

Empirical Psychology and Dietetics of the Soul: Between Medicine and Philosophy

Two aspects of Nascent Psychology in the Czech Lands and
Austria during the Enlightenment and the Romantic Era*

Daniela Tinková 

Charles University, Faculty of Arts and Philosophy; 1/2 Jan Placha Square, 116 38 Staré Město,
Prague, Czechia; daniela.tinkova@ff.cuni.cz

Received 14 June 2024 | Accepted 7 October 2024 | Published online 11 December 2024

Abstract. The aim of this study is to present the two most notable forms of ‘psychology’ in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century in the Czech Lands and Austria (since they still formed largely one political, cultural, and intellectual space at the time, and their universities followed similar rules). This is a period that usually receives very little attention in overviews and textbooks of the history of psychology. Scholars in the Age of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, i.e., those who were active before 1848, especially in ‘our’ part of the world, tend to be as good as forgotten.

In the first part of the paper, psychology is presented as a theoretical academic discipline taught as part of introductory courses to philosophy: its aim was to analyse the conditions of human thought as the necessary precondition for any ‘philosophy’. At this time, the Czech Lands and Austria were gradually adopting Christian Wolff’s thoughts and, somewhat later, Herbartian philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy. Some scholars, however, could not resist Kant’s and Hegel’s attraction, although the spreading of their thought system was proscribed. In general, this part of the study focuses on the development of empirical psychology. At its core is an analysis of the work of a remarkable Enlightenment scholar, Gottfried Immanuel Wenzel, a native of Choceň and professor of philosophy at a lyceum in Linz, whose work on psychology was clearly based on familiarity with contemporary medical theories. His achievements are compared to the thoughts of Philipp Carl Hartmann Hartmann, a native of Vienna, and his work on the physiology of thought from 1820.

The second part of this contribution focuses on the dietetics of the soul as a practical form of prophylaxis, the protection of mental health, based on much older concepts of classical dietetics and theories of ‘passions of the soul’. This is a distinct ‘psychological’ genre that has essentially become independent, has literally established itself in separate publications, and has enjoyed

* This study is part of Czech Science Foundation grant no. 22-04258S: ‘The Anatomy of a Sick Soul: From Passions of the Soul to a Psychiatric Clinic (1770–1914) awarded to the Faculty of Arts of Charles University, Prague.

a relatively large readership. We investigate the concepts of four thinkers of the first half of the nineteenth century: Wenzel's dietetics of the soul, conceived of as a guide to a *healthy* and long mental life, Hartmann's guide to a *happy* life, Bronn's guide to a *beautiful* life (*kalobiotics*), and Ernst Feuchtersleben's dietetics of the soul from 1838, which became the classic work of this genre.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, these two Late Enlightenment and Romantic forms of psychology were surpassed and half-forgotten, due both to the development of experimental psychology and to the refocusing of (not only Austrian) psychiatry on the anatomy of the brain and biological factors in general. Several of the subjects addressed by this early psychology – such as the unconscious, our dreams, but also what we would call 'mental hygiene' or mental wellbeing today – resurfaced as late as the twentieth century, but by then without any reference to the long-forgotten nineteenth-century scholars.

Keywords: History of Psychology; Empirical Psychology; Dietetics; Gottfried Immanuel Wenzel; Carl Philipp Hartmann; Ernst von Feuchtersleben; Wilhelm Bronn

The term 'psychology' tends to suggest a relatively clearly defined science that can usually be studied at faculties of arts or at specialised schools that offer training in psychosocial or therapeutic work. The birth of these disciplines is usually dated to the last third of the nineteenth century, that is, to the time when Professor Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920) started developing his experimental psychology in Leipzig. In connection with Austrian psychology, we are likely to think of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), and eventually also of the psychiatrists Richard Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) and Julius Wagner-Jauregg (1857–1940), whose oeuvres gained fame around the world. In a sense, it could even be argued that the entire modern European (and American) psychiatry and psychology is based on their concepts. Entering the intellectual and academic scene in the late nineteenth century, these thinkers made a far-reaching impact. However, they did not start from square one: their work was the culmination of the almost century-long process of the gradual establishment of psychology and psychiatry as sciences.

The 'prehistory' of these disciplines is naturally much longer, but the forms that preceded the arrival of experimental psychology are evidently considered pre-scientific or even un-scientific and have attracted little scholarly attention so far. This applies especially to the Late Enlightenment and the first half of the nineteenth century, the period this paper will focus on. Most textbooks and overviews of the history of psychology include sections on Enlightenment empiricism and sensualism, some mention the Kantian categories, and then they usually skip right to experimental psychology, which was taking shape in the last third of the nineteenth century. However, there is a gap, a lacuna that this paper will try to fill.¹

1 As examples we could cite these textbooks: Koščo, *Dejiny psychológie. I*, Tardy, *Dějiny psychologie*; Nakonečný, *Dějiny psychologie*; Plháková, *Dějiny psychologie*; Benetka, *Zur Geschichte der Institutionalisierung der Psychologie in Österreich*.

The ‘psychologists’ of the Enlightenment and the Romantic Era, active before the upheavals of the 1948 revolutions, are mostly forgotten. Only in recent decades has Enlightenment empirical psychology, or Enlightenment anthropology attracted interest, focusing almost exclusively on Western Europe (especially England and France, thanks to among others, the work of Sergio Moravia² and Fernando Vidal³) and the Protestant German regions (Paul Ziche,⁴ Hans Erich Bödeker⁵). The German-speaking Catholic regions, including Austria (and naturally, the Czech Lands that were part of it), have been left out.

To the best of my knowledge, this study is the first attempt at a more comprehensive summary of thinking about psychology in this geopolitical space in the given period. In the following, I investigate several scholars and their work to introduce the little-known Late Enlightenment and Romantic psychology in Austria and the Czech Lands, that is, in a territory that was closely interconnected and, in many respects, unified in political, intellectual, and cultural terms. The focus will be on the work of philosophers and physicians associated (save for one exception) with universities, most of whom were either born in the Czech Lands or worked there for some time.

The first part of this contribution deals with the various forms of ‘psychology’, especially empirical psychology, as a *theoretical* academic field. This subject was included in introductory courses to philosophy: it was presented as an analysis of the preconditions of human thought as the *sine qua non* prerequisite of any further philosophy. Still, various concepts originating from this field also influenced contemporary medical science, as we shall see in the work of Philipp Carl Hartmann.

The second part focuses on the dietetics of the soul as a *practical* form of prophylaxis that drew, as will be shown, on classical theories of passions of the soul. In an updated form, its purpose was to protect mental health. Despite these academic roots, this teaching transcended the scholarly and academic environment: it was addressed to a much broader section of the population and gained wide popularity. I will not discuss the close interconnection of the emerging “psychological” disciplines with aesthetics: this relationship deserves a separate study, and it has already received attention from the leading Czech experts on Enlightenment and Romantic aesthetics, Helena Lorenzová⁶ and Tomáš Hlobil.⁷

2 Moravia, *La scienza dell'uomo, Filosofia e scienze umane, L'enigma dell'esistenza. Soggetto.*

3 For example: Vidal, “The Eighteenth Century as »Century of Psychology«,” 407sq.

4 For example: Ziche, *Anthropologie zwischen Physiologie und Naturphilosophy*, 96sq.

5 Bödeker and co., *Die Wissenschaft vom menschen in Göttingen c. 1800.*

6 Lorenzová, *Hra na krásný život.*

7 Hlobil, Tomáš. “Themen der Ästhetik in deutschsprachigen österreichischen Lehrbücher der theoretischen Philosophie in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts – unter besonderer

Introduction

The first issue we need to tackle is the meaning of ‘psychology’ before the end of the nineteenth century. Naturally, various issues we would consider ‘psychological’ today had since antiquity constituted part of moral philosophy, moral theology, and medicine. The field was so broad that it could hardly be encompassed within one clearly defined discipline. Moreover, one can interpret as ‘psychological’ also the part of modern philosophy that dealt with the theory of knowledge, especially given that, from the end of the seventeenth century, these investigations acquired an increasingly empirical (or even sensualist) character, for instance, in the work of John Locke, David Hume, or Étienne Bonnot de Condillac. The notions of innate ideas and an independent rational soul were thus increasingly challenged by emphasis on empirical experience and education. Thus, in the eighteenth century, we should certainly include into this broad area the budding discipline of pedagogy and theories of education, as well as some aspects of the no less popular aesthetics or rhetoric.

At this time, medicine also started to make an influence on this area. Vitalism, which aimed at a ‘psychosomatic’ conception of the human being and at overcoming the Cartesian dualism of body and soul, was becoming ever more influential. This was associated with the interest in ‘liminal’ areas, which seemed to be at the interface of the body and the mind, especially the nervous (or neurocerebral) system. Research undertaken by Thomas Willis, William Cullen, Jiří Procházka, and many others identified the nervous system as the central medium of the transfer of information between the body and the mind. In the second half of the nineteenth century, organ pathology, which shifted the emphasis from the (liquid) Hippocratic humours to the solid parts of the body, started to gain prominence. This led to questions about the physical, organ-related foundation of mental disorders. Scientists raised the following question: If a physical disease is due to a diseased organ, could we also find the seat of passions, and hence the location of ‘mental’ diseases?

All these intellectual currents intersected in a field where, in the course of the nineteenth century, ‘psychology’ (often denoted by the other novel term ‘anthropology’) was gradually taking shape at the cross-section of philosophical and medical thought.

Berücksichtigung der Rolle Immanuel Kant.” In *Anthropological Aesthetics in Central Europe 1750–1850*, edited by Piroška Balogh and Gergely Fórizs, 97–132. Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2019. I am grateful to the reviewers of this study for this bibliographic reference.

Psychology between philosophical propaedeutics and medicine

Reception of Christian Wolff's psychology and German empirical psychology in the Czech Lands and Austria

In Central Europe, the teachings of Christian Wolff (1679–1854) had a crucial impact on the development of thinking about the human mind. Wolff was a native of the Silesian Wrocław (then Vratislav and part of the Czech Lands) who disseminated Leibnitz's teaching; in his age, he was considered the greatest German philosopher 'between Leibnitz and Kant'. As part of his systematisation of philosophy, he resurrected and popularised the term 'psychology', which had already appeared during the German Reformation. Wolff understood it to mean the 'science of the soul' and hence a necessary preliminary step to philosophical investigations. He dealt with it in two treatises: *Psychologia rationalis* (1734) and *Psychologia empirica* (1732). Psychology is considered the most innovative part of Wolff's theories, since his views had clearly departed from the hitherto prevalent Aristotelian understanding of the soul in living beings. Wolff's main—and best-known—innovation in psychology rests in a clear distinction between two different ways of investigating the soul: while *empirical* psychology is based on observing one's own soul, *rational* psychology uses logical argumentation to reveal the 'truths about the soul' that are not easily accessible to experience. Rational and empirical psychology are thus separate but mutually compatible explanations of the substance of the soul, whereby one is based on theory, the other on observation.⁸

This way of thinking about the 'functioning of the soul' had a vast influence on most of Central Europe in the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This included the Austrian and Czech Lands, although the details have not been comprehensively investigated. Nonetheless, it is clear that the new elements of rational and empirical psychology were, along with the rest of Wolff's work, finding their way into the curricula of Czech and Austrian universities, which were, for part of that time, still dominated by the Jesuits. Wolff's psychology was studied as part of metaphysics at faculties of philosophy: "Psychology" as a university discipline—and this is important for us here—entered universities during the eighteenth century simply and exclusively as an integral part of philosophical propedeutics. Latin terminology at the time used 'psychologia'; after the 'Germanization' of education (under Joseph II) and with the proliferation of German-language textbooks, the term (essentially a literal translation) *Seelenkunde* became widespread, while *Seelenwissenschaft* is less frequent.

8 Rydberg, Andreas. "Self-observational life in eighteenth-century Germany." *Intellectual History Review* 34, no. 2 (2024): 343–64. I am grateful to the reviewers of this study for this bibliographic reference.

This was also the case at Prague University, where Wolff's theories, including his conception of psychology, were included in the textbooks of Anton Boll (1721–1792), a remarkable Jesuit professor of philosophy. Boll taught philosophy at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague in 1756–1766, and for his lectures he prepared extensive compendiums inspired, among other things, by Wolff's teaching.⁹ Aside from physics and natural sciences in general, in his textbooks he included explanations of the functioning of the human soul.

Gradually, however, Wolff's teachings were challenged by a new intellectual current from the Protestant German Lands: Kant's philosophy, including his 'psychology' or 'anthropology'.¹⁰ In relation to the formation of Czech and Austrian psychology, one should also take into account the importance of guidebooks and compendia not only about psychology/anthropology but also about medicine, which were created as part of philosophy courses at German universities, since they were known, referenced, and imitated in our (and generally in the Austrian) environment.

In the last third of the eighteenth century, a new science started to form at the permeable interface of philosophy and medicine: a holistically and psychosomatically conceived *human science*. In the Age of the Enlightenment, this science was supposed to follow the lead of mathematical and natural sciences, which came to prominence thanks to the scientific evolution in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as shown by the now classical works of the Italian philosopher and anthropologist Sergio Moravia¹¹. This was the aim of the anthropologising philosophical medicine as envisaged already in the first half of the seventeenth century by David Hume (1711–1776), when he spoke about the *science of man* as an empirical and sensualist science of humans and their psychology. A similar form of 'anthropology' had been promoted from the 1770s also by some philosophically oriented physicians in other countries, including the future French revolutionary Jean-Paul Marat (1743–1793) or Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis (1757–1808), a physiologist likewise connected with the French Revolution, and brother-in-law of Condorcet, the famous philosopher. In some instances, the new science was called 'psychology', at other times 'anthropology' to accentuate its 'liminal' aspect and close links to the physical aspect of human existence. It is thus no accident that during the Late Enlightenment, these two terms ('psychology' and 'anthropology') acquired more or less the same meaning that we still associate with them today.

Geographically and conceptually closer to our part of the world was the work

9 Pelzel, *Böhmische, Mährische und Schlesische Gelehrte und Schriftsteller*, 245; Čornejová and Fechtnerová, *Životopisný slovník pražské university*, 33; *Biografický slovník českých zemí*, 39.

10 Heßbrüggen-Walter, *Die Seele und ihre Vermögen*; Sauer, *Österreichische Philosophie*.

11 Moravia, *La scienza dell'uomo nel Settecento*, Moravia, *Filosofia e scienze umane*; Moravia, *L'enigma dell'esistenza*.

of Ernst Platner (1744–1818), a physician and philosopher. A native of Leipzig, Platner wrote on *Menschenlehre*,¹² which he conceived of as being at the interface of medicine and philosophy. Rather characteristically, the last work of Immanuel Kant was also on ‘anthropology’ (*Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht*, 1798), and his ideas and terminology influenced the then nascent psychology in various other ways as well.

In the German-speaking environment, there thus formed an empirical philosophy based on Wolff’s thoughts, which around 1800 tried to establish itself as an independent discipline at the interface of medicine and philosophy. Known either as ‘psychology’ or as ‘anthropology’, it was developed by both philosophers and physicians. First of all, they tried to emancipate this new psychology from philosophy and turn it into an empirical science – in some instances, even a ‘natural science’ in the sense that it was a science about ‘human nature’. Surprisingly, methodology was not a problem: scholars gathered their ‘empirical’ material mainly from reading, from their own ‘observations of people’, or from introspection. A sort of thematic and genre definition of this ‘experiential science of the soul’ is found in the *Magazin der Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, a journal published in Berlin in 1783–1793 by Karl Philipp Moritz (1756–1793). This journal focused on stories of ‘sick souls’ and suicides or criminals, as well as physiognomy, gestures, and facial expressions, that is, on the external physical manifestations of mental processes. Nevertheless, the texts created by the German ‘psycho-anthropologists’ of the Late Enlightenment belong to a variety of genres: aside from various learned tractates, they also produced many popular texts aimed at raising public awareness. Some scholars even opted for fiction, especially short stories or plays that depicted their findings pertaining to patterns of behaviour and thought.

Little is known about the Austrian scholars engaged in this movement, particularly those who were either born in the Czech Lands or worked there. The same holds for academic instruction in psychology in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Still, it is reasonable to suppose that, especially at the beginning of this period, it was shaped mainly by reverberations of the Leibnizian/Wolffian conceptions. At the end of the eighteenth century, various elements of the German Romantic *Naturphilosophie* and Kantian philosophy also seem to have started to find their way to universities in the Czech Lands.

Around 1800, psychology was apparently taught, among others, by two Czech natives as part of the philosophy curriculum in three-year lyceums of a university type: in Olomouc by Wenzel Immanuel Voigt (1765–1820), and in Linz by Gottfried Immanuel Wenzel (1754–1809), a philosopher, writer, and critic of Kant’s teaching, whose work we shall investigate in more detail in connection with dietetics.

12 Platner, *Anthropologie für Aerzte und Weltweise*, Platner, *Neue Anthropologie*.

He was not alone in his rejection of Kant's approach and *Naturphilosophie*—another prominent critic was the physician Philipp Carl Hartmann (1773–1830), one of the founders of Austrian psychology.

The unconscious and the power and errors of the imagination: Gottfried Immanuel Wenzel

The most comprehensive theory of the human psyche within German empirical psychology was presented by Gottfried Immanuel Wenzel (1754–1809), a native of the east Bohemian Choceň, graduate of the Faculty of Philosophy in Prague, and an incredibly prolific philosopher, writer, and playwright. This remarkable thinker was rediscovered by Václav Smyčka, a historian and scholar of German studies, who dedicated two studies to Wenzel: one on his research on animals,¹³ the other on his interpretation of trauma. Aside from these studies, there seems to be no research on Wenzel and his extensive legacy.

At the University of Prague, Wenzel was a student of the influent professor of aesthetic, pedagogy, and moral philosophy, Karl Heinrich Seibt.¹⁴ He started his literary activities in Prague already during the Josephinian era, and between 1781 and 1808 published several dozen books of various types, from philosophical treatises and compendia, through encyclopaedias and popular books on philosophy, natural science, pedagogy, and notably also psychology, all the way to plays and various kinds of short fiction. One specific subject he kept returning to was the mental life, behaviour, and communication (language) of animals, but the most dominant interest in his opus is in people and their mental life. Wenzel's best-known undertaking seems to be his guide to good manners, which was sometimes compared to the better-known Knigge's work,¹⁵ but he also wrote several pieces on education. In the following, we take a closer look at his *dietetics of the soul*.

A real analytical potential where one can best follow Wenzel's originality and independence of contemporary speculative as well as classical moral philosophy seems to have been in the area that transcends the boundaries of the 'rational soul', which is what most philosophers of the time tended to investigate. Wenzel was interested in the non-ethical, non-rational and, in a sense, 'non-natural' human thinking and behaviour, in the 'dark side of the soul'. This included madness, crime, suicide, uncontrollable erotic urges, as well as dreams, superstitions, miracles, and the 'supernatural', that is, everything that we could broadly call the 'human unconscious'. These hitherto neglected or even taboo subjects started coming to the fore

13 Smyčka, *Osvícená zvířata*.

14 BLKÖ 55 (1887), 13.

15 Wenzel, *Der goldene Schlüssel*; Wenzel, *Der Mann von Welt*.

in the works of ‘psycho-anthropologists’ in the late eighteenth century. The topics which clearly fascinated Wenzel found their way into a large part of his work. We should remember that several of Wenzel’s contemporaries, such as the Prague literati August Gottlieb Meissner or Christian Heinrich Spiess, some of the pioneers of horror as a genre, were equally interested in them. As a talented writer, Wenzel expressed his thoughts on the subject both in learned tractates based on medical and philosophical literature, and in plays and short stories.

Wenzel’s ‘empirical’ approach (like that of many contemporary ‘psychologists’ interested in these subjects) consisted in collecting various remarkable examples from contemporary and older literature, which he unfortunately usually did not reference. These examples were then interspersed with his own experiences, observations, and stories he heard from other people (whom he does not usually name either). The resulting text is a hybrid of a learned treatise and *belles lettres*, where concrete examples, often introduced as quasi-medical ‘case studies’, assume the form of a play or a story with a clear message. We may suppose though that the choice of belletristic methods, where the actors (‘doctors’ and ‘patients’) speak and engage in monologues or dialogues, is supposed to produce an atmosphere of authenticity even in cases taken from (as Wenzel emphasises) “times long gone”.

As an example of Wenzel’s work on empirical psychology, we should emphasise primarily two broad subjects in his academic texts, stories, and plays that intrigued him throughout his life: the subject of dreams and the appearance of ghosts.¹⁶ He approached both in essence as a person of the Enlightenment who tried to explain their rational core and removed the ‘supernatural’ or otherwise ‘miraculous’ overtones. Like most Enlightenment scholars would in the case of any ‘superstition’, he was always trying to find some natural foundations for such phenomena. Beyond that, however, he investigated their ‘psychological’ substance.

Wenzel explains dreams first of all physiologically—we could even say materialistically—based on the knowledge he acquired from the medical literature about the functioning of the brain and nerves. He argues that sleep is a state where the nerves that lead from the brain lose their tension and elasticity, qualities that are indispensable during the waking state, whereby an ‘idea’ is a movement of the nerves executed by the soul (*Bewegung des Nerven von der Seele*).¹⁷ Elsewhere, he notes that the soul is not the active principle of dreaming, although it is active while dreaming and is ‘not merely a passive observer of the inner mechanism’. A dream is simply a product of the imagination that is the property (*Vermögen*) of brain fibres.¹⁸

16 Wenzel, *Der Geisterseher*; Wenzel, *Geist-Wunder-Hexen- und Zaubergeschichte*; Wenzel, *Biographische Skizzen der neuesten Abentheuer*.

17 Wenzel, *Gottfried Immanuel Wenzels Philosophische Werke*, 45–47 and Chapter II; Wenzel, *On the Nature and Origin of Dreams*.

18 Wenzel, *Gottfried Immanuel Wenzels Philosophische Werke*, 49–56.

Aside from this, Wenzel also interprets dreams ‘psychologically’ as the outcome of the action of two sources: firstly, real feelings (*wirkliche Empfindungen*), that is, what a person really experienced and felt; secondly, excited imagination (*erregte Einbildungskraft*), whose function rests in the ‘restoration’ of feelings that had already been experienced. “In a dream, feelings are not only brought back but are also variously assembled, ordered, and connected.”¹⁹ Accordingly, a dream is a patchwork of memories, often deeply buried and seemingly forgotten but evoked during sleep, of wishes, desires, frequently unarticulated, unspoken, or unconscious (we would say ‘subconscious’), and hidden thoughts, but also a projection of intensive emotional ties to particular people who then appear in the dreams. Wenzel lists examples of ‘prophetic’ dreams that came true and explains them as the outcome of the desires and thoughts that the dreamer already had in their waking state.

We can see that the ‘unconscious’ (*das Unwissende*) plays an important role here. It is a concept that Wenzel repeatedly uses, denoting what is buried so deep in our consciousness and memory that we are no longer aware of it. That, however, does not mean that it does not influence our thoughts, notions, desires, and dreams—including thoughts and ideas that, to others, may seem like hallucinations or delusions. Although the concept of the unconscious is usually linked to psychoanalysis and Sigmund Freud, we see that the Late Enlightenment is a key period when this phenomenon was coming to the fore.²⁰

People who claimed having seen ghosts of the dead held an even greater fascination for Wenzel. He tried to explain this phenomenon in a classical rationalist manner as a coincidence of various external conditions (fog, light conditions, etc.) but, above all, once again, by psychology. According to Wenzel, a ‘ghost’ is a projection similar to a dream: it is an image created by the mind of the ‘ghost seer’ (*Geistessehende*), usually in an unconscious way. It is an image that emerges through activating the unconscious, a syncretism of (often deeply buried) memories, forgotten discussions with the dead person, intensive emotional ties to them and, above all, an intensive desire to meet them. Naturally, passages on the influence of psychotropic substances and vapours are also interesting, including incense, or the effect of some plants that may trigger sensory hallucinations.²¹

Aside from dedicating some stories and plays to this subject, it is noteworthy that on two occasions Wenzel published instructions on how various types of ghosts could be ‘fabricated’ to meet the expectations of a believing—or rather superstitious—audience. He suggested the use of the then popular *camera obscura*,²² mir-

19 Wenzel, *Philosophische Werke*, 56ff.

20 Moravia, *La scoperta settecentesca dell'inconscio*.

21 Wenzel, *Der Geisterseher*; Wenzel, *Dramatisirte Erzählungen aus dem Gebiete des Wunderbaren*.

22 Smyčka, *Optické přístroje v literatuře*.

rors, a play of shadows, technically modulated sounds, as well as various intoxicating substances.

It is fair to say that alongside the ‘unconscious’, another basic category that intrigued Wenzel in almost all his works is the human imagination, its powers, and its mistakes. It is a category that had formed a key dynamizing element already in the psychological writings of Christian Wolff. For Wenzel, imagination and phantasy stand at the origin of almost all psychological phenomena, including psychic disorders. These, too, Wenzel tended to explain largely as, in effect, disorders of the imagination, as wrong notions of things whose cause may be purely psychological or partly physiological (including injury to the brain or the nervous system).

Another area Wenzel was interested in was people’s odd behaviour following an emotional shock (today, we would say a ‘trauma’ resulting in post-traumatic stress disorder or neurosis). He collected most such examples in a book dedicated to the lives of contemporary adventurers and eccentrics.²³ That publication has been recently analysed by Václav Smyčka,²⁴ therefore it is not dealt with in this paper.

The physiology of thought: Philipp Carl Hartmann

Some two decades after Wenzel, another form of empirical psychology was developed in Vienna by the physician Philipp Carl Hartmann. Hartmann (1773–1830)²⁵ was a native of Saxony, who after studies in Erfurt and Göttingen went on to study medicine in Vienna. He graduated in 1798–1799 and acquired practical experience in the general hospital, working under Johann Peter Frank. He was then active in Vienna as a doctor of the poor until 1806, when he accepted a position at a lyceum of surgery and obstetrics in Olomouc, where he probably stayed for five years. In 1811, he was appointed full professor at the department of general pathology, therapy, and theory of medicinal substances (*materia medica*) of Vienna University.

His most important book for our purposes is *The Human Spirit in Relation to Physical Life or Foundations of the Physiology of Thought* (*Der Geist des Menschen in seinen Verhältnissen zur physischen Leben oder Grundzüge zu einer Physiologie des Denkens*), which was published in 1820 and reprinted in 1832 in an expanded edition.²⁶ In it, Hartmann, inspired by similar efforts of eighteenth-century physicians in France, England, and Germany, developed a system of passions. The system is

23 Wenzel, *Unterhaltungen über die auffallendsten neuern Geistererscheinungen*.

24 Smyčka, *Psychoanalýza před psychoanalýzou?*

25 To Hartmann and his work: Paus, *Philipp Karl Hartmann*; Danek, *Der Olmützer Professor Philipp Karl Hartmann*. Further: BLKÖ Band: 8 (1862), ab Seite: 11; Hirsch, “Hartmann, Philipp Karl,” 4–5.

26 Hartmann, *Der Geist des Menschen*.

based on the binary opposition of love and hatred and that of pleasant and unpleasant feelings, where the pleasant is always linked to the experience of freedom, and the unpleasant to the experience of restriction. Both binary opposites are based on the basic human inclination to cling to the good and avoid the evil. On the one hand, there is thus love, hope, and joy, while on the other, hatred and its kin: sadness and anger. All other passions are derived from a union of simpler, elementary ones. For instance, anticipation is a union of hope and fear, while compassion is a union of sadness and love, etc.²⁷

Being a physician, Hartmann was trying to find a physical, physiological basis for all these passions. He thus presented to his readers the external senses and the nervous system, emphasising that the nerves are also the organ of what we call imagination.²⁸ The level of sensitivity and excitability of the nerves is then, in Hartmann's view, responsible for the inclination to strong passions or emotional upheavals, giving rise among other things to fear, anxiety, depression, despair, or suicidal tendencies. Hartmann appreciated the research done by Franz Joseph Gall and Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (whose work was prohibited in Austria), noting that no one else had thought about the relation between the inclinations and instincts of the soul and the physical organs of the body in such depth.²⁹ He criticised them, however, for overestimating the influence of organs while neglecting the importance of the psychic sphere as such.

In remarkable passages dedicated to sleep, sleepwalking, and dreaming,³⁰ Hartmann turns to subjects that were extremely prominent in the Late Enlightenment empirical psychology. He claims that some physiologists view sleep as a sort of descent into a vegetative state ('an animal becomes a plant') due to the dampening of nervous activity. He, however, was convinced that the nervous system continues to work during sleep, as apparent from the existence of dreams, which are a state when the soul during sleep deals with the 'world of images of phantasy' (*Bilderwelt der Phantasie*). In a dream, an image captured by the sensory organs during the waking state is invoked by (unspecified) "organs of sensuality (*Sinnlichkeit*) and phantasy".³¹ Hartmann is clearly fascinated by the variability and vividness of dreams, which—like passions—seem to reflect in some way the dreamer's relation to the pleasant and unpleasant.

Hartmann's 'psychosomatic' thinking and advice on the preservation of mental health (on which more below) influenced two physicians who contributed to a

27 Hartmann, *Der Geist des Menschen*, 242.

28 Hartmann, *Der Geist des Menschen*, 176ff.

29 Hartmann referred to the London edition of *The Physiological System of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim* (London 1815).

30 Hartmann, *Der Geist des Menschen*, 303–26.

31 Hartmann, *Der Geist des Menschen*, 315.

reform of psychiatric care in Vienna in the sense of its humanisation and emphasis on return to order through adherence to dietetic rules. The two men were Bruno Goergen, who in 1819 founded a private sanatorium for the treatment of the mentally ill in Gumpendorf, at the time a village near Vienna (it later moved to Döbling, a Viennese suburb), and Michael Viszánik, who focused on the humanisation and transformation of care in the ‘state’ asylum, then located in the notorious ‘Madmen’s Tower’ (*Narrenturm*) of the Josephinian compound of Vienna’s General Hospital.

Hartmann was a physician, but his psychosomatically oriented work also reflects contemporary conceptions and issues of philosophy and empirical psychology. On the other hand, even academic psychology reacted to the discoveries and findings of contemporary medicine, especially in the field of neurology and the research of the senses.

Against Kant and Hegel: Empirical psychology at Prague University before 1848 and the beginnings of Czech texts on psychology

Let us now take a brief look at further developments in empirical psychology at universities in Austria and the Czech Lands. In 1820, a Latin compendium by the Piarist priest Josef Likawetz (1773–1850) was chosen as a mandatory philosophy textbook for all universities in Austria and the Czech Lands. From 1825, Likawetz was a professor (and in 1827–1829 rector) at a lyceum in Graz, where he taught theoretical and practical philosophy, which was also the subject of his doctoral studies. But his compendium of philosophy³² had been earlier, when he taught at a Piarist college in Brno. Likawetz dedicated the second volume of his compendium to empirical psychology, which was published in Graz as a separate book in German in 1827.³³

The Wolffian direction of thought was gradually replaced by Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi’s ‘philosophy of faith and feeling’ at Austrian universities.³⁴ It was hoped that it would counteract the growing influence of Kant’s philosophy. At Prague University, Jacobi’s theories were promoted by Johann von Lichtenfels (1795–1866), a native of Vienna with Prague roots.³⁵ Lichtenfels took over the department of philosophy in 1826 at a point when it was half-empty following the expulsion of Bernard Bolzano’s adherents. Even before his arrival in Prague, Lichtenfels compiled his own outline of psychology, not surprisingly again as part of philosophical propaedeutics.³⁶

32 Likawetz, *Lehrbuch der Philosophie*. For Likawetz, see BLKÖ 15 (1866), 190.

33 Likawetz, *Grundriss der Erfahrung-Seelenlehre oder empirischen Psychologie*.

34 Loužil, *Ignác Jan Hanuš*, 21.

35 Loužil, *Ignác Jan Hanuš*, 19–20.

36 Lichtenfels, *Grundriß der Psychologie*.

In this text, he clearly endorsed Jacobi's thoughts, much like his contemporaries in Vienna.³⁷ His book was reprinted in an amended edition in 1833 and 1843.³⁸ The two textbooks were mandatory literature in courses both at Austrian universities and in secondary schools with an academic orientation. After Lichtenfels's return to Vienna, in 1832–1846, philosophy courses were delivered by another student of Rembold, Franz Seraphin Exner (1802–1853). Exner was clearly in favour of Herbartian psychology and critical of Hegelianism, which he expressed for instance in his *Psychology of the Hegelian School*.³⁹ At this time, Herbartism was fast becoming the almost official doctrine in philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy throughout an important part of Habsburg Empire.⁴⁰

After Exner's appointment to a position in Vienna, where he was invited to participate in the central reform of the education system in the Austrian Empire, the department of philosophy in Prague had several heads, none of whom stayed for long. Most important for us was the influence of Ignác Jan Hanuš (1812–1869), who actually sympathized with Hegel's ideas. Hanuš started his teaching career in Lvov (Lemberg), where in 1843 he published a German textbook of empirical philosophy, which was in essence conceived as an introduction to philosophy.⁴¹ In 1849, after returning to Prague, Hanuš published a guide to psychology also in the Czech language.⁴² After his expulsion only three years later because of his philosophical position from Prague University, another philosopher capable of expressing himself in Czech had to be appointed, because in 1848 the Czech language was declared as one of the official languages of Prague University. These very first Czech lectures were delivered by František Čupr (1821–1882), an associate professor, i.e., one rank below a professor. In 1852, Čupr published in German a guide to empirical philosophy.⁴³ This textbook emphasises already in the introduction (dated to 15 December 1851) that it would, for the very first time, present Herbart's research in psychology based on Exner's lectures.

The guides and textbooks cited above tended to open the section on empirical philosophy by descriptions of the anatomy of the nervous system and sensory organs. The role of medicine was thus fundamental. This is understandable: from the second half of the eighteenth century, physiology and especially neurology had been a dynamically developing branch of medicine, which, moreover, gave a new,

37 Čáda, *Hynovo dušesloví*, 71.

38 Lichtenfels, *Lehrbuch zur Einleitung der Psychologie*.

39 Exner, *Die Psychologie der Hegel'schen Schule*.

40 Maigné, ed., *Herbartism in Austrian Philosophy*.

41 Hanusch, *Handbuch der Erfahrungs-Seelenlehre*.

42 Hanuš, *Nástin duševědy*.

43 Čupr, *Grundriß der empirischen Psychologie*.

rationalised form of explanation to the ‘workings of the soul’. Moreover, it was the eminent Czech–Austrian physiologist Jiří Procházka (1749–1820) whose textbooks were known to all physicians at the time, at least in Central Europe but also in parts of Eastern Europe, who made a significant contribution to understanding the function of nerves (and thus of soul-body relations).

To conclude this brief section, it needs to be added that the Thun–Exner reform placed more emphasis on teaching Czech both at universities and in academically oriented secondary schools (gymnasias and lyceums). Textbooks, including those on philosophy and psychology, had to react to this. Probably the very first textbook of psychology in Czech for gymnasias was published much later (1883, 1884) by Jan Nepomuk Kapras (1847–1934),⁴⁴ a remarkable scholar and the father of the outstanding lawyer and historian of law Jan Kapras. This textbook, too, opened with sections dedicated to medical findings relevant to the human cognitive and intellectual apparatus.

By now, we have arrived at a point when experimental psychology started to take shape, which led to a gradual separation of this field from philosophy and the development of the discipline’s own methods, which would eventually transform it into ‘real’ science. This was notably also the time when Sigmund Freud started his remarkable journey aimed at offering a ‘psychological’ alternative to the then dominant psychiatry, which focused on the pathology of the brain.

Dietetics of the soul

A somewhat different area the nascent psychology dealt with—including the works of some of the scholars listed above—was the *practical* aspect of psychology. It took the form of a preventively and therapeutically conceived *dietetics of the soul*, presented as ‘the art of preserving mental health’. This teaching formed around 1800 based on much older classical dietetics and teachings about the passions of the soul.

The reason I decided to focus on this aspect is that it was precisely the dietetics of the soul that crystallized into a real sub-discipline of the emerging ‘psychology’. Special treatises of a monographic nature were devoted to it, which saw several repeated editions, testifying to their growing popularity with readers. (Although there are other notable subjects, such as understanding dreams, they were still marginal compared to dietetics, and not many authors addressed them.) Dietetics was at the core of classical humoral medicine in the Galenic/Hippocratic spirit, whose influence was decisive or significant up to the second half of the nineteenth century. In a nutshell, dietetics could be defined as the belief that an appropriate lifestyle and

44 Kapras, *Počátky duševního života lidského*; Kapras, *Zkušební duševěda*.

regimen helps prevent disease and forms the first stage of any treatment. Adherence to dietetic rules was viewed as key to preserving health which, in turn, was conceived of as the balance of humours. A correction or modification of dietetic rules was viewed as crucial for restoring a disturbed balance of humours, and thus also for both physical and mental health. Famous doctors would prescribe their patients such *regimena sanitatis*, health regimens, even at a distance, simply based on a description of symptoms of various physical or mental ailments. Like classical medicine in general, dietetics did not strictly separate the body and the soul. The rules that applied to the body also helped treat the soul—and *vice versa*. This conceptual system is relevant because it dominated the approaches to ‘medicine of the soul’ deep into modern times.

All dietetics was based on dealing with “six things not innate” (*sex res non naturales*) that may be responsible for a potential disruption of the balance of body humours:

1. *aër* (air, but also light);
2. *cibus et patus* (food and drink);
3. *motus et quies* (movement and rest);
4. *somnus et vigilia* (waking state and sleep);
5. *excreta et secreta* (excretions and secretions);
6. *affectus animi* (passions of the soul, i.e., mental or emotional upheavals).

The basic principle was ‘follow the golden middle way’: emphasis on moderation and rejection of any excesses, both in food or drink and in relation to movement. Excessive work was rejected as unhealthy, just as lack of movement and laziness. For the new ‘medicine of the soul’, the nascent psychiatry, these basic rules formed the backbone of all treatment until deep into the nineteenth century.⁴⁵

In the eighteenth century, dietetics was constantly gaining in popularity. The book market was growing, and so was the readership; various easy-to-read and accessible guides intended for less educated readers or schoolchildren were thus trying to instil dietetic principles into broad strata of society. The teaching, which remained practically unchanged for a very long time, was nevertheless starting to integrate various new elements, reflecting both novel medical findings and innovations associated with the emergence of a modern urban society. Somatisation of various social and institutional pressures was also acquiring new forms: conscious healthcare, including one’s mental health, was thus in conjunction with the process of secularisation gradually becoming an integral part of the bourgeois lifestyle.⁴⁶ Enlightenment efforts at public education led to the issue of countless

45 Emch-Dériaz, *The Non-naturals Made Easy*, 134–59; Heikki, *Hygiene in Early Modern Medical Tradition*, 9; Bartoš, *Philosophy and Dietetics*.

46 Tinková, *Zákeřná Mefitis*, 115–62.

dietetic manuals, among which the following stood out: S. A. A. Tissot's *Avis au peuple sur sa santé, ou traité des maladies les plus fréquentes* (Lausanne 1761), B. Ch. Faust's *Gesundheits-Katechismus: Zum Gebrauche in der Schule und beyh häuslichen Unterrichte* (Bückerburg 1794), William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (1769), and Ch. W. Hufeland's *Kunst das menschliche Leben zu verlängern* (Jena 1796), especially its third, amended edition called *Makrobiotik oder Kunst das menschliche Leben zu verlängern*, where the term 'macrobiotics' is used as a specific term for the art of prolonging one's life. These books were translated, published both in Austria and the Czech Lands, and were imitated in both their Czech and German counterparts.

Within this field of Enlightenment dietetics and Hufelandian 'macrobiotics', in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, a specific domain was crystallised: the dietetics of the soul, which focused specifically on the maintenance of mental health and mental balance. In the Czech and Austrian environment, dietetics thus conceived was endorsed by some physicians and some philosophers of the first half of the nineteenth century. Four of them, as presented below, are considered classics of this genre.

The first variation: Gottfried Immanuel Wenzel's dietetics of the soul

Already in 1800, just four years after the first edition of Hufeland's canonical work on the art of extending one's life, Gottfried Immanuel Wenzel published in Graz a book he called *Diätetik der menschlichen Seele; oder: Gesundheitslehre des Herzens, Verstandes und Willens. Ein seitenstück zu Hufelands Kunst, das menschliche Leben zu verlängern*, that is, Dietetics of the Soul or The Theory of Health of the Heart, Mind, and Will. A Supplement to Hufeland's Art of Prolonging Human Life.⁴⁷ Quite possibly, this was the first piece to have 'dietetics of the soul' in the title.

Wenzel gives a critical review of Hufeland's teaching on extending human life by focusing on a healthy mental life. He notes that people do a lot for their physical health but, as we all know, suffering may be due not only to physical ailments but also to disorders of the soul. He goes on to say that there are many different kinds of *Sittenlehre* (in the sense of 'moral teachings') but no dietetics of the soul.⁴⁸ This aspect of the human being deserves attention. Therefore, he reverses Hufeland's famous saying 'Who could write about the physical person without writing about the moral one?' into 'Who could write about the moral person without writing about the physical one?' Let us just note here that in the common parlance of the eighteenth century, 'moral' denotes both 'psychic' and 'psychological': Wenzel was thus interested not in theories of moral life but in ways to maintain mental health.

47 Wenzel, *Diätetik der menschlichen Seele*.

48 Wenzel, *Diätetik der menschlichen Seele*, III–IV.

Wenzel defines a *healthy soul* as one that feels/thinks/desires (*will*) and acts correctly. Its memory is ready and quick, and the imagination is lively but not excessive, noting that such memory is a lively ‘image of the experienced’, the imagination is ‘picturesque’ (*mahlerisch*), but its brush is ‘guided strictly by reason’, unaffected by prejudice.⁴⁹

A sick person’s abilities do not develop, the ‘powers of his soul’ do not all function as they should, his memory is poor and inaccurate, his imagination is either dead or excessively lively and adventurous, and the mind is weak and limited.⁵⁰ In this sense, one can truly speak about an illness of the ‘soul’, regardless of whether its causes are physical or psychic. According to Wenzel, it is a matter of disruption, a disfunction of both the main powers of the soul (memory, imagination, and reason) and of the person’s emotions.

Prevention of illnesses of the soul is the goal of moral dietetics or dietetics of the soul (*Seelendiätetik*), which addresses both beneficial and harmful factors that have an immediate impact on mental health. Wenzel lists them just like Hufeland, who offers a list in his treatise on physical health. Wenzel enumerates fourteen beneficial factors, which is substantively more than the number of negative ones:

1. Care for physical health;
2. Special care for the stomach and digestion in general;
3. Attention to the good functioning of the nervous system;
4. Healthy nutrition;
5. Physical movement and exercise of physical powers;
6. Appropriate amount of sleep;
7. The use of morning hours, especially in the spring and summer;
8. Taking fresh air;
9. Observation of the beauty of nature;
10. Attention to cleanliness of the body, attire, and excretions;
11. Life in the countryside and travelling;
12. Engagement in employment/occupation that gives pleasure and promotes the culture of the spirit (*Geisteskultur*)
13. Appropriate exertion of mental powers (*Seelenkräfte*)—love, joy, hope, satisfaction with oneself and the surrounding world;
14. Contact with spiritual and moral persons, lively company, joys of the home, religion.

It is interesting to note that religion is included here in connection with sociability, relationships with other people, and society.

49 Wenzel, *Diätetik der menschlichen Seele*, 7–8.

50 Wenzel, *Diätetik der menschlichen Seele*, 9–12.

There are basically four negative factors, but they are more general and rather comprehensive, meaning that they may include a variety of phenomena:

1. Neglect of physical health, poor diet;
2. Excessive exertion of mental powers;
3. Tumultuous, destructive passions, lust, but also ‘negative’ passions such as greed, envy, or hatred;
4. Dulling of the soul, influence of bad literature (especially novels).

This structure is highly reminiscent of Hufeland’s. In general, we can follow the logic of ‘non-innate things’ in the form of the basic dietetic principles associated with digestion, fresh air, excretions, etc. The emphasis on appreciating the beauty of nature, travel, and rural life, namely the common *topoi* in the conceptual landscape of the Late Enlightenment, is noteworthy.

Wenzel’s work was apparently soon forgotten, as attested by the fact that less than forty years later, a book with an almost identical title came out, the work of the Viennese poet Feuchtersleben—but more on that a little later.

The second variation: Philipp Carl Hartmann’s recipe for a happy life

Another variation on Hufeland’s extensive treatise was penned by Philipp Carl Hartmann, whose work we have already dealt with. Unlike Wenzel, he focused on a *happy* life.

During his sojourn in Olomouc, in 1808, Hartmann published in Leipzig and Dessau a *Glückseligkeitslehre für das physische Leben des Menschen, oder Die Kunst, das Leben zu benutzen und dabey Gesundheit, Schönheit, Körper und Geistesstärke zu erhalten und zu vervollkommen*, that is ‘A teaching on happiness for the physical life of people or the art of enjoying life while maintaining and improving health, beauty, and both physical and mental powers.’⁵¹ This book went into several reprints: in Leipzig in 1836, and in Vienna it was republished in 1841 and 1845. Further editions followed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including some in Germany (1887, 1905), which attests to its immense popularity and long-term appeal.

“This book is not supposed to just deliver advice, and it is not simply about preserving health and extending life. A person is not a plant’, wrote Hartmann.”⁵² The introductory chapters are dedicated to some general issues of history and civilisation, such as the effect of culture on people’s happiness or, *vice versa*, the effect of a natural way of life on happiness. Unsurprisingly, he concludes that both culture and nature significantly contribute to people’s happiness.

51 Hartmann, *Glückseligkeitslehre*.

52 Hartmann, *Glückseligkeitslehre*, VI–VII.

The ‘natural’ aspects are the focus of the first sizeable part of the book, where Hartmann deals with the ‘natural satisfaction of animal needs.’ This pertains mostly to factors such as heat and air, nutrition, excretion, and satisfaction of the sexual drive, as well as some related subjects, such as housing, clothing, or attention to the body, skin, hair, and teeth, which are subjects commonly present in older dietetic guides of the Enlightenment Era. Somewhat more interesting are the subchapters on the subject of reproductive force and sexual instinct, where Hartmann speaks about various social, psychological, and cultural factors starting from the overcrowding of towns and the behaviour of pregnant and nursing women all the way to giving advice for living in a happy marriage. He also investigates the characteristics and factors contributing to an unhappy marriage, where apparently even reading bad novels and poetry may play a role.⁵³ One of his conclusions is that there can be no happiness without the satisfaction of the basic drives, but also there is no happiness if they are pursued in excess.

The ‘cultural’ factors are the subject of the second half of Hartmann’s work, where he focuses on people’s spiritual and mental needs. This section is, however, in essence ‘psychosomatic’, because Hartmann includes topics such as sleep, the voluntary movement of muscles, or the functioning of the senses. Naturally, the nervous system is considered to play a key role here, since its ‘weakness’ necessarily leads to general weakness.

“One of the first consequences of the local weakening of the brain is that its parts show less resistance to the incoming blood. This initially boosts a lively collaboration between the blood and the brain, that is, the nervous trace; that, however, leads to irregular nervous activity, excessive sensitivity, restlessness, and spasms; in a higher degree eventually to fantasies, madness, and at the highest degree resulting in a flow [*of blood*] and subsequently a stroke, blindness, muteness, paralysis of the limbs, and approaching death.”⁵⁴

What Hartmann finds most important is the cultivation of the ‘inner sense’ and the development of higher spiritual and mental abilities, the imagination, and the memory by study (Hartmann 1808, 269ff), but also moral development—naturally linked to the ability to control one’s passions (Hartmann 1808, 327ff). Passions are either *pleasant*, such as love, hope, or joy, or *unpleasant*, such as hatred, anger, rage, vindictiveness, remorse, envy, jealousy, sadness, fear, horror, despair, etc. Hartmann also speaks about ‘mixed’ passions, such as compassion, doubts, or anticipation (Hartmann 1808, 336). He notes that there is no happiness without the development

53 Hartmann, *Glückseligkeitslehre*, 191.

54 Hartmann, *Glückseligkeitslehre*, 380–81.

of the spirit and no happiness without morality. Characteristic of the times is his remark that “nowhere did morality sink as low as in the soft and delicate world.”⁵⁵ Another subject he touches upon is a key topic of his age: effective and suitable *natural* upbringing.

The third variation: Wilhelm Bronn’s guide to a beautiful life

In the German lands, Hufeland was offering a *long* life. In Austria, Hartmann suggested ways to living a *happy* life. In contemporary Prague, there lived a man who focused on a *beautiful* life. Yet while Hartmann, a future professor in Vienna, published his guide to a happy life in the Moravian town of Olomouc, Wilhelm Bronn decided to publish his 1835 programme of a beautiful life—which he called ‘kalobiotics’—in Vienna, and four years later in an expanded edition in Leipzig.

We still do not know for certain who ‘Wilhelm Bronn’ was. This is most likely a pseudonym, probably one that belonged to the Prague clerk and writer Wilhelm, Baron von Puteani (1799–1872; in German *Freiherr*). His *Kalobiotics: The Art of Beautifying One’s Life (Für Kalobiotik, Kunst, das Leben zu verschönern, als neu ausgestecktes Feld menschlichen Strebens)* first appeared in 1835.⁵⁶ According to Helena Lorenzová,⁵⁷ a second volume was published in 1838, but I have been unable to find further information about it. In any case, a new edition of *Kalobiotics* appeared in 1839, and that was again reprinted five years later. In Prague, the book was published in 1872 and 1905. The aim of *kalobiotics* is to make life beautiful (*Verschönerung*). This goal can be, according to Bronn, achieved by strengthening the triad of imagination–feeling–reason, the three components of which must always develop in harmony.

Happier, better educated, and wealthier persons can strive for rendering not only their own life but also the lives of others more beautiful. They should also try to influence the formation of their education and taste. Bronn presents his ideal *kalobiotic* person, whom he simply calls Humanus. It is an educated wealthy man who, thanks to his education and travels (which have further expanded his horizons), can ensure the prosperity of the inherited estate and its tasteful beautification more effectively. Such a person lives in harmony with nature and—because he has no need to pursue financial gain—possesses enough time for further self-improvement and education. Fate grants him a physically and spiritually beautiful wife, with whom Humanus has two sons and a daughter. Even the end of his life is happy and contented.

55 Hartmann, *Glückseligkeitslehre*, 329.

56 Bronn, *Für Kalobiotik*.

57 Lorenzová, *Dietetika duše*, 149–66; Lorenzová, *Kalobiotika*, 167–84.

In later editions, Bronn tried to set his vision into a broader system, for instance by splitting his *kalobiotic* teaching into objective, subjective, and social kalobiotics. In 1843, Bronn published in the Prague journal *Ost und West* (1837–1848) his study *Kalobiotische Dietetik*, which appeared as a series. The subject clearly found a receptive audience in Prague, as attested by the fact that the same journal replaced in 1845 its *Prague* supplement by *Für Kalobiotik* as a supplement. It thus seems that *kalobiotics* resonated with the Prague environment more than the much better-known work of the Viennese author Ernst von Feuchtersleben. It should nevertheless be noted that given that these texts appeared only in German (not in Czech), their impact must have been limited to the German-speaking population of Prague.

Variation four: Ernst von Feuchtersleben and his dietetics of the soul (1838)

Let us now return to the work that became a classic of the dietetic genre, that is, the writings of Hartmann's student Ernst von Feuchtersleben (1806–1849), a physician and Romantic poet. He is the only one of our authors whose name has not fallen into oblivion and is still relatively well known. Feuchtersleben was born in Vienna as the son of a state official of Saxon origin. After graduating from the Theresian Academy, he decided—despite his father's initial objections—to study medicine. At the Viennese school of medicine, he met Hartmann, whom he in many ways considered his model. Although later in life, he even served as dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Vienna University, for most of his life he practiced medicine in the suburbs as a general practitioner. Aside from this, he was involved in the literary life of Romantic/Biedermeier Vienna: he belonged to the circle gathered around Franz Grillparzer.⁵⁸

After his father's premature (and voluntary) death, Feuchtersleben found himself in financial difficulties and a poor state of mental health. Yet, it was this situation that inspired his two works on dietetics: a commentary on Hippocrates's first book on dietetics (Feuchtersleben 1835) and the *Dietetics of the Soul* (*Zur Diätetik der Seele*, 1838), which resembled various other contemporary dietetic writings aimed at regulating the relation between the body and soul.

Feuchtersleben's teacher Hartmann had a decisive influence on the overall concept of the book, but inspiration from the immensely popular Hufeland's *Macrobiotics* and Kant's anthropological treatise (*Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht*, 1798) are also notable. By the end of the century, Feuchtersleben's *Dietetics of the Soul* went into several dozen reprints and was translated into a number of European languages. In short, the *Dietetics of the Soul*—which had the same title as

58 For Feuchtersleben and his work: Pisa, *Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben*.

Wenzel's book four decades earlier—achieved a level popularity that could compete with Hufeland's. The first Czech translation of this work appeared half-a-century after the Viennese first edition: it was published in 1886 in a series on pedagogy in Přerov by J. Krecar.⁵⁹

The message of the book is briefly summarised as an exhortation to subordinate one's body and passions to the soul, to moderate one's passions, and to follow dietetic rules. He adds, however that

“... it is not enough to keep check on food and drink, to properly measure movement and rest, to learn by heart the second volume of Hufeland's *Macrobotics*, or read our fragments on the effects of emotions, will, and thought on human health. ... We ask more: we want to do violence to ourselves, to get to know ourselves, to educate ourselves both morally and intellectually, to experience what is health and human integrity.”⁶⁰

In 1834, Feuchtersleben became the second ever *Privatdozent* of psychiatry in the Habsburg Empire (the first had been two years earlier the physician Josef Gottfried Riedel, head of the Prague institute for the mentally ill). For his courses, Feuchtersleben also prepared and in 1845 published a textbook of medical ‘science of the soul’ (*Seelenkunde*), i.e., psychiatry. He, too, was interested in sleep and especially dreaming, but also in the use of alcohol and drugs, which lead to a distorted and variously inaccurate perception and feeling but sometimes also to awakened or increased spontaneity.⁶¹ Like Wenzel and later Hartmann, Feuchtersleben places a lot of emphasis on imagination, noting that “The central pathogenic moment of mental diseases is a deviation (*Abweichung*) of the imagination”, which corresponds to some disruption or disorder that has also a physical manifestation. This deviation of imagination is conceived of as mainly “mistaking the inner world for the external world”, i.e., as an erroneous interpretation of the objectively existing ‘outer’ world perceived by the senses.

“Experience sufficiently confirms that the emergence of madness is immediately preceded by disturbed imagination, or rather that this is the sole guide to psychic life with respect to those of its abnormalities that may be addressed by a physician. Imagination is the *punctum saliens* where the effects of the body and soul meet, and only through it do they unite. Thinking without imagination cannot become sick, and feeling without imagination cannot become psychic.”⁶²

59 E. Feuchterslebenova *Diaetetika duše*.

60 E. Feuchterslebenova *Diaetetika duše*, 59–60

61 Feuchtersleben, *Lehrbuch der ärztlichen Seelenkunde*, 173.

62 Feuchtersleben, *Lehrbuch der ärztlichen Seelenkunde*, 260ff.

Feuchtersleben's career could have culminated just after the revolution of 1848, when he was proposed for the position of minister of culture and education of the Austrian Empire. However, he rejected the offer and a year later, in 1849, died at the young age of forty-three.

We have seen that the works of the four scholars described in some detail are in effect modifications or variations on a single key theme. The particular purpose of their work did not change the basic line of exposition. They all covered the usual subjects using a similar argumentation; it is fair to conclude that all the four scholars were still fully part of the deeply traditional 'dietetic discourse', albeit enriched by some 'enlightened' side subjects that reflected changes in the world around them.

Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to present the two most notable forms of 'psychology' of the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century in the Czech Lands and Austria (since at the time they still formed largely one political, cultural, and intellectual space, and their universities followed similar rules). This is a period that usually receives extremely little attention in overviews and textbooks of the history of psychology: most of them deal with Enlightenment empiricism and sensualism, sometimes mention some Kantian categories, then they head straight to experimental psychology, that developed in the last third of the nineteenth century. Developments before the arrival of experimental psychology are usually considered 'pre-scientific' or even 'non-scientific'—and as such, are overlooked. Scholars of the Age of Enlightenment and Romantism, i.e., those who were active before 1848, especially in 'our' part of the world, are mostly forgotten.

In the first part, psychology was presented as a theoretical academic discipline taught as part of introductory courses to philosophy: its aim was to analyse the conditions of human thought as the necessary precondition of any 'philosophy'. At this time, the Czech Lands and Austria were gradually adopting Wolff's thoughts and, somewhat later, Herbartian philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy. Some scholars, however, could not resist the attraction of Kant's and Hegel's work, although it was proscribed. In general, this part of the study focuses on the development of empirical psychology. At its core is an analysis of the work of a remarkable Enlightenment scholar, Gottfried Immanuel Wenzel, whose work on psychology was clearly based on familiarity with contemporary medical theories. His oeuvre is compared to the thoughts of Philipp Carl Hartmann, and his work on the physiology of thought. Although Hartmann was a physician, his conception reflects awareness of contemporary philosophical and psychological conceptions. Both of these thinkers also

addressed ‘new’ subjects, which entered the focus of psychology only almost a century later, such as dreams, the unconscious, or the role of imagination and memories. This section concludes with a brief remark on the gradual formation of psychology conducted in the Czech language after the mid-nineteenth century.

The second part of this contribution focuses on the dietetics of the soul as a practical form of prophylaxis or the protection of mental health, which was based on much older concepts of classical dietetics and theories of ‘passions of the soul’. We investigate the concepts of four thinkers in the first half of the nineteenth century: Wenzel’s dietetics of the soul, conceived of as a guide to a *healthy* and long mental life, Hartmann’s guide to a *happy* life, Bronn’s guide to a *beautiful* life (*kalobiotics*), and Feuchtersleben’s dietetics of the soul, which proved to be the classic work of this genre. Two of these thinkers (Hartmann and Feuchtersleben) were physicians who later specialised in the then nascent psychiatry, while Wenzel was a philosopher and writer of popular scientific literature with a keen interest in psychological subjects. The identity of Wilhelm Bronn remains a mystery. Most of these guides were reprinted numerous times and enjoyed popularity with the broad public even in the second half of the nineteenth century, when they became almost part of folklore.

These two Late Enlightenment and Romantic forms of psychology were surpassed and half-forgotten in the second half of the nineteenth century, both due to the development of experimental psychology and the refocusing of (not only Austrian) psychiatry on the anatomy of the brain and biological factors in general. Many subjects addressed by this early psychology—such as the unconscious and dreams, but also what we would call ‘mental hygiene’ or mental wellbeing today resurfaced only in the twentieth century, but by then without any reference to the long-forgotten nineteenth-century scholars.

Sources

- Biografický slovník českých zemí* [Biographical Dictionary of the Czech Lands] 6, Praha 2007, s. 39 (J. Mikulec), http://biography.hiu.cas.cz/Personal/index.php/BOLL_Anton%C3%ADn_30.7.1721-22.7.1792
- E. Feuchterslebenova Diaetetika duše* [E. Feuchtersleben’s Dianetics of the Soul]. Překlad Antonín Krecar. Přerov: Fr. Bayer, 1886.
- Krok* (journal). 2, no. 2 (1828): 216–312; 2, no. 3 (1828): 393–419; 2, no. 4 (1831): 521–33.
- Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Historische Kommission. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912 (ADB).

- Pelzel, Franz Martin (Pelcl, František Martin). *Böhmische, Mährische und Schlesische Gelehrte und Schriftsteller aus dem Orden der Jesuiten*. 1786, 245.
- Platner, Ernst. *Anthropologie für Aerzte und Weltweise; 1772 a Neue Anthropologie für Aerzte und Weltweise*. 1790.
- Srov. i Moraviův úvod k italskému vydání Freudových spisů: Sigmund Freud: Filosofia E Psicoanalisi. Antologia. Introduzione e commento di Sergio Moravia, Collana: Pensatori antichi e moderni 1982.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Diätetik der menschlichen Seele; oder: Gesundheitslehre des Herzens, Verstandes und Willens. Ein seitenstück zu Hufelands Kunst, das menschliche Leben zu verlängern*. Grätz: Joh. Andr. Kienreich, 1800.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Philosophische Werke vermischten Inhalts*. Vienna: Ghelen–Officina, 1781.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Der Mann von Welt oder Grundsätze und Regeln des Anstandes, der Grazie, der feinen Lebensart, und der wahren Höflichkeit*. Sechste unveränderte Auflage. Pesth: bey C. A. Hartleben, 1817.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Der goldene Schlüssel, oder neu entdeckte Zugänge zum menschlichen Herzen: ein nothwendiges Buch für das gesellschaftliche Leben*. Vienna: Bey Anton Pichler, 1801.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel, *Dramatisirte Erzählungen aus dem Gebiete des Wunderbaren und dem Reiche der Zauberer, Schwarzkünstler, Hexen, Schatzgräber, Geisterbanner und Geisterseher*. Vienna: 1796; Leipzig: 1800.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Der Geisterseher. Ein dramatisches Fragment in drei Skizzen*. Prague: 1788.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Unterhaltungen über die auffallendsten neuern Geistererscheinungen, Träume und Ahndungen, nebst Darstellung anderer sonderbaren Beobachtungen am Menschen*. Graz: 1800.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Geist-Wunder-Hexen- und Zaubergeschichten, vorzüglich neuester Zeit*. Prague: In der von Schönfeldschen Buchhandlung, 1793.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Der Mann von Welt oder Grundsätze und Regeln des Anstandes, der Grazie, der feinen Lebensart, und der wahren Höflichkeit*. Sechste unveränderte Auflage. Pesth: bey C. A. Hartleben, 1817.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Der goldene Schlüssel, oder neu entdeckte Zugänge zum menschlichen Herzen: ein nothwendiges Buch für das gesellschaftliche Leben*. Vienna: Bey Anton Pichler, 1801.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Gottfried Immanuel Wenzels Philosophische Werke vermischten Inhalts*. Vienna: mit Edlen von Ghelenschen Schriften gedruckt, 1781.
- Wenzel, Gottfried Immanuel. *Biographische Skizzen der neuesten Abentheuer, Sonderlinge und von dem Gewöhnlichen abweichender Menschen, mit gleichzeitigem Hinblick auf die Ursachen, welche diese Seelenzustände bewirkten*. Vienna: 1800.

Wurzbach, Constantin von. *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich: enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche seit 1750 in den österreichischen Kronländern geboren wurden oder darin gelebt und gewirkt haben*. Wien 1856–1891 (BLKÖ).

Literature

- Bartoš, Hynek. *Philosophy and Dietetics in the Hippocratic on Regimen: A Delicate Balance of Health*. Studies in ancient medicine 44. Leiden: Brill, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004289550>
- Benetka, Gerhard. *Zur Geschichte der Institutionalisierung der Psychologie in Österreich: die Errichtung des Wiener Psychologischen Instituts*. Vienna–Salzburg: Geyer-Ed., 1990.
- Bödeker, Hans Erich, Philippe Büttgen, and Michel Espagne. *Die Wissenschaft vom menschen in Göttingen c. 1800*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 2008.
- Bronn, Wilhelm (= ? Wilhelm Puteani). *Für Kalobiotik, Kunst, das Leben zu verschönern, als neu ausgestecktes Feld menschlichen Strebens: Winke zur Erhöhung und Veredlung des Lebensgenusses*. Vienna: C. Gerold, 1835.
- Čáda, František. *Hynovo dušesloví: příspěvek k historii počátků psychologie české*. [Hyna's Psychology: a Contribution to the History of the Beginnings of Czech Psychology]. Prague: nákladem České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1902.
- Čornejová, Ivana and Alena Fechtnerová. *Životopisný slovník pražské univerzity. Filozofická a teologická fakulta 1654–1773* [Biographical Dictionary of the University of Prague. Faculty of Philosophy and Theology 1654–1773], Prague: Univerzita Karlova 1986.
- Čupr, Franz (František). *Grundriß der empirischen Psychologie*. Prague: Karl André, 1852.
- Danek, Karel, “Der Olmützer Professor Philipp Karl Hartmann und seine Rolle in der Entwicklung der medizinischen Anthropologie.” *Scripta medica Facultatis Medicae Universitatis Brunensis Purkynianae*. 39, no. 6–7 (1966): 277ff.
- Emch-Dériaz, Antoinette. “The Non-naturals Made Easy.” In *The Popularization of Medicine (1650–1850)*, edited by Roy Porter, 134–159. London–New York: Psychology Press, 1992.
- Exner, Franz Seraphin. *Die Psychologie der Hegel'schen Schule*, Leipzig: F. Fleischer, 1841–1842.
- Fabian, Gerd. *Beitrag zur Geschichte des Leib-Seele-Problems: Lehre von der prästabilierten Harmonie und psychophysischen Parallelismus in der Leibniz-Wolff'schen Schule*. Langensalza: Hermann Beyer und Söhne, 1925.

- Feuchtersleben, Ernst von. *Zur Diätetik der Seele*. Vienna: Gerold, 1838.
- Feuchtersleben, Ernst von. *Lehrbuch der ärztlichen Seelenkunde*. Vienna: Gerold, 1845.
- Hanáková, Petra. *Život a dílo Antonína Jana Jungmanna* [The Life and Work of Antonín Jan Jungman]. Bakalářská práce. Prague: Univerzita Karlova, Filozofická fakulta, Ústav českých dějin, 2021.
- Hanusch, Ignác Jan. *Handbuch der Erfahrungs-Seelenlehre in philosophisches Wissen einleitend*, Lemberg: Piller, 1843.
- Hanuš, Ignác Jan. *Nástin duševědy s pokusem u vysvětlení u výrazů duševědných* [Outline of the Science of the Soul with an Attempt at an Explanation of Soul Science Expressions]. Brno: Karl Winiker, 1849.
- Hartmann, Philipp Carl. *Glückseligkeitslehre für das physische Leben des Menschen, oder Die Kunst, das Leben zu benutzen und dabey Gesundheit, Schönheit, Körper und Geistesstärke zu erhalten und zu vervollkommen*. Dessau–Leipzig: Georg Voss, 1808.
- Hartmann, Philipp Carl. *Der Geist des Menschen in seinen Verhältnissen zum physischen Leben oder Grundzüge zu einer Physiologie des Denkens*. Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1820.
- Hartmann, Philipp Carl. *Der Geist des Menschen in seinen Verhältnissen zum physischen Leben oder Grundzüge zu einer Physiologie des Denkens*. Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1832.
- Heßbrüggen-Walter, Stefan. *Die Seele und ihre Vermögen: Kants Metaphysik des Mentalen in der Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. Paderborn: Mentis, 2004. <https://doi.org/10.30965/9783969758021>
- Heikki, Mikkel. “Hygiene in Early Modern Medical Tradition.” *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia – Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* (1999): 9.
- Herbart, Johann Friedrich. *J. F. Herbart a jeho pedagogika* [J. F. Herbart and his pedagogy]. Translated by Jiří Kyrášek. Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1977.
- Hlobil, Tomáš. “Themen der Ästhetik in deutschsprachigen österreichischen Lehrbücher der theoretischen Philosophie in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rolle Immanuel Kant.” In *Anthropological Aesthetics in Central Europe 1750–1850*, edited by Piroška Balogh and Gergely Fórizs, 97–132. Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2018.
- Hyna, Karel Ferdinand. *Dušesloví zkušebné* [Empirical Psychology]. Malá encyklopedie nauk 4. Prague: České museum, 1844.
- Kapras, Jan Nepomuk. *Počátky duševního života lidského: prameny ku psychologii individualné* [The Origins of Human Mental Life: Sources to Individual Psychology]. Olomouc: nákladem vlastním, 1883.

- Kapras, Jan Nepomuk. *Zkušebná duševěda pro střední školy* [Empirical Psychology for Secondary Schools]. Prague: J. Otto, 1884.
- Koščo, Jozef. *Dejiny psychológie. I, Historický úvod do štúdia psychológie* [A History of Psychology. I, Historical Introduction to the Study of Psychology]. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1964.
- Lesky, Erna. *Die Wiener medizinische Schule im 19. Jahrhundert*. Graz: H. Böhlau, 1965.
- Lichtenfels, Johann von. *Grundriß der Psychologie als Einleitung in die Philosophie*. Innsbruck: Gedruckt auf Kosten des Verfassers mit Wagner'schen Schriften, 1824.
- Lichtenfels, Johann von. *Lehrbuch zur Einleitung der Psychologie*. Vienna: J. G. Heubner, 1833/1843.
- Likawetz, Josef. *Grundriss der Erfahrungsseelenlehre oder empirischen Psychologie*. Graz : n.a., 1827.
- Likawetz, Josef. *Lehrbuch der Philosophie*. Brünn : n.a., 1812.
- Lorenzová, Helena. “*Dietetika duše. K praktické filozofii (estetice) osvícenství a biedermeieru*” [Dietetics of the Soul. On the Practical Philosophy (Aesthetics) of the Enlightenment and Biedermeier]. In *Hra na krásný život: estetika v českých zemích mezi lety 1760–1860* [Playing the Beautiful Life: Aesthetics in the Czech Lands between 1760–1860], by Helena Lorenzová, 149–66. Prague: KLP, 2005.
- Lorenzová, Helena. “*Kalobiotika aneb Hra na krásný život v praxi*” [Calobiotics or The Game of the Beautiful Life in Practice]. In *Hra na krásný život: estetika v českých zemích mezi lety 1760–1860* [Playing the Beautiful Life: Aesthetics in the Czech Lands between 1760–1860], by Helena Lorenzová, 167–84. Prague: KLP, 2005.
- Loužil, Jaromír a Hanuš, Ignác Jan. *Ignác Jan Hanuš: [studie s ukázkami z díla]*. [Ignác Jan Hanuš: [studies with excerpts from his works]. Prague: Melantrich, 1971.
- Moravia, Sergio. *La scienza dell'uomo nel Settecento*. Roma–Bari: Laterza, 1970.
- Moravia, Sergio. *Filosofia e scienze umane nell'età dei Lumi*. Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1982.
- Moravia, Sergio. *L'enigma dell'esistenza. Soggetto, morale, passioni nell'età del disincanto*. Milan: Feltrinelli, 1996.
- Moravia, Sergio. “*La scoperta settecentesca dell'inconscio, l'ambiguità del freudismo e il lavoro della psicoanalisi sull' «animale malato»*. Atti del Convegno »Metapsicologia oggi«, tenutosi a Napoli il 24 ottobre 2003.” In *Metapsicologia oggi*, edited by O. Pozzi and S. Thanopoulos, Bari: La Biblioteca Edizioni, 2005.
- Nakonečný, Milan. *Dějiny psychologie do konce 19. století* [History of Psychology to the End of the 19th Century]. Prague: Stanislav Juhaňák - Triton, 2019.
- Paus, Peter. “*Philipp Karl Hartmann. Mensch, Arzt und Philosoph. Sein Leben und Werk. Ein Beitrag zur Medizingeschichte der Romantik.*” Dissertation, University of Bonn, Bonn, 1971.

- Pisa, Karl. *Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben: Pionier der Psychosomatik*. Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 1998.
- Plháková, Alena. *Dějiny psychologie*. 2., přepracované a doplněné vydání [History of Psychology. 2nd, revised and expanded edition]. Praha: Grada, 2020 (1st edition: 2006).
- Rumore, Paola. “Empirical Psychology.” In *Handbuch Christian Wolff*, edited by Robert Theis and Alexander Aichele, 175–96. Wiesbaden: Springer, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-14737-2_9
- Sauer, Werner. *Österreichische Philosophie zwischen Aufklärung und Restauration. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Frühkantianismus in der Donaumonarchie*. Vienna: Rodopi, 1982. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004458222>
- Smyčka, Václav. “Osvícená zvířata: populární filozofie choceňského rodáka G. I. Wenzela” [Enlightened Animals: The Popular Philosophy of G. I. Wenzel, a Native of Choceň]. In *Polidštěné zvíře: kapitoly ke středoevropskému myšlení o literatuře* [The Humanized Beast: Chapters on Central European Thought on Literature], edited by Jiří Hrabal, 17–30. Olomouc: Vydavatelství Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci, 2017.
- Smyčka, Václav. “Optické přístroje v literatuře kolem roku 1800” [Optical Instruments in Literature around 1800]. In *Světlo, stíny a tma v české kultuře 19. století: sborník příspěvků z 37. ročníku mezioborového symposia k problematice 19. století. Plzeň, 23.-25. února 2017* [Light, Shadows and Darkness in Czech Culture of the 19th Century: Proceedings of the 37th Annual Interdisciplinary Symposium on the 19th Century. Plzeň, 23–25 February 2017], edited by Zdeněk Hojda, Marta Ottlová, and Roman Prahel, 167–81. Prague: Academia, 2018.
- Smyčka, Václav. “Psychoanalýza před psychoanalýzou? Zájem pozdního osvícenství o nevědomí a trauma” [Psychoanalysis before psychoanalysis? The Late Enlightenment’s Interest in the Unconscious and Trauma]. In *Výpravy k já. Projevy individualismu v české kultuře 19. století* [Expeditions to the self. Manifestations of Individualism in Czech Culture of the 19th Century], edited by Kateřina Piorecká, Eva Bendová, and Martin Hrdina, 253–68. Prague: Academia, 2022.
- Tardy, Vladimír. *Dějiny psychologie do vzniku samostatné psychologie* [History of Psychology to the Emergence of Independent Psychology]. Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1966.
- Tinková, Daniela. *Zákeřná Mefitis: zdravotní policie a veřejná hygiena v pozdně osvícenských Čechách* [The Insidious Mephitis: Health Police and Public Hygiene in Late Enlightenment Bohemia]. Prague: Argo, 2012.
- Tretera, Ivo. *J. F. Herbart a jeho stoupenci na pražské univerzitě* [J. F. Herbart and his Followers at the University of Prague]. Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1989.

- Vidal, Fernando. “The Eighteenth Century as »Century of Psychology«.” *Jahrbuch für Recht und Ethik*, Berlin (2000): 407.
- Ziche, Paul. “Anthropologie zwischen Physiologie und Naturphilosophie. Wissenschaftssystematische Aspekte der Fachgebiete Anthropologie und Psychologie um 1800.” In *Naturwissenschaften um 1800*, edited by Olaf Breidbach and Paul Ziche, 96. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 2001. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-476-02828-0_6
- Zumr, Josef. *Máme-li kulturu, je naší vlastí Evropa: herbartismus a česká filosofie* [If we have Culture, Europe is Our Homeland: Herbartism and Czech Philosophy]. Prague: Filosofia, 1998.

