

**Changes in the image of
man from the Enlightenment
to the age of Romanticism**

Changes in the image of man from the Enlightenment to the age of Romanticism

Philosophical and scientific
receptions of (physical) anthropology
in the 18–19th centuries

Edited by
DEZSŐ GURKA

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The role of ‘dream’ and ‘unconsciousness’ in the progression of Carl Gustav Carus’ image of man*

DEZSŐ GURKA

The conversion of dream into a philosophical concept in 18th century discourses

Throughout the European Enlightenment Emanuel Swedenborg’s works initiated one of the most important discourses concerning dreams. While the Swedish author was engaged with the reality of dreams – their mode of objectivation and the alternative relations between souls¹ – Immanuel Kant, in his work *Träume eines Geistersehers, erläutert durch Träume der Metaphysik* (*Dreams of a Visionary Explained by Dreams of Metaphysics*, 1766), pointed to the shared mistake of contemporary metaphysicians and dream-seers, namely that they all neglected the role of experiments in the process of understanding.

The *Träume eines Geistersehers* was an important milestone on his path to critical conversion. A precondition of his later transcendental-philosophical program was the limitation of the territory of metaphysics, meaning Swedenborg’s mysticism was thrown out of the circle of phenomena to be examined.

* Research and publication sponsored by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office, Hungary, Project No. 119577.

¹ Röd, Wolfgang: *Die Philosophie der Neuzeit 3/1. Kritische Philosophie von Kant bis Schopenhauer*. Geschichte der Philosophie Bd. 9. Beck, München, 2013, 160.

“Human reason was not given strong enough wings to part clouds so high above us, clouds which withhold from our eyes the secrets of the other world. The curious who inquire about it so anxiously may receive the simple but very natural reply that it would be best for them to please to have patience until they get there.”²

Regarding the problem of dream Kant laid the foundation of the philosophical tradition linking the gnoseological aspect and the anthropological approach concerning the definition of specific features of mankind.

“To investigate the natural constitution of sleep, of dreaming, and of somnambulism (to which talking aloud during sleep also belongs) lies outside the field of a pragmatic anthropology; for we cannot draw any rules of conduct from these phenomena in the state of dreaming, since these rules are valid only for the person who is awake and does not want to dream, or wants to sleep without thinking.”³

² Kant, Immanuel: *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer, Illustrated by Dreams of Metaphysics—hereafter Dreams*. Translated by Emmanuel Goerwitz. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, 1900, 347–348 „Es war auch die menschliche Vernunft nicht genugsam dazu beflügelt, daß sie so hohe Wolken teilen sollte, die uns die Geheimnisse der anderen Welt aus den Augen ziehen, und den Wißbegierigen, die sich nach derselben so die sich *nach* derselben so angelegentlich erkundigen, kann man den einfältigen, aber sehr natürlichen Bescheid geben, daß es wohl am ratsamsten sei, wenn sie sich zu gedulden beliebten.“ Kant, Immanuel: *Träume eines Geistersehers, erläutert durch Träume der Metaphysik*. Hartknoch, Riga, 1766, 128.

³ Kant, Immanuel: *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*. Nijhoff, Hague, 1974, 63. (Translated by Mary J. Gregor.) „Was Schlaf, was Traum, was Somnambulismus (wozu auch das laute Sprechen im Schlaf gehört) seiner Naturbeschaffenheit nach sei, zu erforschen, ist außerhalb dem Felde einer pragmatischen Anthropologie gelegen; denn man kann aus diesem Phänomen keine Regeln des Verhaltens im Zustande des Träumens ziehen; indem diese nur für den Wachenden gelten, der nicht träumen oder gedankenlos schlafen will.“ Kant, Immanuel: *Anthropologie in pragmatischer hinsicht*. Nicolovius, Königsberg, 1800, 104.

On the other hand, Kant attributed a life-maintaining function to dreams since it is sleeping that goes with dreams.⁴

The problem of dream appears in the works of other representatives of Romantic natural philosophy apart from Carl Gunter Carus, primarily in the book of Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert *Symbolik des Traumes* (*Symbolism of Dreams*, 1814). Schelling himself, in the first study of his natural philosophical period, interpreted the concept of dream in the context of a relation between the material and the soul.

*“It was certainly a powerful dream that dead matter is a sleep of the intelligent forces, that animal life is a dream of the monads, that the life of reason is finally a state of general wakefulness. And what is matter other than extinguished spirit?”*⁵

However, from the beginning he was also concerned about linking dreams with human existence and themes of health and sickness: *“Healthy people’s dreams are day-time dreams”*.⁶

In the circle of the followers of Schelling’s natural philosophy, primarily in the wake of Mesmerism, there were interpretations concerning the relation of psychical and material moments which stood closer in their feature to Swedenborg’s dream-seeing. Karl Eberhard Schelling, the physician brother of the philosopher in-

⁴Jaitner, Arne: *Zwischen Metaphysik und Empirie. Zum Verhältnis von Transzendentalphilosophie und Psychoanalyse bei Max Scheler, Theodor W. Adorno und Odo Marquard*. Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg, 1999, 53.

⁵Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph: *First Outline of a System of the Philosophy of Nature*. State University of New York Press, New York, 2012, 132. (Translated by Keith R. Peterson) „Es war gewiss ein sinnvoller Traum, dass die todte Materie ein Schlaf der vorstellenden Kräfte, das Thieileben ein Traum der Monaden, das Vernunftleben endlich ein Zustand der allgemaine Erwachung seye. Und was ist den die Materie anders, als der erloschne Geist?“ Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph: *Erster Entwurf eines Systems der Naturphilosophie*. Gabler, Jena/ Leipzig, 1799, 200.

⁶Schelling, Friedrich Wilhem Joseph: *Von der Weltseele*. Perthes, Hamburg, 1806, 291.

vestigated animal magnetism, that is to say Mesmerism.⁷ Johann Wilhelm Ritter, with the support of the Bavarian Academy, invited Francesco Campetti to Munich. Campetti was the Italian peasant searching for underground metal deposits using a wonder rod around Lake Garda and carried out experiments on the relation between man and metals and man and water, seeking explanations for the phenomena of "Siderismus" and "Rhabdomantie".⁸ In 1808, Ritter launched a journal with the title *Der Siderismus oder neue Beiträge zur nähern Kenntniß des Galvanismus*, but only one issue was published. Use of the name Siderismus was justified by an analogy between the movements of stars and the other moving forms and Ritter's panpsychism posed it as a substance moving man and nature.⁹

In his psychological writings Carus came forward with much more comprehensive natural philosophical concepts than those previously mentioned (also using the results of his work as a physician) and by introducing the concept of unconsciousness he even re-interpreted the traditional image of man in the Age of Enlightenment.

⁷ Roth, Udo: *Georg Büchners naturwissenschaftliche Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften vom Lebendigen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Niemeyer, Tübingen, 2004, 286.

⁸ Richter, Klaus: Zur Methodik des Naturwissenschaftlichen Forschens bei Johann Wilhelm Ritter, in Zimmerli, Walther Ch./ Stein, Klaus/ Gerten, Michael: „Fessellos durch die Systeme“. *Frühromantisches Naturdenken im Umfeld Arnim, Ritter und Schelling*. Frommann-Holzboog, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1997, 326.

⁹ Blumenberg, Hans: "Die Welt muss romantisiert werden", in Ders.: *Die Lesbarkeit der Welt*. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1981, 233–267.

The impact of Carus' psychological conversion on the progression of his image of man

Considering the perplexing diversity of Carus' works from the history of origin, an age-specific group of phenomena can be traced, which are assigned by the researchers of science history to the category of Romantic sciences.¹⁰ The most important initiative element of this science historical phenomenon was Schelling's nature philosophy, considerably influencing the development of Carus' concepts, primarily the concept of unconscious (Unbewußt).

Despite its apparent heterogeneity, Carus' life work is determined by a consciously shaped methodology, which was worked out by him following Goethe's patterns, mainly his theory of metamorphosis.¹¹ When in 1828, he finally said farewell to the fourteen-year period of morphological examinations,¹² he himself rated them retrospectively as ones under Goethe's influence, concluding the first period of his career. Goethe's approach however, still remained an important point of reference for Carus after his psychological conversion, and by the same token, the master poet gave a personal example and model for him on how to control his creative life's work consciously, in a self-

¹⁰ Jardine, Nicholas: *The Scenes of Inquiry. On the Reality of Questions in the Sciences*. Clarendon, Oxford, 1991, 28–55; Poggi, Stefano/Bossi, Maurizio (Eds.): *Romanticism in Science. Science in Europe, 1790–1840*. Kluwer, Dordrecht, 1994.

¹¹ Breidbach, Olaf: Goethes Metamorphosenlehre, in Ehrlich, Lothar/ Schmidt, Georg (Hg.): *Ereignis Weimar-Jena. Gesellschaft und Kultur um 1800 im internationalen Kontext*. Böhlau, Köln, 2008, 85–100. In Hungarian see Breidbach, Olaf: Goethe metamorfózistanáról, in Gurka, Dezső (Hg.): *Egymásba tükröződő emberképek. Az emberi test a 18–19. századi filozófiában, medicinában és antropológiában [Images of Man Reflecting One Another. The Human Body in Philosophy, Medicine and Physical Anthropology]*. Gondolat, Budapest, 2014, 11–38.

¹² Grosche, Stefan (Hg.): „Zarten Seelen ist gar viel gegönnt.” *Naturwissenschaft und Kunst im Briefwechsel zwischen C. G. Carus und Goethe*. Wallstein, Göttingen, 2001, 197.

reflective way.¹³ Howsoever crucial was Goethe's examples for Carus, their personal relation was shadowed by Goethe's aversion toward the period of Romanticism. Carus' concepts were evaluated by Goethe as victory over the "night side of the soul", and he expressed the same opinion on Schelling (previously regarded by him as the verifier of his own ideas) who was the other theoretical model of Carus, becoming even more important after his psychological conversion.

In Carus' narrower fields of science, viz. gynaecology and comparative anatomy, the impact of the morphological approach can be clearly traced, and the most remarkable results of his morphological period were also detailed by some comprehensive monographs: *Lehrbuch der Zootomie* (Textbook of Zootomy, 1818), *Lehrbuch der Gynäkologie* (Textbook of Gynaecology, 1820), *Grundzüge der vergleichenden Anatomie und Physiologie* (Principles of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, 1828). His comparative anatomical examinations focused on establishing correlations between the nerve system and the vital functions, inspired by, beside Goethe's general principles, Karl Friedrich Burdach's research results.¹⁴ The ideas of morphology also exerted impact on his examinations in the field of physiognomy and partly physical anthropology, which were published in his book entitled *Grundzüge einer neuen und wissenschaftlich begründeten Cranioscopie (Schädellehre)* (1841), *Atlas der Cranioscopie* (1843) and *On the Unequal Capacity of the Different Divisions of Mankind for Higher Spiritual Development* (Ueber ungleiche Befähigung der verschiedenen Menschheitstämme für höhere geistige Entwicklung, 1849).¹⁵

¹³ Rothe, Philipp Herbert: *Medizinisches in Goethes Wilhelm Meister-Romanen*. epubli GmbH, Berlin, 60–61.

¹⁴ Poggi, Stefano: Neurology and Biology in the Romantic Age in Germany, in Poggi, Stefano/ Bossi, Maurizio (eds.): *Romanticism in Science. Science in Europe, 1790–1840*. Kluwer, Dordrecht, 1994, 149.

¹⁵ Gay, Richard T.: *About Face. German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz*. Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 2004, 151–157.

Carus' career was considerably influenced not only by Goethe's morphological concepts but the anti-Kantian anthropology of his teacher in Leipzig, Ernst Platner. Though in the differentiation of the organism of the animal and human soul (*Seelenorgan*) the factual parallel can be discerned as well, Platner's impact can be better seen in how Carus based his concepts originating from the end of 1820's on the traditional physician approach.¹⁶

After his journey to Italy in 1828, Carus' attention turned to psychological topics. This thematic shift was not without precedent, his publications on gynaecology were unusually filled by psychological references and these topics were also present in his painting and the self-reflections associated with it,¹⁷ moreover, his observations made in this latter field represented the most important starting point for his own psychological concepts.

At the end of the 1820s, radical changes took place in Carus' pictorial art as well. While numerous creatures in his early painting show a direct borrowing of Caspar David Friedrich's motifs – e.g. the motifs of *The Ruins of the Monastery Eldena*, the *Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog* and the *View from the Artist's Studio* appeared in his oeuvre as a kind of reminiscence –,¹⁸ in formation and contraposi-

¹⁶ Müller-Tamm, Jutta: *Kunst als Gipfel der Wissenschaft. Ästhetische und wissenschaftliche Weltaneignung bei Carl Gustav Carus*. De Gruyter, Berlin/ New York, 1995, 57–60.

¹⁷ Carus: *Lehrbuch der Gynäkologie II*. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1820, 138.

¹⁸ Friedrich *Klosterruine Eldena* (1825), *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* (1818), *Blick aus dem Fenster des Künstlers*, *Rechtes Fenster* (1805/06) see the pictures in this order on the following sites: <http://www.reisser-kunstpostkarten.de/index.asp?aid=5389>; https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caspar_David_Friedrich_-_Der_Wanderer_%C3%BCber_dem_Nebelmeer.jpg; [http://digital.belvedere.at/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/items\\$0040:871](http://digital.belvedere.at/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:871). Carus ezen minták nyomán festett képei: *Ruine Eldena mit Hütte im Mondschein* (1819/20), *Wanderer auf Bergeshöh* (1818), *Das Atelierfenster* (1820).

See the following webpages: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carl_Gustav_Carus_-_Wanderer_on_the_Mountaintop.jpg; <http://darkclassics.blogspot.hu/2016/06/carl-gustav-carus-ruins-of-eldena.html>;

tion of subjective and objective landscape painting he moved far from his earlier painting ideals.

The tendencies toward unity in Carus' diverse activity can be well demonstrated by the psychological issues present, as well as the self-reflexions associated with his painting work and in his *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (Nine Letters on Landscape Painting) written for nine years and consequently mirroring many concept-changes, moreover, they just emerged there at the earliest.

First Carus' illness in 1813, and then the crisis he faced developed in him the awareness of the principle of life-formation (*Lebensgestaltung*), as understood by Goethe. This understanding can be extended to his creative work as well, notably the illustration of the Rosenthal Valley near Leipzig was of crucial importance to him in the context of his self-therapy.¹⁹ His earlier remarks concerning his motif selection show conclusively that in the critical period of his life – when his son died in 1816 – he grasped the paint-brush as a conscious self-therapy (producing paintings like the one called *Waldeinsamkeit*),²⁰ in other pictures, however, he stressed the positive circumstances, and that he was able to call forth past feelings at the time of contemplation.

Carus' approach to painting focuses on the moment of formation as regards represented nature,²¹ while his other innovation, as he set forth in the third piece of the *Nine Letters*, was putting emphasis on

luebeck.de/politik-wirtschaft/carl-gustav-carus-%E2%80%9Edas-atelierfenster%E2%80%9C-gemalde-aus-dem-museum-behnhaus-dragerhaus-in-einer-ausstellung-in-new-york-zu-sehen/.

¹⁹ Grosche: „Zarten Seelen ist gar viel gegönnt“, 185. See the painting entitled *Spring Landscape* (1814) here: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carl_Gustav_Carus__Fr%C3%BChlingslandschaft_im_Rosenthal_bei_Leipzig.jpg.

²⁰ Carus, Carl Gustav: *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten I*. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1865, 169.

²¹ Carus, Carl Gustav: *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei, geschrieben in den Jahren 1815–1824*. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1831, 118.

the psychological dimension of painting.²² According to his autobiography, Carus tried to extend the principle of development history, as it appears in Goethe's theory of metamorphosis, to psychology.²³ Olaf Breidbach described his psychological approach, in this sense, as the "morphology of inner life".²⁴ In Carus' works focusing on psychology, however, in addition to the model role of Goethe's concept, more and more writing was devoted to the model of the human psyche defined first by him with anthropological validity, assuming the determining role of the unconscious factors behind the conscious moments.

Carus' interpretation of dream as the prefiguration of the concept of unconsciousness

As a consequence of his physician-anthropological approach, he analysed the individual's psychological progression in the context of the human race.²⁵

*"The development of the soul is only possible through the interaction of the individual with the phenomena of the word [...] and the truly human development of the human soul depends on the relation of the individual to mankind."*²⁶

²² Carus: *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei, geschrieben in den Jahren 1815–1824*, 46–47.

²³ Grosche, Stefan: „Zarten Seelen ist gar viel gegönnt“, 203.

²⁴ Breidbach, Olaf: Einleitung, in Carl Gustav Carus: *Lehrbuch der Zootomie. Gesammte Schriften 1*. Olms–Weidmann, Hildesheim/ Zürich/ New York, 2009, V–XXIV. here: XIV.

²⁵ Carus, Carl Gustav: *Vorlesungen über Psychologie, gehalten im Winter 1829–30 zu Dresden*. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1831, 299.

²⁶ „...die Entwicklung der Seele nur durch Wechselwirkung des Individuums mit der Welterscheinungen möglich werde [...] die eigentlich menschliche Ent-

In his work *Ueber ungleiche Befähigung der verschiedenen Menschheitstämme für höhere geistige Entwicklung* (On the Unequal Capacity of the Different Divisions of Mankind for Higher Spiritual Development, 1849), however, he established a hierarchy between races.²⁷

Carus' reputation in numerous cultural areas was gained exactly by his psychological works and his widespread reception is clearly shown by the fact that his works were read by Dostoyevsky as well (who was contemplating, in 1854, translating *Psyche* into Russian), and he was a favourite author of Friedrich Froeber, the founder of the first preschools, Georg Groddeck, one of the first representatives of psychosomatic medicine, and the 20th-century philosopher and graphologist Ludwig Klages.²⁸ The history of psychology holds Carus' works first of all a forerunner of the unconsciousness concept,²⁹ since their influence may be followed textually in the genesis of the analytic tendency.

Though Sigmund Freud had Carus' works in his library, he did not refer directly to the German physician's writings.³⁰ As it is, however, certain historians of psychology believe to have discovered a relationship between their understandings, e.g. considering the similarity of the biological approach of the author of the *Totem und Tabu*

wicklung der menschlichen Seele wieder nur bedingt wird durch das Verhältniss des Individuums zur Menschheit." Carus: *Vorlesungen über Psychologie*, 48.

²⁷ Banton, Michael: *Racial Theories*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987, 35–36.

²⁸ Bell, Mathew: Carus and the science of unconscious, in Nicholls, Angus/Liebscher, Martin (eds.): *Thinking the Unconscious. Nineteenth-Century German Thought*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, 158. Klages published the *Psyche* with his own introduction. See Carus, Carl Gustav: *Psyche 1–3*. Ausgewählt und eingeleitet von Ludwig Klages. Diederichs, Jena, 1926.

²⁹ Bell: *Carl Gustav Carus and the science of unconscious*, 156–73; Hendrix, John Shannon: *Unconscious Thought in Philosophy and Psychoanalysis*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2015, 208–211.

³⁰ Storr, Anthony: *Freud. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, 143.

(*Totem and Taboo*, 1913) and Carus.³¹ On the other hand, the writings of Carl Gustav Jung frequently include the name of the German physician, in 23 places throughout his oeuvre.³² Jung identified Carus and Eduard Hartmann, the author of *Philosophie der Unbewußten* (*Philosophy of the Unconscious*, 1869),³³ as the direct forerunners of the unconsciousness concept, stressing that before Freud this concept stood only at the level of speculation.³⁴ In the mentioned book Hartmann himself cited the name of Carus but was very sceptical regarding his conclusion.³⁵ His triple division of unconsciousness (physiological, relative and absolute unconsciousness),³⁶ however, shows close similarity to the partition of Carus.

In his book entitled *Vorlesungen über Psychologie* (*Lectures on Psychology*, 1831) Carus formed an association between the phenomenon of unconsciousness and sleeping, which was described by him as a state “*in which our soul without consciousness stays long before it comes again to the senses of the world and itself*”.³⁷ Consequently, the concept of unconsciousness was used by Carus not on the suppressed

³¹ Hendrix, John Shannon: *Unconscious Thought in Philosophy and Psychoanalysis*, 210.

³² See Bell, Matthew: *Carl Gustav Carus and the science of unconscious*, 158.

³³ “If we discount certain suggestive ideas in *Leibniz, Kant, Schelling, and Schopenhauer*, and the philosophical excursions of *Carus* and von Hartmann, it is only since the end of the nineteenth century that modern psychology, with its inductive methods, has discovered the foundations of consciousness and proved empirically the existence of an adversary but also of his future usurpation of power.” Jung, Carl Gustav: *Aion. Researches Into the Phenomenology of the Self*. Routledge, London/New York, 2014, 6. (Translated by Richard Francis Carrington Hull.)

³⁴ Jung, Carl Gustav: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. Vintage, New York, 1989, 169. (Translated by Richard and Clara Winston.)

³⁵ Hartmann, Eduard: *Philosophie der Unbewußten*. Duncker, Berlin, 1871, 32.

³⁶ Wolf, Jean-Claude (Hg.): *Eduard von Hartmann. Zeitgenosse und Gegenspieler Nietzsches*. Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg, 2006, 140.

³⁷ Carus: *Vorlesungen über Psychologie*, 89.

but the forgotten contents of the past.³⁸ On the other hand, this periodically repeating process serves as analogy for the representation of the evolution of human consciousness and demonstrates how the individual man in his unconscious state comes again and again into contact with the unknown region from which humankind emerged. Therefore, in addition to the moments of consciousness, we cannot neglect – not in a comprehensive and anthropological sense – the operation of the unconscious inner life (*unbewusste Seelenleben*).³⁹

In the introduction and explication of the concept of consciousness and unconsciousness we come across Carus' historical approach (predominating his morphological period), moreover he derived the relational dynamics of the two spheres also from their structural characters. His understanding that the phenomena of the mind may not be explained in themselves because of the relation of the evolution of the two territories may be regarded as the most direct conceptual precedent of Freud's shift in approach.

Unlike the later terminology of psychoanalysis, in his writings Carus did not use the word *Unbewußsein* but *Unbewußt*, and the description of the structure of the psyche was not yet completed with an outline of the operation of the unconsciousness. Several elements of how Freud and Jung interpreted this concept already appeared in his thoughts as well. On the first page of his book *Psyche. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele* (Psyche. On the development of the Soul, 1851), for example, he summarised the role of unconsciousness (*Unbewußt*) in the process of cognition:

³⁸ Hinderer, Walter: „Die Träume sind vielleicht unsere höchste Philosophie“. Bemerkungen zum Traumdiskurs Ludwig Tiecks, in Peter-André Alt/ Christiane Leiteritz: *Traum-Diskurse der Romantik*. De Gruyter, Berlin, 2005, 288.

³⁹ Carus: *Vorlesungen über Psychologie*, 282, 304.

“The key to come to know conscious psychological life is hidden in the realm of unconsciousness. This explains why it is so hard, if not impossible, at least apparently, to understand the mystery of the soul. If man was not able at all to find the unconscious in consciousness, he should give way to despair since he never can take for granted that he will know his soul or acquire self-knowledge. If, however, this impossibility is only apparent, then the primary mission of the science of psychology is to discover how the human soul can descend to this depth.”⁴⁰

In a way forecasting the structure of Jung’s later model, he differentiated three levels of the unconsciousness: the absolute, the partial and the relative ones (*das absolut Unbewußte, das partiell Unbewußte, das relativ Unbewußte*). The absolute unconsciousness, being in relation with the evolution of living organizations and the embryo state, is wholly inaccessible to the mind.

The undiscoverability of the absolute unconsciousness is represented by Carus with the metaphor of Isis’ veil,⁴¹ used widely by German Romanticism, from Novalis, through Alexander von Humboldt to Lorenz Oken.⁴² Partial unconsciousness links to the

⁴⁰ „Der Schlüssel zur Erkenntniß vom Wesen des bewußten Seelenlebens liegt in der Region des Unbewußtseins. Alle Schwierigkeit, ja alle scheinbare Unmöglichkeit eines wahren Verftändnisses vom Geheimniß der Seele wird von hier aus deutlich. Wäre es eine absolute Unmöglichkeit, im Bewußten das Unbewußte zu finden, so müßte der Mensch verzweifeln zum Erkennen seiner Seele, d. h. zur eigentlichen Selbsterkenntniß zu gelangen. Ist diese Unmöglichkeit nur eine scheinbare, so ist es die erste Aufgabe der Wissenschaft von der Seele, darzulegen, auf welche Weise der Geist des Menschen in diese Tiefen hinabzusteigen vermöge “ Carus: *Psyche*, 1.

⁴¹ Carus: *Psyche*, 67.

⁴² Dezső, Gurka: Segner János András munkásságának kanti recepciója, Reception of works János András Segner’ by Kant in Dezső, Gurka (ed.): *Matézés, mechanika, metafizika. A 18–19. századi matematika, fizika és csillagászat eredményeinek reprezentációja a filozófiában és az irodalomban* [*Mathesis, Mechanics, Metaphysics. The Representations of the Results of Mathematics, Physics and Astronomy in*

operation of the organs, while the territory of relative unconsciousness includes past conscious feelings which may be brought to the mind again.⁴³

The introduction of the concept of partial unconsciousness enabled Carus to attribute a role, in the treatment of illnesses he originated from unconsciousness, beyond physiological factors, to psychic factors as well.

The natural philosophical context of Carus' concepts

Sickness as a concept extending beyond the direct territory of professional medicine was formulated and widely spread first by Schelling's works published between 1804 and 1809. Sickness in his philosophy integrated the elements of the Brownian method, and was considered a sort of asymmetry, a disturbance of the balance of the organism.⁴⁴ The considerable difference and innovation of Carus' sickness concept was that he used the word not only in a physiological sense but for the dynamics of consciousness and unconsciousness as well.

In the light of the contemporary clinical approach, the primary novelty of Carus' sickness concept was that its reference was not formed only by physiological processes, as he put it in his work entitled *Vorlesungen über Psychologie* (1831) sickness partially may originate from unconsciousness, since all diseases have an unconscious component, thus "*there is no sickness rooting exclusively in the*

18th- and 19th-century Literature and Philosophy. Gondolat, Budapest, 2016, 95–116, here: 108–111.

⁴³ Balmer, Heinrich (Hrsg.): *Geschichte der Psychologie 2. Entwicklungslinien zur wissenschaftlichen Psychologie*. Beltz, Weinheim/ Basel, 1982, 14

⁴⁴ Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph: *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Studiums*. Hoffenberg, Berlin, 2016, 114.

conscious psyche".⁴⁵ Consequently, psychical factors are non-negligible elements of both the physician's medical work and all individuals' self-reflections.

While Carus drew the aforementioned consequences from his medical experiences, he followed contemporary analogues in the interpretation of health and sickness in the context of composition of human life. In his gynaecological textbook, he stressed the importance of the "activity of the psyche" during child-bearing.⁴⁶ Carus, however, did not approach the meaning of life only from the practical side, he considered it an artwork (*Kunstwerk*) which included health and sickness as well.⁴⁷ As he put it in his work from 1843 (*Einige Wort über das Verhältnis der Kunst krank zu sein zur Kunst gesund zu werden*), the art of life (*Lebenkunst*) "is the art due to which a good human life can be raised to be clear and noble and real inner happiness and higher inner progression of the personality can be realised and concluded".⁴⁸ These words stressing conscious formation imply the model-giving role of Goethe's planning of life (*Lebensgestaltung*) and the impact of those contemporary physicians' theories emphasising also the importance of the psychical factors in diagnosing and healing sicknesses (E.g. Johann Christian August Heinroth's psychosomatic theory referred to by Carus⁴⁹ and Carl Eberhard Schelling's theory describing the dynamism of the patient–physician relation.⁵⁰)

⁴⁵ Carus: *Psyche*, 432.

⁴⁶ Carus: *Lehrbuch der Gynäkologie*, II. 138.

⁴⁷ Carus, Carl Gustav: *Mnemosyne. Blätter aus Gedenk- und Tagebüchern*. Flammer und Hoffmann, Pforzheim, 1848, 62.

⁴⁸ Carus: *Einige Wort über das Verhältnis der Kunst krank zu sein zur Kunst gesund zu werden*, 15.

⁴⁹ Carus: *Vorlesungen über Psychologie*, 235.

⁵⁰ Gerabek, Werner E./ Haage, Bernhard D./ Gundolf, Keil/ Wegner, Wolfgang (Hrsg.): *Enzyklopädie Medizingeschichte 1*. De Gruyter, Berlin/ New York, 2007, 905.

Schelling's impact on Carus can be observed in more topics: the biological aspects of his thoughts in *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben* (1831) are influenced by the philosopher's concept on organism – published in his work *Erster Entwurf eines Systems der Naturphilosophie* (*First outline of a system of the philosophy of nature*, 1799) –, while the theoretical background of the aesthetic concept of *Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* is formed by the issues arising in *Von der Weltseele* (*On the World Soul*, 1798).⁵¹ Carus' concept on sickness and unconsciousness was also formed not only under the influence of experimental practices but more considerably Schelling's speculative natural philosophy as well, which confirms Odo Marquard's theory claiming that certain categories of psychoanalysis are in fact philosophical concepts.⁵²

Schelling's impact is also mirrored by the fact that he conceived sickness as a phenomenon of "*Lebenkunst*". In the course of thoughts set forth in the *Stuttgarter Privatvorlesungen* (*Private Lectures in Stuttgart*, 1810) sickness, error and evil form one phenomenon group for the philosopher⁵³ with the common specific trait that they play a role not only as mere negatives but as incentives for moving into the direction of existence as well.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Hehler, Diana: Carl Gustav Carus: Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei und die frühromantische Theorie, *Athenaeum* 3: 1993, 107–139.

⁵² Kupferberg, Yael: *Dimensionen des Witzes um Heinrich Heine: zur Säkularisation der poetischen Sprache*. Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg, 2011, 155.

⁵³ „Da Krankheit, Irrtum und Böses immer aus der Erektion eines relativ Nichtseiendes über ein Seiendes entsteht [...]“ Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph: *Stuttgarter Privatvorlesungen (1810)*. Hrsg. Vicki Müller-Lüneschloss. Meiner, Hamburg, 2016, 51

⁵⁴ Schelling: *Stuttgarter Privatvorlesungen*, 50.

Carus' versatile works may not be interpreted without reference to the impressions they obtained from the Romantic sciences and Schelling's nature philosophy. The oeuvre of the author that claims independent interpretations belongs to those achievements of the age of Romanticism, which, with all of his speculative elements, exercise a lasting influence on the professional sciences in later periods and, regarding the concept of dream and unconsciousness, had a profound impact on the history of anthropology as well.