily having a bookish understanding of chemistry, impressed Hagen at the dinner table by demonstrating his knowledge of the entire nomenclature of medicine as well as his knowledge and understanding of chemical experiments.⁴⁹⁴ Kant returned the favor by calling Hagen's book *Grundsätze der Chemie* "a logical masterpiece."⁴⁹⁵ Being both a scientist and a practitioner, Hagen's person combined that which is often separate: as a scholar, he straddled the disparate fields of natural history, chemistry, and pharmacy, approaching them as science for the university as well as an art for his apothecary.

In this broad sense, natural history served as a foundational discourse for theorizing about the health and wealth of society, with pharmacy and chemistry as a specialized sub-discipline: "The entire *Materia medica* [...] actually belongs to natural history",⁴⁹⁶ Bock had argued. Within the framework of this foundational discourse, Hagen became instrumental in the transformation and reformation of medicine and natural science at the Albertina. In 1787, Hagen initiated the establishment of a botanical garden in Königsberg, an idea supported by Karl Abraham von Zedlitz. It was only in 1811 that the garden properly finished, with the acquisition of the needed plot of land occurring in 1806. His *Lehrbuch der Apothekerkunst* was based on Linnaeus.⁴⁹⁷ However, as a teacher of apothecary science, Hagen moved the teaching of natural history from the space of the museum to his own private laboratory, being one of the first to teach experimental chemistry in Prussia. Hagen corrected and adjusted his *Lehrbuch* constantly, publishing nine editions in all, which demonstrates its provisional character and its close connection to his research. It was not a dogmatic treatise but was based on observation and experiments: thus, every new edition was adjusted accordingly. The long span of the various editions embraced the change in chemistry from Georg Ernst Stahl's phlogiston theory of chemistry to Lavater's revolution.

It is in particular with regard to the first theory that Kant did not categorize chemistry as a "*proper science*",⁴⁹⁸ but he still acknowledged that it could be described as *knowledge*.

⁴⁹³ A. Wimmer, "Ant Und Die Pharmazie," *Süddeutsche Apotheker-Zeitung*, Jg. 89/16 (1949): 265.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Bock writes: „Ich [...] rede nur mit wenigen von dem Nutzen der Naturgeschichte in der Arzeneygelahrtheit. Einem Arzte der von den Kräften und Merkmaalen guter Arzeneymittel, wie auch von den Krankheiten und Theilen des menschlichen Körpers gescheut urtheilen will, ist die Naturgeschichte unentbehrlich. Die ganze *Materia medica*, deren gründliche Kännntniß ein Hauptstück für jeden rechtschaffenen Arzt ist, gehöret eigentlich zur Naturgeschichte, und daher haben sich die vortreflichsten Aerzte, mehr als irgend andere Gelehrte, um diese Wissenschaft verdient gemacht.“ Bock, *Betrachtung über das Nutzbare und Anmuthige in der Naturgeschichte*, 43.

⁴⁹⁷ Karl Gottfried Hagen, *Lehrbuch Der Apothekerkunst*, 1781, 17–18.

⁴⁹⁸ Immanuel Kant, "Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science," in *Theoretical Philosophy after 1781* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 184. AA IV: 468.

As Kant noted: "...chemistry can be nothing more than a systematic art or experimental doctrine, but never a proper science, because its principles are merely empirical, and allow of no *a priori* presentation in intuition. Consequently, they do not in the least make the principles of chemical appearances conceivable with respect to their possibility, for they are not receptive to the application of mathematics."⁴⁹⁹ Kant did not simply disregard chemistry altogether, but, as it mainly relied on experience, it could not, as is the case with mechanics, be subject to mathematics. Here we need to understand the practice of the chemist as well as the pharmacist. Hagen himself described both as being just as much art as science, something which had to be learned in the laboratory. We also have to understand how chemistry distinguishes itself from mechanics in relation to the senses. Where mechanics primarily relies on vision, chemistry, as one sees in Hagen's *Lehrbuch*, is a form of art, a practice directed at developing the sense of taste and smell in the laboratory. As Marcus Herz divides the senses, they can be effected "...either mechanically by impact as with sight, hearing, and feeling; or chemically, by resolution, as with taste and smell."⁵⁰⁰ While sight, hearing, and feeling give us a sense of substances in time and space, the sense of taste and smell gives us a sense of our inner condition; i.e. the former senses relate to the objective, the latter relate to the subjective,⁵⁰¹ and only by founding chemistry on relations in space can it become a proper science.

Placing Man in the Scheme of Things

In 1787, the Göttingen naturalist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach received a letter from his friend in Königsberg, Professor Johann Daniel Metzger. Blumenbach had written to inquire about Kant, who had made himself noted by entering into disputes with both his former student Johann Gottfried von Herder and the now famous Georg Forster.⁵⁰² Metzger responded that Kant

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 186. AA IV: 470–471.

⁵⁰⁰ „Die Gegenstände der erwähnten Sinne wirken entweder unmittelbar auf das Organ, wie die des Fühlens; oder mittelbar, wie die der übrigen Sinne. Ferner ist ihre Wirkungsart entweder mechanisch, durch den Stoß, wie bey dem Gesicht, Gehör und Gefühl; oder chymisch, durch Auflösung, wie bey dem Geschmack und Geruch.“ Markus Herz, *M. Herz ... ̄Arzts ... Grundriß aller medicinischen Wissenschaften* (Voß, 1782), 104.

⁵⁰¹ „Einige dieser Sinne, Gesicht, Gehör und Gefühl, geben uns mehr Erkenntniß des äußern Gegenstandes, als Vorstellung unsers veränderten Zustandes; sie schaffen uns die Erkenntniß von Substanz, Raum und Zeit; sind also objektivische, belehrende Sinne: andere, Geschmack und Geruch, liefern uns mehr Vorstellung unsers innern Zustandes, als Erkenntniß der äußern Gegenstände; sind subjektivische, Genuß-Sinne. Auch unterscheiden sich die Sinne darin, daß einige, Gesicht und Gehör, mittheilend und gemeingenützig; die übrigen aber privat und ausschliessend sind. Je objektivischer und mittheilender ein Sinn ist, desto edler und vollkommener ist er.“ Ibid.

⁵⁰² The controversy has been analysed as a conflict between two distinct epistemologies, see: Manfred Riedel, "Historizismus Und Kritizismus. Kants Streit Mit G. Forster Und J. G. Herder," in *Deutschlands Kulturelle Entfaltung. Die Neubestimmung Des Menschen*, 1980, 31–48; in his chapter on "Anthropology in the German Enlightenment: Plural

“...unquestionably deserves praise as an independent thinker and genius.” However, according to Metzger, Kant had become bitter with him because of a critical text on Kant’s concept of race that he had written. Metzger, whom Herder had praised as an early developer of a physical anthropology,⁵⁰³ had entered into the debate in 1786 by writing a harsh criticism of Kant’s essay *Determination of the Concept of a Human Race* from 1785.⁵⁰⁴ Around Kant a new constellation had taken shape which was to sideline him as an authority on anthropology. Apart from the aforementioned Herder, Georg Forster, and Metzger, the constellation also counted the anatomist Samuel Thomas Sömmerring, the personal friend of Forster and Metzger.

Despite his praise of Jacob Theodor Klein’s early study of the animal kingdom, Metzger maintained that “Klein’s methodology was too complicated to make its fortune. It has been suppressed by the Linnaean.”⁵⁰⁵ However, while Linnaean science was being institutionalized locally in Königsberg, its public life had become the subject of controversy. In the first edition of *Systema Naturae*, Linnaeus had classified humans along with apes among the anthropomorphic creatures, hence classifying man alongside animals, minerals, and plants. In addition to the categorical placement of man inside the system of nature, he had followed his subdivision of classes, orders, genera, species, and variety, and subdivided man into four different varieties spatially ordered according to their geographical location: *Europaeus*, *Americanus*, *Asiaticus*, and *Africanus*. A criticism of Linnaeus’s categorization of man among apes echoed along the shores of the Baltic Sea, from Johann Gottschalk Wallerius in Uppsala to Johann Georg Gmelin in St. Petersburg. In Danzig, Jacob Theodor Klein had initially rejected Linnaeus’s belief. However, the anatomical comparison between man and ape was not entirely rejected. In his *Fauna Suecica*, Linnaeus later noted that “it had been impossible to discern a single mark by which one could distinguish between man and the apes.”⁵⁰⁶ In addition, Blumenbach noted: “But even without this,

Approaches to Human Diversity" Hahn Vermeulen has argued that the science of man did not constitute a single discipline but rather was a reflection of disciplinary perspectives: Vermeulen, *Before Boas*, 357–394. The unifying aspect of the science of man is, however, still open to debate, see: Tanja van Hoorn, *Dem Leibe abgelesen: Georg Forster im Kontext der physischen Anthropologie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 2004); Hans Erich Bödeker, “Georg Forsters Entwurf einer „Wissenschaft vom Menschen“,” *NTM Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* 18, no. 2 (August 1, 2010): 137–67; Godel, *Klopffechtereien - Missverständnisse - Widersprüche?*
⁵⁰³ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur philosophie der geschichte der menschheit* (J. F. Hartknoch, 1841), 233.

⁵⁰⁴ On Kant’s notion of race see Emmanuel C. Eze, *Achieving Our Humanity: The Idea of the Postracial Future* (Routledge, 2013); Robert Bernasconi, ed., *Race*, 1 edition (Malden, Mass: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001); for critics and for nuanced defenders: Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2003); Pauline Kleingeld, *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship*, Reprint edition (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁵⁰⁵ „Kleins Methodologie war zu verwickelt, um ihr Glück machen zu können. Sie wurde durch die Linneische verdrängt.“ Johann Daniel Metzger, *Skizze einer pragmatischen Literärsgeschichte der Medicin* (Nicolovius, 1792), 367–68.

⁵⁰⁶ See Praefatio in Linnaei, *Fauna Suecica*, 1746; translation from Zammito, *Kant, Herder, and the Birth of Anthropology*, 446.

though, a natural scientist [*Naturforscher*] in practice will hopefully not be in the embarrassing situation of confusing men and apes.” Linnaeus’s introduction of man into the system of nature provoked two conflated questions: first, if man is to be compared with animals, what is the defining natural mark of a human? In answering this question, the distinction between different varieties of humans and human-like beings served as a way of articulating in various degrees what could be the defining mark of mankind. Second, should man be placed within the system of nature at all? This question addressed the problem of confusing two things: man as a biological creature which can be categorized in relation to other beings, and man as a researcher that orders and categorizes nature. To understand what is human, it was implied that one should take the latter conception of man.

As early as 1775, Kant had advertised his lecture course on physical geography by publishing an essay, *On the Different Races of Human Beings*, which introduced a new perception of nature. In the essay, he revised the spatial division between four human *varieties* by introducing the concept of *race*. The concept of race neither depended on principles of logic nor space; instead, time was the criterion. In the text, Kant formulated an acute rethinking of the Linnaean system. Comte de Buffon had introduced a criticism of Linnaeus’s *system of nature*, arguing that it was an artificial system that did not correspond with the order of nature. Von Haller, who had written the preface to the German translation of Buffon’s natural history, had agreed with Buffon, pointing out that Linnaeus had based his system on an arbitrary [*willkürliche*] principle. Buffon’s criticism held that “one judges the objects of Natural History in terms of the relations they have with him. Those which are the most necessary and useful to him will take the first rank.”⁵⁰⁷ However, this did not mean that one should discard the entire practice of natural history. As von Haller noted, had nature not been ordered in a totality [*Ganzes*],⁵⁰⁸ a science of things in nature would not be possible – hence even arbitrary systems were considered quite useful, although only preliminary. Kant followed Comte de Buffon’s criticism of Linnaeus’s division of races “according to *resemblances*.”⁵⁰⁹ Although the concept of variety did refer to a spatial and hence not purely logical division, it was limited to describing something relative to its environment. Following the spatial organization, one ran the risk of dealing with an infinite number of varieties; while following a

⁵⁰⁷ Buffon, *Premier discours (Oeuvres philosophiques)*, pp. 17a-b). Translation from Phillip R. Sloan, “The Buffon-Linnaeus Controversy,” *Isis* 67, no. 3 (1976): 356–75.

⁵⁰⁸ Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon, Louis J. M. Daubenton, and Albrecht von Haller, *Allgemeine historie der natur*, 1750, XVIII.

⁵⁰⁹ Immanuel Kant, “Of the Different Races of Human Beings (1775),” in *Anthropology, History, and Education* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 84. AA II: 429.

categorical division based on resemblance one ran the risk of creating a system founded on arbitrary marks, as Comte de Buffon had interjected against Linnaeus. In order to navigate between the two poles, Kant proposed a temporal perspective which could direct the newly introduced concept of race. Doing this, Kant juxtaposed natural history with natural description. Natural history was the study of how the nature of things are reproduced in time, meaning the study of “hereditary marks,”⁵¹⁰ which Kant, in the study of human races, suggested to be skin color. Hereditary marks had the advantage of neither being arbitrary nor individual characteristics relative to environment, and could therefore become the focus of scientific studies. Following Linnaeus’s division of four varieties, Kant therefore suggested a division of four races based on the color of skin. Opposed to this view, Forster, Herder, Metzger, and Sömmerring suggested only two races (the Negro and the European), defined not by skin color but by their anatomical build. Between these two idealized races, one would find an infinite number of varieties, each adapted to their specific local environment.

Kant’s determination of the concept of race had been an attempt to clarify it as a concept in such a way that it could be useful for observation. Kant suggested that to test if skin color could serve as a hereditary mark, one should observe Africans in Europe, i.e. outside their natural environment. Forster responded that “a negro is actually only in his own country a true negro. Each essence of nature is only what it should be within the place from which it did emerge; a truth that we see confirmed in menageries and botanical gardens daily. The Negro, born in Europe, is like a greenhouse plant, a modified creature...”⁵¹¹ Forster did not just reject Kant’s suggestion of skin color as a signifying mark on race, but also his prioritizing of a temporal mode of observation over the spatial concept of environment. Instead of four set categories of race, Forster argued for an infinite number of varieties which could be studied empirically. For Kant, however, clear concepts were necessary to guide the investigations, earning him the nicknames “the arch-sophist and arch-scholastic of our time.”⁵¹² However, Kant’s critics did not refrain from the concept of race: they only suggested an anatomical distinction between two races with an infinite number of potential, environmentally dependent varieties in between.

After returning to Europe from his journey with Captain Cook in 1775, Forster had visited the Collegium Carolinum in Cassel from 1778-84, where he had met the anatomist Samuel

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 85. AA II: 430.

⁵¹¹ „ein Neger sey eigentlich nur in seinem Vaterlande ein rechter Nager. Ein jedes Wesen der Natur ist, was es seyn soll, nur an dem Orte, für den sie es entstehen ließ; eine Wahrheit, die man in Menagerien und botanischen Gärten täglich bestätigt sieht. Der Neger, in Europa geboren, ist wie eine Treibhauspflanze, ein modificirtes Geschöpf.“ Georg Forster, “Noch Etwas Über Die Menschenraßen,” *Teutsche Merkur* 1786 (n.d.): 72.

⁵¹² Johann Georg Adam Forster and Georg Gottfried Gervinus, *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Brockhaus, 1843), 364.

Thomas Sömmerring. In Cassel, Duke Frederick II had established a colony of Africans,⁵¹³ and Sömmerring had had an opportunity to perform autopsies on the deceased. Based on his work in Cassel, Sömmerring published *On the Moor's bodily difference from the European* in 1784, revised under the title *On the Negro's bodily difference from the European* the following year.⁵¹⁴ In his descriptions, Sömmerring followed Petrus Camper, his "...great teacher and kindest friend...",⁵¹⁵ who had made an aesthetic comparison between the head shape of the ape, "the negro," and the European, hierarchically ordering them in a line of perfection. The European was represented by the Greek ideal of beauty, while "the negro" was aesthetically positioned between the Greek and the ape. Particularly the flat nose of "the negro," which allegedly gave less space for the brain, placed him closer to the ape than the European. Although Sömmerring noted that the body of "the negro" made "...him the most perfect creature for his climate..."⁵¹⁶ and that there were many individual negroes more beautiful or smarter than the *average* European, he concluded that the *average*⁵¹⁷ African negro was closer to the ape than the European was. Nonetheless, he was by all means human. Sömmerring stressed that he, to the best of his efforts, had approached the matter as a question of scientific investigation; however, he had explicitly framed it politically against slavery. As we have seen, the Linnaean taxonomy was conflated with economy, which meant that the introduction of man into the order of nature had made him a subject of trade. Sömmerring noted regrettably that "in America one pays 10 pounds sterling for every imported negro, similar to a commodity or an animal..." At the same time, Sömmerring was embarrassingly aware of the inhumane conditions which had enabled his dissections. "Only the European can treat his slaves so badly, he buys them to collect them."⁵¹⁸

The debate led Kant to revisit natural history as part of a broader investigation, firstly in a text on *The Use of Teleological Principles in Philosophy* and secondly in his third work of critical philosophy, *Critique of the Power of Judgment* from 1790. Instead of directly returning to the debate, Kant turned to the presuppositions of natural history in order to investigate how characterization and classification was possible at all. This investigation both pointed to the

⁵¹³ See Londa Schiebinger, "The Anatomy of Difference: Race and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Science," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23, no. 4 (1990): 387–405.

⁵¹⁴ Samuel Thomas von Soemmerring, *Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Mohren vom Europäer*, 1784; Samuel Thomas von Soemmerring, *Ueber die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers vom Europäer* (Varentrapp Sohn und Wenner, 1785).

⁵¹⁵ Soemmerring, *Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Mohren vom Europäer*, 7.

⁵¹⁶ Soemmerring, *Ueber die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers vom Europäer*, 79.

⁵¹⁷ Soemmerring, *Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Mohren vom Europäer*, 32.

⁵¹⁸ „Man zahlte in Amerika zehen Pfund Sterling für jeden eingebrachten Neger [...], gleich einer Waare oder Thier..." „Nur der Europäer könne seine Sklaven so übel behandeln, er kauft sie, um durch sie zu sammeln..." Soemmerring, *Ueber die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers vom Europäer*, vii–viii.

legitimacy of natural history and criticized its objectification of man. Although Bock is nowhere mentioned in these texts, his combination of economy, aesthetics, and natural history seems to function as an interpretive key to the work; the paradigm for understanding Kant's investigation of aesthetics is just as much the chemist's laboratory or the natural history museum as the art gallery or the theatre. However, unlike Bock, Kant restrains himself from making metaphysical assumptions by viewing nature as purposeful due to the design of God. Instead, he maintains that man views nature as purposeful due to his own interest. It is only by analogy that we may understand nature as purposeful in itself, by understanding a natural object as analogous to tools or techniques. However, although our primary interest in the nature of things may originate from their use, we also have the capacity for aesthetic appreciation, or what Kant calls a *disinterested interest*. While we may find the first interest within the walls of the factory or the workshop, the disinterested interest resides within the halls of the museum and collections of art or natural history. The notions of beauty and aesthetic appreciation are not opposed to natural science; on the contrary, it is constitutive for any kind of disinterested observation.

Kant distinguished between two kinds of beauty. The first is one used in natural history, for example by Sömmerring. As Sömmerring had argued, his primary interest was the general characteristics of the *average* Negro or European. What Kant made clear was how the gaze of the natural historian rested on a statistical basis.⁵¹⁹ Camper and Sömmerring had applied what Kant calls a "normal idea" of beauty. This, Kant holds, is empirically derived by induction within a clearly defined totality, such as a country, so that one may talk of "the average man, the average head, the average nose, etc." Kant points out that "...under these empirical conditions a Negro must necessarily have a different normal idea of the beauty of a figure than a white, a Chinese person a different idea from a European."⁵²⁰ The concept of beauty inherent in the "normal idea" is that which does not stand out or offend, as in Camper's drawings:

One will find that a perfectly regular face, which a painter might ask to sit for him as a model, usually says nothing: because it contains nothing characteristic, and thus expresses more the idea of the species

⁵¹⁹ On Statistical observation See: Hans Bödeker, "On the Origins of the 'Statistical Gaze': Modes of Perception, Forms of Knowledge and Ways of Writing in the Early Social Sciences," in *Little Tools of Knowledge: Historical Essays on Academic and Bureaucratic Practices* (The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 169–96.

⁵²⁰ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgment* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 119. "...ein Neger nothwendig unter diesen empirischen Bedingungen eine andere Normalidee der Schönheit der Gestalt haben muß, als ein Weißer, der Chinese eine andere, als der Europäer." AA V: 234.

*than anything specific to a person. What is characteristic in this way, when it is exaggerated, i.e., when it itself breaks with the normal idea (of the purposiveness of the species), is called **caricature**.*⁵²¹

The normal idea of beauty has a scientific purpose for determining something as characteristic to a species; however, "...there is still a distinction between the **normal idea** of the beautiful and its **ideal**." Kant adds: "...the ideal consists in the expression of the **moral** [...]." ⁵²² This moral sense of beauty "...is the form of the **purposiveness** of an object, insofar as it is perceived in it **without representation of an end**." ⁵²³ From the perspective of natural history, we may regard humans as a species which can be described, compared, and classified through an aesthetic idea of the normal. However, characterized as a species, humanity is reduced to a caricature. The ideal of human beauty lies in his moral character, not in a determining nature but in his capacity for self-determination.

Technique, teleology, and taste

Before publishing his *Critique of the Power of Judgment* in 1790, Kant had initially written a longer introduction which more extensively placed the work within the framework of natural history. In the margin of the introduction, Kant described Buffon's skepticism towards Linnaeus's system:

*Could Linnaeus have hoped to outline a system of nature if he had had to worry that if he found a stone that he called granite, this might differ in its internal constitution from every other stone which nevertheless looked just like it, and all he could hope to find were always individual things, as it were isolated for the understanding, and never a class of them that could be brought under concepts of genus and species*⁵²⁴

Although many existing competing systems had been subsumed under Linnaeus's classificatory scheme, the general objection, that any of these systems would be the result of an arbitrary classification, still persisted. Regardless, Kant did not discard the practical and economical

⁵²¹ Ibid. "Man wird finden, daß ein vollkommen regelmäßiges Gesicht, welches der Maler ihm zum Modell zu sitzen bitten möchte, gemeinlich nichts sagt: weil es nichts Charakteristisches enthält, also mehr die Idee der Gattung, als das Specifiche einer Person ausdrückt. Das Charakteristische von dieser Art, was übertrieben ist, d. i. welches der Normalidee (der Zweckmäßigkeit der Gattung) selbst Abbruch thut, heißt Caricatur." AA V: 235.

⁵²² Ibid., 120. "Der sichtbare Ausdruck sittlicher Ideen, die den Menschen innerlich beherrschen..." AA V: 235.

⁵²³ Ibid. "Schönheit ist Form der Zweckmäßigkeit eines Gegenstandes, sofern sie ohne Vorstellung eines Zwecks an ihm wahrgenommen wird." AA V: 236.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 18. AA XX: 216

incentive of natural history in search for a pure science, but instead turned towards the investigation of human interest in the use of nature as the precondition for natural history. This involved a whole list of areas:

Statesmanship and political economy, rules of good housekeeping as well as those of etiquette, precepts for good health and diet, of the soul as well as of the body (indeed why not all trades and arts?), because they all contain a great many practical propositions.⁵²⁵

What in particular had Kant's interest was insight into the nature of a given object as well as its practical application. The common principle for the organization of any system of nature, Kant pointed out, was that of technique, a purpose in nature which could be uncovered. However, as we shall see, Kant did not regard the principle of purposefulness to be inherent in nature, as Bock had seen it. Instead, Kant reversed the relationship by ascribing the source of purposefulness to the basic structure of man, i.e. because man is a being with interests and intentions, he find purpose in nature. A system of nature may therefore not necessarily be regarded as a representation of the order of nature but instead as an artificial system ordered in accordance with interests of men. This therefore reveals something characteristic of man not as a species within a system of nature but as a being which systematizes nature.

In order to understand how and why we perceive nature as purposeful, Kant points towards the feeling of pleasure and displeasure.⁵²⁶ Our feeling of pleasure and displeasure is what fundamentally gives us a conception of nature as having a purpose. When we like a certain kind of food, it is intended for us: what we do not like may be used in a wrong way. Hence, at the origin of our understanding of nature as purposeful lies a simple distinction between pleasure and displeasure. However, this does not mean that any kind of system of nature is based on the feeling of pleasure and displeasure. As some goals have been objectified, they have become the basis of a scientific understanding of nature's purposefulness, like the system of Linnaeus. As Kant notes:

...we no longer detect any noticeable pleasure in the comprehensibility of nature and the unity of its division into genera and species, by means of which alone empirical concepts are possible through which we cognize it in its particular laws; but it must certainly have been there in its time, and only because the most common experience would not be possible without it has it gradually become mixed up with mere cognition and is no longer specially noticed. – It thus requires study to make us attentive to the

⁵²⁵ Ibid., 3. AA XX: 195-96

⁵²⁶ Ibid., 73. AA V: 187.

*purposiveness of nature for our understanding in our judging of it, where possible bringing heterogeneous laws of nature under higher though always still empirical ones, so that if we succeed in this accord of such laws for our faculty of cognition, which we regard as merely contingent, pleasure will be felt.*⁵²⁷

In the understanding of purposefulness, there is a relation between an objectively given visual representation and a subjective sense of pleasure or displeasure which accompanies the object. Still, in the endeavor to create a *natural system* of objects, its synesthetic origin has been forgotten. Although the feeling of pleasure or displeasure always accompanies an object, it cannot itself be ascribed to the object but only to the sensing subject; hence, the feeling itself cannot become an object of cognition. Yet, as we have seen, smell and taste are not simply arbitrary additions to objects in nature, but rather prescribe a certain way that we as humans find interest and purpose in these objects. According to the physician Marcus Herz, “nature gave humans taste to allow them to maintain their bodies. It also serves to recognize the healing powers of the plants and to differentiate between the beneficially nutritious and the harmful.”⁵²⁸ It is through taste that man, just like animals, recognizes the use of plants, and hence taste is the original guide for an investigation of the purposefulness and utility of nature. Yet, Herz explains, animals are far superior to men when it comes to distinguishing taste. Still, this superiority is not simply an accidental flaw in man but is rather the consequence of a distinguishing mark of man. Unlike animals, Kant interjects, man is not determined by taste but by his ability to choose in matters of taste and even to cultivate and refine taste. Through a reading of Genesis, Kant points to the element of free choice in matters concerning taste as the first mark of becoming human:

The first human being could, therefore, stand and walk; he could speak (Genesis 2: 20), even discourse, i.e. speak according to connected words and concepts, hence think. These are all skills which he had acquired for himself [...]; but I assume him now already provisioned with them, merely in order to consider the development of what is moral in his doing and refraining, which necessarily presupposes that skill.

Instinct, that voice of God which all animals obey, must alone have guided the novice. It allowed him a few things for nourishment, but forbade him others (Genesis 3: 2-3). But for this it is not necessary to assume a special, now lost instinct; it could have been merely the sense of smell and its affinity with the

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 74. AA V: 187–88

⁵²⁸ „Die Natur gab dem Menschen den Geschmack, um ihn zur Erhaltung seines Körpers einzuladen. Er dient auch die Heilkräfte der Pflanzen zu erkennen, und die wohlthätigen nahrhaften von den schädlichen zu unterscheiden.“ Herz, *M. Herz ... †Arzt ... Grundriß aller medicinischen Wissenschaften*, 135–36.

*organ of taste, but also the latter's familiar sympathy with the instruments of digestion, and also the faculty of pre-sensation, as it were, of the suitability or unsuitability of a food for gratification, such as one still perceives even now.*⁵²⁹

Being governed by instinct like any other animal, in the garden of Eden mankind only needed to follow its immediate feeling of pleasure and displeasure in order to determine whether or not a certain type of food was fit for nourishment. It was, however, when one fruit was marked as forbidden that man entered into the realm of choice, with the possibility to choose between preferences:

*As long as the inexperienced human being obeyed this call on nature, he did well for himself. Yet reason soon began to stir and sought through comparison of that which gratified with that which was represented to him by another sense than the one to which instinct was bound, such as the sense of sight, as similar to what previously was gratifying, to extend his knowledge of the means of nourishment beyond the limits of instinct (Genesis 3: 6).*⁵³⁰

While the feelings of pleasure and displeasure gave an immediate understanding of the utility of natural resources, the ability to choose between one thing or another sets out the field for a different game. The immediate experience of what is nutritious and what is harmful is substituted by the questions what do I prefer and why? Such questions are answered by the refinement and cultivation of one's taste.

This subjective reversal has great implications for the position of man within the order of nature. Rather than understanding humans as something determined for a specific purpose by nature, Kant could now hold that it is because we have interests and intentions, make plans, and set goals that we are by analogy able to understand and interpret nature as purposeful. Yet, the power of choice and the ability to choose between different matters of taste creates a certain distance between man and nature. This distance enables man to cultivate an appreciation of nature, which may appreciate the purposefulness of nature without being reliant or founded on its utility: one can eat food not for the nourishment or appreciate the symmetry in sea-shells simply for their pure beauty. This aesthetic appreciation of the beautiful was not to be understood

⁵²⁹ Immanuel Kant, "Conjectural Beginning of Human History (1786)," in *Anthropology* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 164–65. AA VIII: 110–111.

⁵³⁰ Kant, "Conjectural Beginning of Human History (1786)," 165. AA VIII: 111.

as interest in nature for its utility; rather, it "...prepares us to love something, even nature, without interest..."⁵³¹

This is what Kant calls a disinterested interest. It is this which demonstrates an actual appreciation of nature as well as arts. However, as such an appreciation does not base itself on the usefulness of an object, the question of its validity arises: "Everyone has his own taste", it is said, and so what is taste other than a purely subjective emotion? Since beauty is not defined objectively, it is said that "there is no disputing about taste."⁵³² When I am satisfied with an object, it is simply "...an object of satisfaction **for me**, it may be different for others; - everyone has his own taste."⁵³³ It is to overcome this problem that Kant turns from the subjective difference in taste to the discursive justification of taste. Even if we acknowledge, Kant points out, that "everyone has his own taste", we still make aesthetic judgments that we assume others understand. These judgments of taste point to an inter-subjective rather than purely subjective understanding of taste. One may not be able to dispute about taste, as there is no objective ground for decision, but "it is possible to argue about taste (but not to dispute)."⁵³⁴ In aesthetic judgments, we do not provide objective reasons; instead, we presume that our subjective aesthetic preferences are communicable and have validity for others. Hence the judgment of taste indicates a presupposition of common understanding. What Kant described as an antinomy between subjective and objective grounds for aesthetic judgments is now resolved:

...now all contradiction vanishes if I say that the judgment of taste is based on a concept (of a general ground for the subjective purposiveness of nature for the power of judgment), from which, however, nothing can be cognized and proved with regard to the object, because it is in itself indeterminable and unfit for cognition; yet at the same time by means of this very concept it acquires validity for everyone (in each case, to be sure, as a singular judgment immediately accompanying the intuition), because its determining ground may lie in the concept of that which can be regarded as the supersensible substratum of humanity.⁵³⁵

The definition of humanity did not appear objectively as a certain mark of a race, but as a "supersensible substratum," i.e. through the ability to communicate and argue about one's

⁵³¹ Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgment*, 151. AA V: 267.

⁵³² Ibid., 214. AA V: 338.

⁵³³ Ibid., 215. AA V: 339.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., 214. AA V: 338.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., 216. AA V: 340.

subjective experience. It is not only by having individual taste but through the ability to formulate it, reflect on it, and cultivate it that humans stand in a free relation to their own nature.

Making Ends Meet

“The people conceive of their welfare, not primarily as freedom, but as [the realization of] their natural ends and so as these three things: being *happy* after death, having their *possessions* guaranteed by public laws during their life in society, and finally, looking forward to the physical enjoyment of *life* itself (that is, health and a long life).”⁵³⁶ So Kant noted, juxtaposing human freedom with the natural end of enjoying a long and healthy life. Although man’s natural ends did not necessarily conflict with human freedom, “people,” as Kant noted, had an inclination to first and foremost perceive of their welfare in terms of natural ends. Each of the three ends listed by Kant corresponded to one of the three higher faculties of the university: 1) theology, which concerned itself with welfare after death, 2) law, which protected a person’s possessions within society, and 3) medicine, which concerned itself with the welfare of people’s physical well being. Kant described the entire university to be “...*like a factory*”⁵³⁷ with its division of labor between the faculties, each with its own end. The people educated at the three higher faculties “...can be called the *businesspeople* or technicians of learning. As tools of the government (clergymen, magistrates, and physicians), they have legal influence on the public and form a special class of the intelligentsia, who are not free to make public use of their learning as they see fit, but are subject to the censorship of the faculties, so the government must keep them under strict control.”⁵³⁸ Having this role, the university plays a central part in the political government of the state’s population and represents a certain form of government, a form that, as Kant resignedly observes, is generally being accepted. With the concern for one’s own well being, Kant observes that people would gladly put their life into the hands of the medical faculty and give up their freedom. “The people want to be *led*,”⁵³⁹ Kant concludes, i.e. they want to be governed by “the businessmen of the faculties,”⁵⁴⁰ which means that “...the government, which can work on the people only through these practitioners, will itself be *led* to obtrude on the faculties a theory that arises, not from the

⁵³⁶ Kant, “The Conflict of the Faculties,” 1996, 257. AA VII: 730.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., 247. AA VII: 17.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 247–48. AA VII: 18

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 258. AA VII: 31.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid. AA VII: 31.

pure insight of their scholars, but from calculations of the influence their practitioners can exert on the people by it.”⁵⁴¹

Kant published his diatribe *On the Art of Prolonging Human Life* along with two other essays relating to the other two higher faculties. He brought them together “to form a systematic unity”⁵⁴² under the headline *The Conflict of the Faculties*. The conflict did not describe a conflict between the higher faculties, but rather between the higher faculties and the low faculty. What Kant describes is a structural opposition between these two types of faculties. While the higher faculties serve the will of the government and the utility of the state, they need to be contested by the low faculty, whose only interest is truth: “...a university must have a faculty of philosophy. Its function in relation to the three higher faculties is to control them and, in this way, be useful to them, since *truth* [...] is the main thing, whereas the *utility* the higher faculties promise the government is of secondary importance.”⁵⁴³ It is in the conflict between the faculty of philosophy and the faculty of medicine that the opposition between the physical end of health and the moral end of freedom is articulated. For Kant, the philosophical faculty may be just as interested in the health of a person, but, rather than perceive it as a question of the natural end of humans, Kant seeks to formulate how a philosophical understanding of freedom may be at the core of any concern with health.

As the faculty of medicine is subject to the government, “...the medical expert does not draw his *method of therapy as practiced on the public* from the physiology of the human body but from *medical regulations*.”⁵⁴⁴ However, the physicians’ promise of physical welfare is also one of “...the incentives that the government can use to achieve its end (of influencing the people).”⁵⁴⁵ Being subject to the government, the medical faculty becomes an instrument for the state to “...have a strong and numerous people to serve its purposes.”⁵⁴⁶ It is within this framework that the medical apparatus of the state, with the universities in central positions, developed a medical governmental practice, the so-called *Staatsarzneykunst*. Here the university not only had a central role in educating physicians, but the practicing physicians were also under the regulation and control of a *board of public health*.⁵⁴⁷ This function meant that the government *ought* not interfere in the dealings of the medical faculty and instead should “...concern itself only with helping medical

⁵⁴¹ Ibid. AA VII: 31.

⁵⁴² Ibid., 243. AA VII: 11.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 255. AA VII: 28.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 251. AA VII: 23.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 250. AA VII: 21.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid. AA VII: 22.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 254. AA VII: 27.

practitioners to be of service to the public, by establishing dispensaries and hospitals. – These practitioners (physicians), however, remain subject to the judgment of their faculty in matters which concern the medical police and so interest the government.”⁵⁴⁸ Kant advocated that the medical faculty should hold a certain sense of autonomy as an organ of control, It “...can also have no laws strictly speaking (if by laws we mean the unalterable will of the legislator), but only regulations (*edicts*).”⁵⁴⁹ Thus, the medical faculty has two sources from where it derives its purpose, *firstly* from nature and *secondly* from the restrictions dictated by the state. It is in this service to two purposes that we find the eventual institutional split between the medical and the philosophical faculties: “...the faculty of medicine must derive its rules of procedure not from orders of the authorities but from the nature of things themselves, so that its teachings must have also belonged originally to the philosophy faculty, taken in its widest sense.”⁵⁵⁰

When addressing this issue as a response to Christoph Wilhelm Friedrich Hufeland, Kant was well aware of the political implications as well as the practical applications of medicine:

*You ask for my opinion of your ‘attempt to treat the physical element in the human being morally: to present the whole human being, including his physical side, as a being that is ordered to morality, and to show that moral cultivation is essential to the physical completion of human nature, which exists only in outline.’ And you add, ‘At least I can assure you that these were no preconceived opinions, and that it was my work and investigation itself that compelled me to treat human nature in this way.’ – Such an outlook betrays a philosopher, not a mere subtle reasoner. It is the outlook of a man who is not only, like [gleich: as] a director of the French Convention, skilled in applying the means reason prescribes, on the basis of experience (technically), to realize the ends of medical science, but who is also a legislative member of the body of doctors drawn from pure reason and has, along with the skill to prescribe what cures, the wisdom to prescribe what is also duty in itself.*⁵⁵¹

In the practical application of knowledge, Kant distinguished between two forms of duties, one form limiting, the other widening. “Negative duties *forbid* a human being to act contrary to the **end** of his nature and so have to do merely with his moral *self-preservation*; positive duties, which *command* him to make a certain object of choice his end, concern his *perfecting* of himself.”⁵⁵² It was

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 254–55. AA VII: 27.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., 254. AA VII: 27

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. AA VII: 26.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 313. AA VII: 97.

⁵⁵² Kant, “The Metaphysics of Morals (1797),” 544–45. AA VI: 419.

primarily the first, the negative form of duty, which Kant considered to belong to medicine in the form of a regimen:

A regimen for prolonging man's life must not aim at a life of ease; for by such indulgence toward his powers and feelings he would spoil himself. In other words, it would result in frailty and weakness, since his vital energy can be gradually extinguished by lack of exercise just as it can be drained by using it too frequently and too intensely. Hence, Stoicism (sustine et abstine) belongs, as the principle of a regimen, to practical philosophy not only as the doctrine of virtue but also as the science of medicine. – Medical science is philosophical when the sheer power of man's reason to master his sensuous feelings by a self-imposed principle determines his manner of living. On the other and, if medical science seeks the help of external physical means (drugs or surgery) to stimulate or ward off these sensations, it is merely empirical and mechanical.⁵⁵³

In other words, Kant does not exclude medical science, but he interjects that it only has the ability to cure diseases and not prevent them. Kant argues instead that a moral life may also be considered a healthy life: “In this way morally practical philosophy also provides a panacea”⁵⁵⁴ for living a healthy life, hence giving philosophy a central role in regards to physical wellbeing. The regimen does not *cure* but it directs you in your *care* for yourself: “This panacea, however, is only a *regimen* to be adopted: in other words, its functions only in a *negative* way, as the art of *preventing* disease. But an art of this sort presupposes, as its necessary condition, an ability that only philosophy, or the spirit of philosophy, can give.”⁵⁵⁵

It is, however, not only in its concern with preventive care of the self that this moral-philosophical approach differs from scientific medicine. It does not treat illness primarily as an objective but as a subjective phenomenon. A person “...can *feel* well (to judge by his comfortable feeling of vitality), but he can never *know* that he is healthy.”⁵⁵⁶ The regimen takes as its point of departure the subjective feeling of health. Kant himself had lost several friends who “*felt* healthy and did not *know* they were ill [...]”⁵⁵⁷ The regimen that Kant prescribes, although it has secured him a long life, does not provide the same scientific certainty as the new science of the physicians. For with the regimen, only “...a long life, considered in retrospect, can testify only to the health one *has enjoyed* , and the art of a regimen will have to prove its skill or science primarily in the art

⁵⁵³ Kant, “The Conflict of the Faculties,” 1996, 316. AA VII 100-01.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 313. AA VII: 98.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid. AA VII: 98.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 314–15. AA VII:100.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid. AA VII: 100.

of *prolonging* life (not *enjoying* it).⁵⁵⁸ However, Hufeland's intent to *prolong human life*, as a general aim for medicine, presents in itself a limited scope. It may be just as questionable to aspire to live a long life while feeling sick. The regimen can be corrected according to the self-observation of one's own feelings, but "...*causality* cannot be felt. It requires understanding, whose judgment can err. Feeling, conversely, is infallible [...]."⁵⁵⁹ The art of the regimen is formulated in opposition to scientific medicine, but without presenting the two as mutually exclusive. The question at hand for Kant is which of the two should be considered primary. While the scientific perspective may guarantee a high degree of certainty, the art of the regimen requires personal responsibility for one's own health and hence demands the freedom of the patient.

Rather than promoting state regulation, Kant formulated a regimen based on his own experience. Such a perspective had the obvious limit that it could not claim to apply universally. Still, Kant's dealings with "inner experiment or observation"⁵⁶⁰ made exactly the point that illness and disease initially should be regarded as a subjective feeling. Therefore all his inner observations could do was to guide other people to notice the same in themselves. It is clear that Kant is formulating a specific notion of the self at the core of this philosophical medicine, one that we may find in the tradition of Georg Ernst Stahl. However, the strict regimen, which has become tantamount to Kant's person, should not be understood as a solitary endeavor but be reflected in Kant's appreciation of the meal as a social event. When Kant, in his *Metaphysics of Morals*, deals with the question "On stupefying oneself by the excessive use of food or drink", the distinction between limiting and widening duties become clearer, and one may see how restrictions and regimen may be countered by sociability and cultivation. Perceived as a matter of limiting duties, it is clear that Kant disapproves of drunkenness and gluttony: "A human being who is drunk is like a mere animal, not to be treated as a human being. When stuffed with food he is in a condition in which he is incapacitated, for a time, for actions that would require him to use his powers with skill and deliberation. – It is obvious that putting oneself in such a state violates a duty to oneself."⁵⁶¹ It is clear that drinking alcohol, using "other narcotics, such as opium and other vegetable products,"⁵⁶² and excessive eating should not simply be restricted because it is unhealthy, but because it by choice disables a person from acting as a responsible autonomous individual. However, as one should not suspect Kant of hindering the consumption of food

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., AA VII:100.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 314–15. AA VII: 100.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 314. AA VII: 98.

⁵⁶¹ Kant, "The Metaphysics of Morals (1797)," 551. AA VI: 427.

⁵⁶² Ibid. AA VI: 427.

altogether, he has a corresponding view on the intake of alcohol which can only be understood through the argument of widening duties: “Can one at least justify, if not eulogize, a use of wine bordering on intoxication, since it enlivens the company’s conversation and in so doing makes them speak more freely? – Or can it even be granted the merit of promoting what Horace praises in Cato: *virtus eius incaluit mero?*” Kant asks this rhetorically in order to first bring up a distinction:

The use of opium and spirits for enjoyment is closer to being a base act than the use of wine, since they make the user silent, reticent and withdrawn by the dreamy euphoria they induce. They are therefore permitted only as medicines. – But who can determine the measure for someone who is quite ready to pass into a state in which he no longer has clear eyes for measuring? Mohammedanism, which forbids wine altogether, thus made a very bad choice in permitting opium to take its place.⁵⁶³

Apart from wine, drugs should be “permitted only as medicines.” Nevertheless, medicine is of such a complex nature that if it is to be used correctly it needs to be used by a doctor. As Kant already suggested in his question, wine, along with food, has an alternative purpose when enjoyed in company: “Although a banquet is a formal invitation to excess in both food and drink, there is still something in it that aims at a moral end, beyond mere physical well-being: it brings a number of people together for a long time to converse with one another.”⁵⁶⁴ At the banquet, one not only risks “the physical harm of overindulgence, which could perhaps be cured by a doctor”, but also (and at least as important) “the banquet remains a temptation to something immoral.”⁵⁶⁵ Even so, although one does not have a duty to drink, the cultivation of a moderate consumption of wine does have the purpose of encouraging social interaction. It is in this social interaction, where man communicates and debates his or her most subjective preferences of taste, that Kant finds the actualization of humanity:

*The propaedeutic for all beautiful art, so far as it is aimed at the highest degree of its perfection, seems to lie not in precepts, but in the culture of the mental powers through those prior forms of knowledge that are called *humaniora*, presumably because **humanity** means on the one hand the universal **feeling of participation** and on the other hand the capacity for being able to **communicate** one’s*

⁵⁶³ Ibid. AA VI: 427.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 552. AA VI: 28.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid. AA VI: 28.

*inmost self universally, which properties taken together constitute the sociability that is appropriate to humankind, by means of which it distinguishes itself from the limitation of animals.*⁵⁶⁶

“And so the meal ends with laughter...”

It is at the table that different cultures can meet. The dinner table is a social place with “the trust between human beings who eat together at the same table,”⁵⁶⁷ a trust which is not dictated by state law but indeed may transcend cultural differences. As Kant writes, “when the deputies coming from Moscow to meet the Russian Tsarina offered her *salt* and *bread*, and by the enjoyment of them she could regard herself as safe from all snares by the right of hospitality. – Eating together at one table is regarded as the formality of such a covenant of safety.”⁵⁶⁸ However, the dinner table did not only bring together local guests and foreign visitors, but also foreign foods and imported luxury goods with local produce. One came together to exchange stories and viewpoints, to argue, and finally to laugh. The laughter did not only ease the tensions arising from the debates, but was also considered helpful in matters of digestion. Explaining in more detail, Kant wrote:

*The jerky (near convulsive) exhaling of air attached to laughter [...] strengthens the feeling of vital force through the wholesome exercise of the diaphragm. It may be a hired jester (harlequin) who makes us laugh, or a sly wit belonging to our circle of friends, a wag who seems to have no mischief in mind and does not join in the laughter, but with seeming simplicity suddenly releases a tense anticipation (like a taut string). The resulting laughter is always a shaking of the muscles involved in digestion, which promotes it far better than the physician’s wisdom would do.*⁵⁶⁹

However, a jester was not necessary for laughter. “Even a great absurdity of mistaken judgment can produce exactly the same effect, though at the expense of the allegedly cleverer man,”⁵⁷⁰ Kant noted while adding a footnote on exactly such a case. Countess Charlotte Amalie von Keyserling had told him this anecdote. She had been visited by Count Sagramosso, who was there to institute the Order of the Knights of Malta in Poland:

⁵⁶⁶ Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgment*, 229. AA V: 355.

⁵⁶⁷ Kant, “Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View (1798),” 379. AA VII: 279.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid. AA VII: 279

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 364. AA VII: 262.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid. AA VII: 262.

...by chance a schoolmaster appeared on the scene who was a native of Königsberg and was visiting his relatives in Prussia, but who had been brought to Hamburg as organizer and curator of the natural history collection that some rich merchant kept as their hobby. In order to talk to him about something, the Count spoke in broken German: 'Ick abe in Amburg eine Ant geabt (ich habe in Hamburg eine Tante gehabt); aber die ist mir gestorben' [I have had an aunt in Hamburg; but she is dead] The schoolmaster immediately seized the word Ant and asked: 'Why didn't you have her skinned and stuffed?' He took the English word aunt, which means Tante, for Ente [duck] and, because it occurred to him that it must have been a very rare specimen, deplored the great loss. One can imagine what laughter this misunderstanding must have caused.⁵⁷¹

A rather innocent anecdote, although the laughter ends abruptly when one recalls that the mistaken slip of the tongue conflating man and animal was an institutionalized mistake. Sömmering had noted that "also among the black are there some that comes closer to their true brothers the whites and quite a few even surpass them in understanding and in the beautiful shape of the body."⁵⁷² Europe counted several intellectuals with an African background: Anton Wilhelm Amo, Abraham Petrovich Gannibal, and Angelo Soliman, who, after his death, had had the unfortunate fate of being skinned, stuffed, and put on display at the Imperial Natural History Collection in Vienna. Mummified bodies were not only part of display but also industry. In Hagen's *Lehrbuch der Apothekerkunst*, he wrote under the category "man" on Egyptian mummies: "Their colour is dark brown, close to black, and glittering. The taste is bitter and the smell is strong. Those who presently appear on the market are most likely reproductions."⁵⁷³

Outside the walls of the university with its disciplined thought, a formalized informal space of debate existed around the dinner table, where a communication across disciplines took place. While it may very well have ended in laughter over a misjudgment of the nature of man, the medical and philosophical faculties were still expecting a final judgment in the matter.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid. AA VII: 262.

⁵⁷² „Auch unter den Schwarzen giebt's einige, die den Weissen ihren wahren Brüdern näher treten, und manche aus ihnen sogar an Verstande, so wie auch schöner Bildung des Körpers, übertreffen.“ Soemmerring, *Ueber die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers vom Europäer*, 78.

⁵⁷³ Under "Der Mensch" it says with regard to Egyptian mummies: "Ihre Farbe ist dunkelbraun, beynahe Schwarz, und glänzend. Der Geschmack ist bitter und der Geruch stark. Diejenige, die jetzt im Handel vorkommen, möchten wohl größtentheils nachgekunstelt seyn." Hagen, *Lehrbuch Der Apothekerkunst*, 78.

Freedom on Trial

"A true observatory"

On the last day of the year 1791, the final sentence was read to Margaretha von Kaveczyńska. She had been sentenced to death in Königsberg on 7 June earlier that year; a few months later, on 28 November, her appeal was denied by the *Oberappellations-Senats des Kammergerichts* in Berlin. Immanuel Kant's friend Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, the mayor of Königsberg and the chief of police, was the judge on the *Hofhalsgericht*. Based on his experiences, he later authored an account of the final dialogue between himself and the condemned woman:

Accused: Is there no mercy for me?

Court Judge: Not from any of the judges.

Accused: Can you do nothing further for me, my lords?

Court Judge: We are merely referred to the laws.

Accused: The king is merciful.

Court Judge: But also just.

Accused: If he knew that the child did not live –

Court Judge: He knows your statement that it did not, as well as the assertion of the doctors that it did.

Accused: So my statement is known in Berlin?

Court Judge: Certainly – you have been defended twice, five relations and an extract have been written on your account. Could you want any more?

Accused: I believe I would also like to have a denomination, a denomination that H. v. I-K knew of my pregnancy beyond doubt.

Court Judge: This denomination compared to yours contradicts your testimony and it is in your respect without any consequence or importance –

Accused: (After a short pause) I am ready to die; but what has my family done wrong? – Why do they have to suffer through me?

Court Judge: This is not the case – your family does not suffer because of the state. All that they suffer depends on the part they take in being your kinswoman.

Accused: Oh! They will be shamed when I am not secretly executed.

Court Judge: Just as much as today, since you're already surrounded by so many people.

(She looked around wildly and...

... No, the king can grant a pardon with an easy conscience. He knows your crime - it is repeated: you deprived the state of two souls, children, indeed, the only children you mothered. It is not the judge but the law that has denied you life: we have until now treated you humanely and that shall continue until your death.

(PAUSE)

Accused: Even after death, I pray, I hope – I will be buried in the churchyard?

Court Judge: That will for the most part depend upon the clergy – your body is to be buried...

Accused: Can I make a testament?

Court Judge: Unthinkable.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷⁴ „Die Inquisitin stieß nach den Schlußworten ‚Von Rechtswegen‘ den rothen Schranken auf, gieng gerade zum Director, und hier ist fast wörtlich der nicht unbedeutende Wortwechsel, der mir von der Inquisitin eine bessere Meinung beybrachte, als man bis dahin von ihr verbreitet hatte.

Inquisitin. Ist denn keine Gnade für mich?

Hofhalsrichter. Bey Richtern nicht.

I. Können Sie nichts weiter für mich thun, meine Herren?

H. Wir sind bloß auf Gesetze gewisen.

I. Der König ist gnädig.

H. Aber auch gerecht.

I. Wenn er wüßte, daß das Kind nicht gelebt hat –

H. Er weiß Ihre Angabe, daß es nicht, und die Behauptung der Aerzte, daß es gelebt hat.

I. So weiß man in Berlin meine Angabe?

H. Allerdings – Sie sind zweymal vertheidigt, Fünf Relationen und Ein Auszug an den König sind Ihrentwegen entworfen – Können Sie mehr wollen?

Due to his silence, von Hippel appeared cold. Margaretha von Kaveczyńska was to be escorted to the place of execution where her life would be ended by the sword.⁵⁷⁵

The case was uncommon not because of the subject matter, which was perhaps one of the most common, but because it was held in public, hence bringing additional attention and shame to von Kawatschinska and her family. Von Hippel described it as:

*...a true observatory, where humans who are known to be a micro-cosmos, where so many discoveries can be made from any moral Herschel and his walker of sister which contribute to the astronomy of the soul, I wanted to say psychology, when one applied it correctly.*⁵⁷⁶

The criminal court provides cases for the study of anthropology; however, in contrast to the civil court, Hippel argues, the criminal court also needs a common-sense understanding of man.⁵⁷⁷

Noch Ein Bekenntniß glaub ich wollen zu können, ein Bekenntniß, daß H. v. I-k meine Schwangerschaft ohne Zweifel gewußt –

H. Dies Bekenntniß ist gerade Ihren Aussagen entgegen bey Ihrer Zusammenstellung mit ihm, auch ists in Rücksicht Ihrer ohne Folge und Bedeutung –

I. (Nach einer kleinen Pause). Ich bin bereit zu sterben; was hat aber meine Familie verbrochen? – Warum soll die durch mich leiden?

H. Dies ist nicht der Fall – Ihre Familie leidet nichts vom Staat – Alles was sie leidet, beruhet in dem Antheil, den sie an einer Verwandtin nimmt.

I. Ach! Sie wird beschimpft, wenn ich nicht geheim gerichtet werde.

H. Eben so wenig wie heute, da Sie schon von so vielen Menschen umgeben werden –

[...] – Mit einem ruhigen Gewissen kann kein König begnadigen. Sie wissen Ihr Verbrechen – Es ist ein wiederholtes – Zwey Seelen entzogen Sie dem Staat – Zwar Kinder; allein Kinder, deren Mutter Sie waren. Nicht die Richter, sondern die Gesetze haben Ihnen das Leben abgesprochen – Wir haben Sie bisher menschlich behandelt, und das soll bis in Ihren Tod geschehen.

I. Auch nach dem Tode, bitt ich, hoff ich – ich werde doch auf dem Kirchhofe begraben werden?

H. Das wird zum größten Theil von Ihrer Geistlichkeit abhängen – Ihr Körper soll verscharrt werden –

I. Kann ich ein Testament machen?

H. Unbedenklich –

Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, *Bevtrag über Verbrechen und Strafen* (Nicolovius, 1797), 11-15.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁷⁶ "...ein wahres Observatorium, wo am Menschen der noch bekanntlich ein Microcosmus ist, von jedem moralischen Herschel und seiner Geherin von Schwester so manche Entdeckungen gemacht werden können, die zur Sternkunde der Seelen, ich wollte Psychologie sagen, viel beytragen müssten, wenn man es recht dazu anlegte. Dergleichen individuelle historische Darstellungen gehen in vielen Fällen weiter als die Wahrscheinlichkeit, welche nicht nur dem allgemeinen Moralisten, sondern auch selbst dem Dichter zur Grenze angewiesen ist, und wie lehrreich könnten dergleichen Ausnahmen von der Regel werben!" Ibid., 4.

Hippel advocates for an empirical and practical understanding of man as opposed to a theoretical one,⁵⁷⁸ implicitly criticizing Kant's theoretical understanding of law.⁵⁷⁹

The criminal court case on infanticide presents not only a moral dilemma, but also a means for understanding Kant's theory of right in a different way. Or, as one author has put it, "the case of infanticide takes Kant into territory where these 'messy' norms conflict," where "...both reason and nature, [are] impurely mixed together."⁵⁸⁰ The case also presents a framework where law and medicine are mixed together on three levels: 1) as a mode of constructing forensic evidence, 2) in ways of determining accountability, and 3) in an overall understanding of the nature of law. The literature has often portrayed this as a "shocking and cruel bit of Kantian moral reasoning."⁵⁸¹ However, as I will demonstrate, this evaluation is based on an out-of-context reading. By relating the general reasoning to the case above as well as to the 18th-century discourse on infanticide, I will demonstrate the rationality behind Kant's argument.⁵⁸²

Victims?

The case spanned over a long period (from 1784 to 1791), during which time the new civil code was still being formulated.⁵⁸³ Margarethe von Kaveczyńska was born in western Prussia in the town of Skurgiens in 1761. In 1784, then aged 23, she became pregnant out of wedlock; on 24 November, she experienced the first labour pains. She shared a room with four maids, but still she tried to hide it. She managed to convince one of the four maids, Agnes, to bring her a knife which she later used to cut the umbilical cord. At 10pm, the first signs of birth appeared. Agnes and another maid, Barben, found Kaveczyńska kneeling beside a rock outside the house. The birth had

⁵⁷⁷ "In der Civiljustiz findet sich sowohl in materiali (in den Gesetzen), als auch in formali (in der Proceßordnung), ein Uebermaß von Subtilitäten, wogegen bey der Criminaljustiz dem gesunden Menschenverstande mehr Spielraum gelassen ist." Ibid., 7.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 8–9.

⁵⁷⁹ As we will see Kant defines himself in opposition to Cesare Beccaria's understanding of punishment. While Beccaria evaluated (critically) punishment through its ability to benefit society, Kant perceived punishment as a retributive act appealing to a sense of justice. Kant, "The Metaphysics of Morals (1797)," 473–477; AA VI: 331–337.

⁵⁸⁰ Jennifer K. Uleman, "On Kant, Infanticide, and Finding Oneself in a State of Nature," *Zeitschrift Für Philosophische Forschung* 54, no. 2 (April 1, 2000): 74.

⁵⁸¹ Annette C. Baier, "Moralism and Cruelty: Reflections on Hume and Kant," *Ethics* 103, no. 3 (1993): 445–46.

⁵⁸² Apart from Baier and Uleman see also: Maria Piers, *Infanticide: Past and Present* (W. W. Norton, Incorporated, 1978); Hamilton Beck, "Of Two Minds about the Death Penalty: Hippel's Account of a Case of Infanticide," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 8/1988 (n.d.): 123–40; Maren Lorenz, *Kriminelle Körper, gestörte Gemüter: die Normierung des Individuums in Gerichtsmedizin und Psychiatrie der Aufklärung* (Hamburger Edition, 1999).

⁵⁸³ Reinhart Koselleck, *Preußen Zwischen Reform Und Revolution. Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung Und Soziale Bewegung von 1791 Bis 1848* (München: Dtv, 1989).

begun. After the birth, the mother cut the cord and gave the child to Barben, who wanted to take it inside. However, the mother started digging a hole that she wanted Barben to put the baby in. The child started crying, which the grandmother heard. She took it up and wrapped it in linen and put it in a chest. The child lay there alone without any care and the next morning the grandmother asked that the child be brought into a cold room. There the mother found it, cold and petrified. Without telling anyone, she took it into the garden where she buried it. Due to their actions, the grandmother received eight years and the mother six in a correctional facility. On 7 February 1786, both arrived at the correctional facility in Pillau.

The following year, on 9 July 1787, von Kaveczyńska's mother died; on 21 October, Margarethe appealed to the court in order to maximise the blame of the mother. The king refused to grant her a pardon. The story, however, took another turn when Margarethe gave birth to another child in 1790. The father was Corporal von J-, who was at the barracks in Pillau. Once again she lied about her pregnancy, even when von J- became suspicious: after giving birth, she once again buried the child in the garden. In 1791, she was sentenced to be flogged and spend her life in prison. The corporal, however, was not punished. Her appeals were denied but, on 17 April 1791, an autopsy report determined that the child had not been stillborn. Finally, on 7 June 1791, von Kawaschenka was sentenced to death for murdering her newborn child.

Civil Code

In an edict from 1723, Frederick Wilhelm I declared that for an unwed woman the “concealment of pregnancy is a certain sign of intentional murder.”⁵⁸⁴ Due to the difficulties with determining the cause of death, von Kaveczyńska's secrecy had already deemed her guilty in the eyes of the court. Becoming pregnant outside of wedlock presented the woman with a choice between concealment or a life in disgrace isolated from society. The question of infanticide became an increasing social problem throughout the 18th century, hence also making the laws the subject of controversy and critique. As Jenifer K. Uleman suggests, perhaps the two most prominent voices that influenced Kant were Cesare Beccaria and Frederick the Great. “Infanticide,” Beccaria wrote:

...is likewise the effect of an inevitable contradiction, one in which a woman is placed when she has either submitted out of weakness or been overpowered by violence. Faced with a choice between

⁵⁸⁴ Quoted from Uleman, “On Kant, Infanticide, and Finding Oneself in a State of Nature,” 178.

*disgrace and the death of a creature incapable of feeling pain, who would not prefer the latter to the unavoidable misery to which the woman and her unfortunate offspring would be exposed?*⁵⁸⁵

The question of infanticide would catch the unwed woman in a conflict between law and social norms: either choice would result in unhappiness not just for her, but also for the child. The conflict not only challenged social norms but also the law itself, as Friedrich the Great mentioned:

*A girl, only too easily fooled by the presence of a seducer, does she not find herself compelled by the very force of circumstances to choose between the loss of her honor and the elimination of the unhappy fruit that she has conceived? Is it not the fault of the laws to place a girl in such a desperate situation?*⁵⁸⁶

It posed the question: what is the general purpose of law, and criminal law in particular? Why does a state punish? As Hippel expressed it, “the more one thinks about punishment, the more air one gets to ask – and the less air to answer.”⁵⁸⁷

Hippel, who was inspired not only by his friend Kant but also by Beccaria,⁵⁸⁸ formulated the question in light of education, that is, the pressing question if corporal punishment was educational or whether it should be banned from pedagogy. Hippel made an analogy to medicine, making it a question of whether corporal punishment could serve as a cure. “The police has two hands,” he wrote, “education and criminal justice, and I do not know which to call the right and which to call the left.”⁵⁸⁹ The medical analogy was no coincidence; with the new civil code, not only jurists like Hippel but also physicians like Johann Daniel Metzger had been asked for advice. Indeed, instructed by the Groß-Canzler von Carmer, Metzger had submitted remarks regarding the so-called “*Staats-Arzneykunde*” in 1788.⁵⁹⁰

Based on his experience, Metzger put forward the view that the death penalty was too harsh in cases of infanticide. He argued that the law did not succeed in removing the prime

⁵⁸⁵ Cesare Beccaria, *On Crimes and Punishments* (Hackett Publishing, 1986), 60.

⁵⁸⁶ Frederick’s 1756 *Dissertation sur les raisons d’établir ou d’abroger les lois* (‘Essay on the reasons for establishing or abrogating laws’) quoted from Piers, *Infanticide*, 72.

⁵⁸⁷ „Je mehr man über Strafen nachdenkt, je mehr hat man Luft zu fragen – und je weniger Luft zu antworten“ Hippel, *Beytrag über Verbrechen und Strafen*, 31.

⁵⁸⁸ Dieter Hüning, “Beccaria, Kant Und Die Kriminalpolitische Aufklärung,” *Studia Philosophica Kantiana* 1/2013 (n.d.): 36–51.

⁵⁸⁹ “Die Polizey hat zwey Hände: die Erziehung und die Criminaljustiz, und ich weiß nicht, welche ich die rechte oder linke Hand nennen soll“ Hippel, *Beytrag über Verbrechen und Strafen*, 3–6.

⁵⁹⁰ Johann Daniel Metzger, “Auf Hohen Befehl Sr. Excellenz Des Hrn. Etats-Ministers Und Gross-Canzlers von Carmer A. 1788. Eingeschickte Bemerkungen Über Die in Die Staats-Arzneykunde Einschlagenden Stellen Des Entwurfs Eines Neuen Gesetzbuchs,” in *Materialien Für Die Staatsarzneykunde Und Jurisprudenz Bd. 1.* (Königsberg, 1792). See also: Johann Heinrich Casimir von Carmer, *Entwurf eines allgemeinen Gesetzbuchs für die Preußischen Staaten* (Decker, 1784).

motive for infanticide, the “fear of shame.”⁵⁹¹ This cannot be removed through law, Metzger argued, as concepts like honor and shame lie beyond this.⁵⁹² Instead, Metzger suggested a practical solution, a state institution where pregnant women could come in secret.⁵⁹³

In addition, Metzger presented a different argument against the death penalty, namely that when committing the act of infanticide, the perpetrators were not able to judge their actions morally, which meant that it was not justifiable to punish them and that the death penalty would have no pre-emptive effect.⁵⁹⁴ Metzger noted that in Sweden the death penalty had been abolished in cases of infanticide and the number of child-murders had decreased. The backbone of Metzger’s line of argument was prudence rather than justice, a perspective which Kant explicitly opposed.

For Kant, exceptions from the law would undermine its entire foundation. He granted that a ruler could show clemency, but “...only in individual cases”⁵⁹⁵ and not as a general rule. It was precisely the generalisation of rules which gave jurisprudence its basis. Kant attacked Beccaria on this point:

*In opposition to this [clemency] the Marchese Beccaria, moved by overly compassionate feeling of an affected humanity (compassibilitas), has put forward his assertion that any capital punishment is wrongful because it could not be contained in the original civil contract.*⁵⁹⁶

Kant found this all to be “sophistry and juristic trickery”,⁵⁹⁷ arguing that “no one suffers punishment because he has willed *it* but because he has willed a *punishable action*.”⁵⁹⁸ In upholding this normative stand, Kant went far:

For a human being can never be treated merely as a means to the purposes of another or be put among the objects of rights to things: his innate personality protects him from this, even though he can be condemned to lose his civil personality. He must previously have been found punishable before any thought can be given to drawing from his punishment something of use for himself or his fellow

⁵⁹¹ Metzger, “Auf Hohen Befehl Sr. Excellenz Des Hrn. Etats-Ministers Und Gross-Canzlers von Carmer A. 1788. Eingeschickte Bemerkungen Über Die in Die Staats-Arzneykunde Einschlagenden Stellen Des Entwurfs Eines Neuen Gesetzbuchs,” 157–58.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 158.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, 158–59.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁵⁹⁵ Kant, “The Metaphysics of Morals (1797),” 475. AA VI: 334.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.* AA VI: 335.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 476. AA VI: 335.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.* AA VI: 335.

citizens. The law of punishment is a categorical imperative, and woe to him who crawls through the windings of eudaimonism in order to discover something that releases the criminal from punishment or even reduces its amount by the advantage it promises, in accordance with the Pharisaical saying, 'It is better for one man to die than for an entire people to perish.' For if justice goes, there is no longer any value in human being's living on the earth. – What, therefore, should one think of the proposal to preserve the life of a criminal sentenced to death if he agrees to let dangerous experiments be made on him and is lucky enough to survive them, so that in this way physicians learn something new of benefit to the commonwealth? A court would reject with contempt such a proposal from a medical college, for justice ceases to be justice if it can be bought for any price whatsoever.⁵⁹⁹

Justice should not be suspended for the benefit of the state: to do so would undermine the “civil personality” of the offender. But yet Kant made two exceptions where murder should not necessarily be punished with death: duelling and infanticide, both of which he considered to be matters where honor was involved. Kant’s reasoning for exempting mothers may at first seem surprising:

Legislation cannot remove the disgrace of an illegitimate birth any more than it can wipe away the stain of suspicion of cowardice from a subordinate officer who fails to respond to a humiliating affront with a force of his own rising above fear of death. So it seems that in these two cases people find themselves in the state of nature, and that these acts of killing (homocidium), which would then not have to be called murder (homocidium dolosum), are certainly punishable but cannot be punished with death by the supreme power. A child that comes into the world apart from marriage is born outside the law (for the law is marriage) and therefore outside the protection of the law. It has, as it were, stolen into the commonwealth (like contraband merchandise), so that the commonwealth can ignore its existence (since it was not right that it should have come to exist in this way), and can therefore also ignore its annihilation; and no decree can remove the mother's shame when it becomes known that she gave birth without being married.⁶⁰⁰

Kant initially follows Metzger’s argument that law in cases of infanticide cannot protect the pregnant woman against disgrace. Yet, the reason why death penalty is not in proportion to the offence is different. This has to do with the civil status of the child. As the newborn is not yet a civil person, it is legally considered to be a property of the parents. However, with an illegitimate

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., 331–32. AA VI: 473.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 476–77. AA VI: 336.

child matters are different in that it legally speaking belongs to no one. Unlike Metzger, Kant does not propose a pragmatic but a legal solution, which may seem rather harsh. One should, however, understand that Kant's point is not to say that this is how the law should be but rather to point to a problem in the existing law. The consequence of Metzger's solution was to declare the mothers mentally and morally unfit in order to save them from punishment. This, however, was a consequence that Kant found to be undignified; rather, he upheld that these women were morally motivated (although misguided) by honor. Kant's motivation was first and foremost to uphold the "civil personality" of the accused.

Disciplinary battles:

By Kant's death in 1804, one anonymous biography noted that "...the feud that Kant introduced in *medicina forensis* [...] to dispute its right to judge about the dubious state of mind of a criminal in foro [before the court] was insignificant and remains undiscussed."⁶⁰¹ The author was none other than Kant's colleague Johan Daniel Metzger, professor of forensic medicine at the Albertina. However, the "feud that Kant introduced" did not remain undiscussed; judging from Metzger's own involvement in the matter, it is unlikely that he regarded it insignificant, if for no other reason than the fact that it was raised by Kant against him. In his *Anthropology*, Kant had written:

...if someone has intentionally caused an accident, the question arises whether he is liable and to what extent; consequently, the first thing that must be determined is whether or not he was mad at the time. In this case the court cannot refer him to the medical faculty but must refer him to the philosophical faculty (on account of the incompetence of the court). For the question of whether the accused at the time of his act was in possession of his natural faculties of understanding and judgment is a wholly psychological question; and although a physical oddity of the soul's organs might indeed sometimes be the cause of an unnatural transgression of the law of duty (which is present in every human being), physicians and physiologists in general are still not advanced enough to see deeply into the mechanical element in the human being so that they could explain, in terms of it, the attack that led to the atrocity, or foresee it (without dissecting the body).⁶⁰²

⁶⁰¹ Metzger, *Außerungen über Kant*, 44.

⁶⁰² Kant, "Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View (1798)," 319. AA VII: 213-14.

Surprisingly, Kant makes the claim that in dubious matters where the judge is unable to determine the mental state of the accused, he should be guided not by the medical faculty but by the philosophical one. With psychology being a central part of the philosophical faculty, the claim may be less surprising, but yet, for Kant, the controversy is not just a matter of professional qualifications but also a conflict between two different perspectives on the accused: is he a patient or a person? The physician in his mode of observation is predetermined to perceive the accused as conditioned by his or her physiology and hence he is not himself able to investigate criminal acts as acts of free will.

Thus in the case of a woman who killed a child out of despair because she had been sentenced to the penitentiary, such a judge declared her insane and therefore exempt from the death penalty. – For, he said, he who draws true conclusions from false premises is insane. Now this woman adopted the principle that confinement in the penitentiary is an indelible disgrace, worse than death (which is quite false), and came to the conclusion, by inference from it, that she deserved death. – As a result she was insane and, as such, exempted from the death penalty. – On the basis of this argument it might easily be possible to declare all criminals insane, people whom we should pity and cure, but not punish.⁶⁰³

It is not Kant's intention to exclude the possibility of insanity, but rather not to presuppose it. If judged only by its result, every murder would appear as madness. The task of the Kantian anthropologist is to analyse these acts in the light of Kant's notion of freedom: what motivates a person?

The debate made it into the English literature, when Isaac Ray summed up the controversy that followed in his *A Treatise on the Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity*:

It may be proper, perhaps, to inform the reader that the exclusive competence of medical men to give opinions, as experts, in cases of doubtful condition of mind, has, at different times, been warmly disputed. The celebrated Kant, by whom the dispute was begun, contended that such cases ought more properly to be submitted to the Philosophical Faculty. (Anthropologie, § 41) His arguments were satisfactorily answered by Metzger (Gerichtl. Medie. Abhand. S. 74), Hoffbauer (Die Psychologie in ihren Anwendungen auf die Rechtspflege, § 1, not. 3), and others, and the controversy was set at rest [...].⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰³ Ibid. AA VII: 214.

⁶⁰⁴ Isaac Ray, *A Treatise on the Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity* (Little, Brown, 1871), 77.

Yet among philosophers no one bothered to enter the controversy, which questions Ray's verdict entirely resting on physicians. The debate had not been settled so much as it had been divided into separate disciplines, as one can see in Samuel Gottlieb von Vogel's *Ein Beitrag zum gerichtsarztlichen Lehre von der Zurechnungsfähigkeit*: "We leave transcendental freedom to the transcendental philosophers, who cannot contribute or supply anything to our immanent empirical end."⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁵ "Die transcendentale Freiheit überlassen wir den transcendenten Philosophen, welche zu unserm immanenten empirischen Zweck nichts beitragen oder liefern können." Samuel Gottlieb von Vogel, *Ein Beitrag zum gerichtsarztlichen Lehre von der Zurechnungsfähigkeit* (Franzen und Grosse, 1825), XXII.

Last words

On Kant's imminent conclusion of perpetual peace in philosophy

"*Es ist gut*," "it is good."⁶⁰⁶ On February 11th 1804 Kant had spoken his last words to his friend Ehregott Andreas Wasianski. The day after on February 12 Kant died only a short time before his 80ies birthday. On the occasion Wasianski noted that "the mechanism halted and the machine stopped moving. His death was the cessation of life, not a violent act of nature."⁶⁰⁷⁶⁰⁸ Kant had exhausted his life force. Although many meanings have been read into those last words they may very well have been quite banal: Wasianski was serving Kant a mixture of wine and water. The importance of last words holds a certain enigma: they are final yet so indefinite.

A few years earlier Kant had written *Proclamation of the imminent conclusion of a treaty of perpetual peace in philosophy* attempting to give a just order to the different conflicting schools within philosophy. The title 'perpetual peace' alluded to another text by Kant from 1795 in which he opened with a nasty joke. The title *Toward perpetual peace*, Kant noted was found as a "...satirical inscription on a certain Dutch innkeeper's signboard picturing a graveyard."⁶⁰⁹ Only in death can we find lasting peace. Yet, Kant did not propose such a drastic end, but rather he suggested a certain order, which would not end all struggle and conflict but instead would ensure that it was practiced in peace. How does one reach a conclusion?

⁶⁰⁶ Wasianski, *Immanuel Kant in Seinem Letzen Lebensjahren*, 215.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 217; Translation from Manfred Kuehn, *Kant: A Biography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 422.

⁶⁰⁸ Translation see Manfred Kuehn 422, wasianski 217

⁶⁰⁹ Immanuel Kant, "Toward Perpetual Peace (1795)," in *Practical Philosophy*, Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 317. AA VIII: 343.

The thesis has focused on what has lately been a trendy topic in Kant-studies: Kant's Anthropology. In this focus, however it has distinguished itself from most of the existing literature by analysing the topic through the prism of an evolving conflict between the faculty of medicine and the faculty of philosophy. Hence the focal-point for interpreting Kant's thought has not been that of a perpetual order provided by a system but rather the notion of conflict. This has allowed for an interpretation of Kant's relation to medicine as an engagement which is not merely one-sided: Kant's thoughts on medicine are not simply an attempt to appropriate an existing body of medical literature into his philosophical system, neither is his metaphysics an abstraction or negation of 18th century medical observations of man. Rather, the approach has showed how Kant's relation to medicine is not a one-sided endeavour, but it is constituted as a series of conflicts between a variety of opposing positive forces with their own interests and arguments. The thesis has aimed to show how the conflict can on the one hand be understood as several minor conflicts between the interests of people and institutions and on the other hand how these conflicting interests are being reformulated as principle matters that have secondarily been systematised. In doing so the thesis should serve as an example of a history of philosophy which does not maintain a distinction between pure history of philosophy and cultural history of ideas⁶¹⁰ but rather sees these as complementary factors in the history of philosophy. The insistence on the complementarity of the two perspectives does not only aim at an explanatory model of the origin of ideas, but also, or maybe even rather, as an intention-orientated model, which analyses philosophy with regard to its commitment to critically re-think, re-invent, and reform the minds, institutions, and the customs of the world. From this perspective Kant's thought does not constitute an ideological order, that may either reflect or distort the order of the world, but instead – as stated in the introduction – a formal mode of orientation which only gets its meaning in relation to a specific context.

This has brought forward several new insights into Kant's thought and supported new research-aspects that have still not gained foothold in the standard reception of Kant's life and thought. The relocation to Kant's local intellectual environment has brought forward a context, which strongly contests the interpretation of Kant-thought through the prism of pietism and theology.⁶¹¹ Instead Kant's early context has been located as a wide network of scholars originating from in and around Königsberg. This placement of Kant within this intellectual

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 217; Manfred Kuehn, *Kant : A Biography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 422.

⁶¹¹ Ian Hunter, *Rival Enlightenments : Civil and Metaphysical Philosophy in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 273.

current of physicians and natural scientists brings a new light on what has been developed as a thread throughout the thesis: Kant's critique of medical reason. What some research has suggested, either that Kant's philosophy portrays a suppression of the body⁶¹² or that it continues a longstanding metaphysical tradition with a strict separation of body and soul, a *homo duplex*,⁶¹³ has been highly contested; rather, through the investigation of the local setting in Königsberg this thesis has brought forward an other notion of locality in Kant's thought, i.e. the body as the locality of the soul or a notion of an embodied soul. It is from this notion of embodiment that Kant positively sets out to develop a philosophy of the fallibility and limits of human reason that may come from such a condition. Negatively, Kant formulates a criticism of the line of thought that either reduces the human to a mechanical body or divine reason although this negative sense of Kant's projected is two-faced: First of all it is part of the institutional restructuring and professionalization of the Prussian University system. From this perspective of state-formation Kant's critique functions as an instrumentalization of the disciplinary distinctions at the Prussian universities, especially between medicine and philosophy. Second of all, however, when focusing on the local conflicts it becomes clear that Kant formulates a negative critique of the social and existential consequences of this new institutionalization and professionalization of medicine. The critique does not aim to reject the advancement of medicine, on the contrary, as the thesis has shown Kant was highly enthusiastic about the medical advances, both intellectually and in his own life, rather what his criticism was aimed at was the possible reductionism that came with the expansion not only of medical institutions but the expanding medicalization of human life as such. The medical interpretation of life ran the risk of viewing man as a patient rather than a person. Hence, Kant formulated a division of labour, which primarily was meant to differentiate between the two fields rather than to separate them entirely from each other; however, it also suggested a certain hierarchy with philosophy having the final word. Man may have been carved from crooked timber but he was not without purpose. In his *conclusion of perpetual peace in philosophy* Kant took his outset in man's nature, his life force: "...nature is presented in man even prior to his humanity, and thus in its generality, just as it acts in the beast, merely in order to evolve forces which can subsequently turn man to laws of freedom; though this activity and its arousal are not practical, but still merely mechanical."⁶¹⁴ Hence, man had the capacity to do more, to strive:

⁶¹² Böhme and Böhme, *Das Andere Der Vernunft*.

⁶¹³ Hunter, *Rival Enlightenments*.

⁶¹⁴ Kant, "Proclamation of the Imminent Conclusion of a Treaty of Perpetual Peace in Philosophy (1796)," 453.

“In addition to the property of self-consciousness, by which man is to be distinguished above all other animals, and in virtue of which he is a rational animal [...] there is also the itch to use this power for trifling, and thereafter to trifle methodically and even by concepts alone, i.e., to philosophize; and then also to grate polemically upon others with one’s philosophy, i.e., to dispute, and since this does not readily happen without emotion, to squabble on behalf of one’s philosophy, and finally, united in masses against one another (school against school, as contending armies) to wage open warfare; this itch, I say, or rather drive, will have to be viewed as one of the beneficent and wise arrangements of Nature, whereby she seeks to protect man from the great misfortune of decaying in the living flesh.”⁶¹⁵

As the thesis has shown the disciplinary differences did not settle any disputes instead the debates themselves became divided and defined, each by its own discipline. It was within the walls of the university and partly due to Kant that the itch to trifle methodically became disciplined with its distinct set of rules, questions, and approaches. The various territories of knowledge has grown strong and each has advanced according to their own standards, sharpening methods of analysis and research; yet, as it often is if one does not travel between states, one does not notice the borders of once own realm. If war occasionally breaks out the lack of a common language makes it difficult to formulate grounds for peaceful negotiation. The autonomy of a field, as Kant claimed the autonomy for the field of ethics, may be defined by its own law and order, but in order for it to gain authority it also has to be acknowledged by its bordering fields. Each territory may lay claim to autonomy, but Kant equally argued for the benefit, even necessity, of conflicts between faculties and systems of thought, critiquing and contesting each other.

Freedom: Tested - Contested

Today Kant has sometimes been cultivated in such a way that he would hardly be able to recognize his own thoughts. The instrumental application of Kantian moral philosophy within the field of medical ethics⁶¹⁶ presupposes a relation between doctor and patient, which is alien to the fundamental line of Kant’s thinking: for Kant a person had duties to take care of his own body not rights to have the doctor do it for him. It is, however, perhaps more with the advancing field of neuroscience and the fundamental issues of free will that Kant’s critique of medical reason may echo today. Kant experienced the transformation of the soul – or what we today would call the

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ For an extensive list of the ever growing field of medical ethics see: Wiesing, “Immanuel Kant, His Philosophy and Medicine.”

mind – from being a matter of self-consciousness to becoming reduced to a specific organ with a specific locality in the human body: the brain.⁶¹⁷ This reduction of the mind has brought about advances in one science but also raised questions of the extend of its field – questions earlier raised by Kant.⁶¹⁸ Can we understand freedom by testing the causality of the brain? But with the advancement of the sciences even Kantian ethics has turned towards testing in order to provide more certainty and better arguments. Critically Macintyre compared Kant’s rationalization of moral philosophy with “the way that the rules of arithmetic are” mockingly adding:

“The project of discovering a rational justification of morality therefore simply is the project of discovering a rational test which will discriminate those maxims which are a genuine expression of the moral law when they determine the will from those maxims which are not such an expression. Kant is not of course himself in any doubt as to which maxims are in fact expression of the moral law...”⁶¹⁹

This thesis has portrayed an all together different Kant while at the same time attempting to show how Macintyre’s image of Kant has emerged through the transformation of Kant’s thought to a foundation for the discipline of practical philosophy. This means that the clarification of Kant’s positive concept of freedom is misleading if it is perceived as a reality rather than a regulatory idea. Rather, I have argued, that if we venture outside the classroom and turn away from the curriculum or normative ethics we may find a doubting Kant who takes moral conflicts as the way to study freedom, i.e. it is through the moral doubt originating from the conflict between reason and our natural inclinations that we actualise human freedom and through the contestation of norms in conflicts with others that we become reflexive in constituting a moral character. This means that it is neither through the descriptive tests of the various behavioural sciences or the normative test of the moral philosopher that we encounter the extend of Kant’s conception of freedom. Although Kant recognised the clarificatory importance of these tests, it was not through the testability of actions that Kant’s conception of freedom found its true meaning but through the contestability of the concept it self. While each science, even the moral sciences, have the advantage of applying a specific concept of freedom within the confined space of their discipline in order to test it for Kant the true test of freedom is in the ability to operate between spaces and adopt a variety of approaches and perspectives on the same object. This understanding, however,

⁶¹⁷ Michael Hagner, *Homo cerebialis: Der Wandel vom Seelenorgan zum Gehirn* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 2000); Fernando Vidal, *The Sciences of the Soul: The Early Modern Origins of Psychology* (University of Chicago Press, 2011).

⁶¹⁸ For an introduction to some of the key questions see: Mitchell Ash and Thomas Sturm, *Psychology’s Territories: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives From Different Disciplines* (Psychology Press, 2012).

⁶¹⁹ Macintyre, *After Virtue*, 52.

is neither restricted to the field of medicine nor philosophy but is something that belongs to every human being. In the words of the pre-critical Kant: „It is with morality as with the art of medicine: the best physician is the one who teaches me how I can be relieved of disease and medicine.”⁶²⁰ And although physicians as well as philosophers may lay claim to having had the final word when it comes to academic debates, when history is written it rarely proves to be the last.

⁶²⁰ Own translation. „Es ist mit der Moral wie mit der Arzneykunst Derjenige Arzt ist der beste der mich lehrt wie ich der Krankheiten u. Arzneymittel überhoben seyn kann.“ AA XX:122.

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