Kant and the Human Sciences

Biology, Anthropology and History

Alix Cohen

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Abbreviations

Insofar as the following works are cited frequently, I have identified them by these abbreviations:

Anthropology: Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View
C.B.: Conjectural Beginning of Human History
C.F.: The Conflict of Faculties
C.J.: Critique of the Power of Judgment
C.P.R.: Critique of Pure Reason
C.Pr.R.: Critique of Practical Reason
Determination: Determination of the Concept of a Human Race
Groundwork: Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals
Idea: Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Aim
L.E.: Lectures on Ethics
L.A.: Lectures on Anthropology
M.F.: Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science
M.M.: The Metaphysics of Morals
Of the Different Races: Of the Different Races of Human Beings
On the Use: On the Use of Teleological Principles in Philosophy
P.P.: Toward Perpetual Peace
Religion: Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason
T.P.: On the Common Saying: That Maybe Correct in Theory, but It Is of No Use in Practice
W.O.T.: What Does It Mean to Orient Oneself in Thinking?

In the references to Kant's writings, I have included a citation from the English translation, followed by a citation from the Akademie edition (volume and page number) in brackets.

Acknowledgements

Preface

> The plan I prescribed for myself a long time ago calls for an examination of the field of pure philosophy with a view to solving three problems: (1) What can I know? (metaphysics). (2) What ought I to do? (moral philosophy). (3) What may I hope? (philosophy of religion). A fourth question ought to follow, finally: What is man? (anthropology, a subject on which I have lectured for over twenty years).
>
> *Correspondence*, 458 [11:429]

> The field of philosophy [...] may be reduced to the following questions: 1. What can I know? 2. What ought I to do? 3. What may I hope? 4. What is man? The first question is answered by *Metaphysics*, the second by *Morals*, the third by *Religion*, and the fourth by *Anthropology*. In reality, however, all these might be reckoned under anthropology, since the first three questions refer to the last.
>
> *Introduction to Logic*, 15 [9:187]

Interest in Kant's works on history and anthropology is very recent, at least in the Anglo-American tradition.[1] This interest has been motivated by the hope that these neglected aspects of Kant's works would help us understand, flesh out or vindicate his critical philosophy; and in many ways this hope has been fulfilled.[2] But what has been thereby neglected is the task of determining whether any overall picture of the human sciences could be gleaned from Kant's various works on history and anthropology.

An obvious explanation of the fact that no one, until now, has embarked on such a project is that there seem to be good reasons for thinking that Kant did not have, and could not possibly have had, a philosophy of the human sciences.[3] In this sense, to many readers familiar with Kant's works, the very title of this book will seem like an oxymoron, for the possibility of a Kantian human science is, so to speak, ruled out a priori for a number of reasons:

1. Kant's paradigm of science is based on the model of physics, requiring that the phenomena under consideration be mathematisable.

- Yet, insofar as human phenomena are not mathematisable, the human sciences are denied the status of 'science' in the Kantian sense.

2. Kant's paradigm of knowledge demands universality and necessity.

   - Yet, insofar as human phenomena are particular and contingent, the human sciences cannot give rise to 'knowledge' in the Kantian sense.

3. Kant's transcendental idealism denies the possibility of a science of the intelligible.

   - Thus, the human sciences cannot talk about 'freedom' and 'moral agency' in the Kantian sense.

Whilst these claims are all true, my aim is to show that they do not entail that Kant does not talk about the prospects of the discipline of the human sciences. Of course, as is now well known, he did write about anthropology and history – however peculiar these writings may seem at first sight. But it could be that even if he did write about them, he could not actually have accounted for this possibility given (1)–(3). However, I will argue that Kant's works on biology, anthropology and history suggest that the epistemic model on which his account of the human sciences is grounded is not actually threatened by the claims listed above. This is because I will show that:

1. Kantian human sciences are not mathematical disciplines modelled on physics.

   - Rather, they are based on the reflective model of biology.

2. Kantian human sciences do not aim to deliver knowledge that is true or false.[4]

   - Rather, they have the pragmatic aim of helping human beings realise their purposes.

3. Kantian human sciences do not have anything to say about the intelligible.

   - Rather, their moral relevance consists in making human beings more morally efficacious.

The focus of this work is thus first and foremost the epistemology of the human sciences. It attempts to formulate within a Kantian framework what we can and cannot know about human beings, and how we can and cannot know it. A crucial corollary of this enquiry is of course to address the issue of the purpose of these sciences, in particular in the context of Kant's ethics; this issue is particularly relevant to Kant's account insofar as he qualifies the human sciences as 'pragmatic' disciplines. But in many ways, this question is secondary; or rather it follows from the epistemic enquiry. For, as will become clear in the course of the book, the methodology I have adopted construes the relationship between ethics and the human sciences within the epistemic limitations set by the latter.[5]

In this sense, the present study is inspired by, and part of, the recent movement that examines the empirical dimension of Kant's works, and yet it is distinguished by its focus on the human sciences for their own sake, and not *vis-à-vis* ethics or metaphysics. My aim here is thus to provide a sustained attempt to extract from Kant's writings on biology, anthropology and history an account of the human sciences, their underlying unity, their presuppositions as well as their methodology; that is to say, Kant's philosophical and epistemological foundation of the human sciences.

My argument will develop along two lines that unfold throughout the book, so an overall picture will emerge only towards the end of this study. Anticipating for a moment this picture, I will argue that Kant's account of the human sciences advocates, first, a twofold methodology for the study of human beings modelled on the biological sciences and, second, a pragmatic project directed towards human cultivation, civilisation and moralisation.

A twofold methodology (intentionalist and functionalist) modelled on biology[6] – For Kant, it is the biological rather than the physical sciences that provide the model for the human sciences. To support this contention, I offer a comprehensive account of the connection between Kant's philosophy of biology and his account of the human sciences, showing that this connection operates at a number of levels: methodological, epistemological, metaphysical, anthropological and historical. One of the most unexpected implications of this connection is that it reveals an essential functionalist component in Kant's account.[7]

A pragmatic project directed towards human cultivation, civilisation and moralisation – Within the Kantian framework, the human sciences occupy a unique standpoint that goes beyond traditional divisions between the theoretical and the practical, the agent and the spectator,

the phenomenal and the noumenal or the sensible and the intelligible – namely the *pragmatic* standpoint. The uniqueness of the approach of the human sciences lies in their commitment to investigating human phenomena for the purpose of understanding others and interacting with them both prudentially and morally. Far from merely presenting theoretical observations about the human world, they are value-embedded disciplines that play the crucial role of providing a map for human beings to orientate themselves in the world and realise their purposes.

My argument is structured around five thematic chapters. In Chapter 1, I discuss two aspects of the tension between freedom and the human sciences in Kant's philosophy: first, can the human sciences take account of freedom in their enquiries? And second, can they be prescriptive and efficacious *vis-à-vis* free choices? Regarding the first problem, I hold that they can legitimately refer to 'practical freedom' understood as the power to determine one's aims and to act independently of sensuous impulses through intentions and the representation of purposes. I tackle the second problem by showing that the possibility of any direct influence of the empirical on the intelligible is invalid in principle, and hence, that empirical factors cannot effect any direct change in moral character. However, I argue that these limitations do not entail that they are simply irrelevant to moral agency – or at least to human moral agency. In fact, the crux of my argument, which will be further developed in the following chapters, is that the human sciences are relevant to the realisation of human moral objectives despite the limitations set by Kant's theory of freedom.

Chapter 2 explores Kant's model of biological science in order to bring to light its specific features and show that it offers a viable paradigm for the human sciences. After discussing the antinomy of reflective judgement, I turn to his theories of life (epigenesis) and the human races (monogenesis) and show that they attribute biological diversity to the possession of natural predispositions that are teleologically oriented. In this sense, human nature is, for Kant, naturally purposive, and this purposiveness is the basis of the functionalist reading I expound in the following chapters. The final section outlines a twofold methodology for the human sciences based on Kant's model of biological science.

In Chapter 3, I argue that Kant redirects the question 'what is the human being?' towards man's active relationship with the world as opposed to his passive essence, which leads to the distinction between three levels of human *praxis* (i.e. acting in the world): the levels of technicality, prudence and morality. To flesh out this picture, I show that three types of aliens in Kant's works can be used to illustrate, by contrast,

each level of human praxis. I then examine three difficulties faced by the human sciences and suggest ways of overcoming them in order to preserve the viability of Kant's project.

Chapter 4, which is specifically dedicated to pragmatic anthropology, begins by defining its object, its method and its aims in order to account for its unique nature. Through an analysis of the characteristics that stem from the human biological makeup, I then demonstrate that a crucial component of pragmatic anthropology consists in the study of the effects of nature on the human being. This allows me to show that Kant's anthropological method consists of a combination of functionalist accounts – which explain practices and behaviour in terms of their natural functions – and intentionalist accounts, which explain them in terms of agent's intentions. The final section of this chapter turns to the ethical contributions of anthropology. I argue that far from limiting his account of moral agency to its a priori components, Kant makes provisions for what is required in order to help the realisation of moral purposes in the world, and that it is the role of anthropology to address this human need.

Chapter 5 sets out to show that the antinomy of reflective judgement examined in Chapter 2, and Kant's philosophy of biology in general, have crucial repercussions for our understanding of his philosophy of history. I begin by outlining crucial connections between the antinomy of history and the antinomy of reflective judgement on the one hand, and the functioning of human societies and that of organisms on the other. These connections reveal two types of historical method – empirical history and philosophical history – that are built on different models of explanation: a mechanical model for the former, and a teleological model for the latter. I then focus specifically on Kant's philosophical history, and suggest that his account in fact takes two forms which parallel the distinction between natural and pragmatic anthropology: a natural and a moral history of the human species. I conclude by showing how this distinction, together with the notion of pragmatic history, can be used to elucidate some aspects of the relationship between Kant's philosophy of history and his ethics.

Finally the Epilogue explores the role of the human sciences within the Kantian system by suggesting that they can be best understood as the necessary pragmatic counterpart of the transcendental project.

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1
Freedom and the Human Sciences

As is well known, Kant has often been described as defending problematic, if not implausible, views on the relationship between freedom and natural determinism.[1] He has even been portrayed as claiming that our free actions somehow occur outside of time, in an intelligible world, whilst their effects, in the empirical world, are completely determined by natural laws. More recently, Kant's account of freedom has been challenged by a further problem, namely its relationship with his work on anthropology.[2] For instance, Brian Jacobs and Patrick Kain write that 'Kant made his intentions quite clear: he proposed a pragmatic empirical anthropology. The problem is, as commentators have noted, that it is not at all clear how these declared intentions fit with some central claims of his critical philosophy.'[3] Allen Wood acknowledges the unexpected nature of Kant's anthropological endeavours: 'The pragmatic approach to anthropology serves to indicate the great distance separating Kantian anthropology from [...] what Kant's metaphysical theory of freedom and nature might lead us to expect.'[4] Robert Louden actually holds that 'Kant did not satisfactorily address these issues.'[5] The aim of this chapter is to address these issues in order to support the claim that Kant's *Anthropology* is compatible with his account of freedom. To do so, I begin by examining the kind of freedom that is at stake in the human sciences and the reasons why it seems particularly problematic.

1.   The freedom at stake in the human sciences

Through a reconstitution of biblical history, Kant portrays the first steps of freedom as the discovery of a capacity to satisfy hunger by the use of new foods through cookery experiments that oppose or at least diverge from the voice of instinct. Before he became aware of this ability to

make free choices, 'the inexperienced human being obeyed [the] call of nature' and 'instinct, that *voice of God* which all animals obey, must alone have guided the novice.'[6] Freedom is thus 'discovered', the human being becomes conscious of it, and this discovery is made through his becoming aware of reason as an ability to choose between different things and thus to distance himself from natural urges.

> The occasion for deserting the natural drive might have been only something trivial; yet the success of the first attempt, namely of becoming conscious of one's reason as a faculty that can extend itself beyond the limits within which all animals are held, was very important and decisive for his way of living.
>
> (*C.B.*, 165 [8:111–12])

Insofar as he becomes conscious of the existence of different ways of fulfilling his needs, the human being can now choose and oppose the dictates of instinct. The implications of this discovery are crucial for his development – freed from instinct, he now has 'his eyes open'.

> He discovered in himself a faculty of choosing for himself a way of living and not being bound to a single one, as other animals are. [...] He stood, as it were, on the brink of an abyss; for instead of the single objects of his desire to which instinct had up to now directed him, there opened up an infinity of them, and he did not know how to relate to the choice between them; and from this estate of freedom, once he had tasted it, it was nevertheless wholly impossible for him to turn back again to that of servitude (under the dominion of instinct).
>
> (*C.B.*, 166 [8:112])

Emil Fackenheim proposes to define this 'faculty of choosing' as 'cultural freedom': it 'is only partly, but by no means wholly independent of natural desires. It may enlarge, transform or even pervert them; but it does not emancipate itself from them. Freedom, in this sense, we shall term cultural freedom. For it is essentially social in significance. [...] Cultural freedom produces institutions and forms of government, and it is the source of tradition. Its expressions are the substance of history.'[7] Mary Gregor, for her part, describes this freedom as 'relative freedom'. And within this relative freedom, she distinguishes between two aspects: 'The *Metaphysics of Morals* stresses one aspect: man's ability to rise above the level of instinct and act in pursuit of ends. [...] The *Anthropology*,

accordingly, stresses the other aspect of freedom involved in civil society, the development of man's tendency to become a well-bred member of society who can live peacefully with his fellow men.'[8] Surprisingly, Fackenheim and Gregor do not relate what they call 'cultural freedom' and 'relative freedom' to Kant's concept of 'practical freedom'. However, I believe that they are in fact referring to one and the same power conceived from different perspectives (respectively a transcendental, cultural and psychological perspective).

In the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant defines 'practical freedom' as the power to be partly, but not wholly, independent of natural desires. Contrary to transcendental freedom, practical freedom frees us from the determination of sensibility: it is the faculty of choice 'which can be determined independently of sensory impulses, thus through motives that can only be represented by reason'.[9] In other words, it is the power of determining ourselves apart from the coercion of sensuous impulses, a power that 'can be proved through experience'.[10] Although practical freedom is grounded on transcendental freedom, the former should be understood independently from the latter since the latter is 'a merely speculative question, which we can set aside as long as our aim is directed to action or omission'.[11] It is negatively 'the independence of the power of choice from *necessitation* by impulses of sensibility', and positively the 'faculty of determining oneself from oneself, independently of necessitation by sensible impulses'.[12]

On my interpretation, the *Critique of Pure Reason*'s 'practical freedom', the *Critique of the Power of Judgment*'s 'culture of training (discipline)', the *Conjectural Beginning of Human History*'s 'faculty of choosing for himself', the *Metaphysics of Morals*' 'freedom by which he determines [the] scope [of his ends]', the *Idea*'s 'freedom of the will', and the *Anthropology*'s 'free-acting' are one and the same thing.[13] For I believe they all refer to the ability to determine oneself independently of sensuous impulses and to set one's own purposes. This power is precisely that to which the human sciences refer: it is the intentionality at the basis of human action.

However, the identification of the *Critique of Pure Reason*'s practical freedom with free intentionality as described in Kant's works on the human sciences could be seen as problematic. For it could be argued that the former involves a determinant conception of freedom, namely self-determination and pure intentionality, whilst the latter is rather a question of skill in realising certain ends. I would like to address this worry in two steps. First, it is unclear that the latter is a question of skill in realising ends – or at least that it is merely a question of skill. For the

intentionality at stake in the human sciences does involve deliberation and the adoption of ends, as suggested by Kant's definition of pragmatic anthropology ('the investigation of what *he* as a free-acting being makes of himself, or can and should make of himself') as well as by other passages already quoted.[14] Moreover, it is not that the act of choosing freely and that of actualising that choice are the same, but rather that they stem from the same capacity or power.

If one remains unconvinced by the first point, I would like to suggest that secondly, what is at stake here is one and the same capacity analysed through different perspectives. For instance, as already suggested, this perspective can be psychological or cultural. Accordingly, Kant's analysis of practical freedom in the *Critique of Pure Reason* is, unsurprisingly, transcendental, that is to say, it 'has to do solely with pure *a priori* cognition', and thus it focuses on the fact that this power is one of self-determination. Yet as Kant himself notes, human beings experience the capacity for practical freedom in the form of a will 'which can be determined independently of sensory impulses, thus through motives that can only be represented by reason'.[15] Intentionality, in the form of the representation of motives, is thus a crucial part of Kant's account of practical freedom in the *Critique of Pure Reason*.

It is true, however, that from a transcendental perspective, the issue of skills in realising ends is irrelevant. As Kant notes in the *Critique of Practical Reason*, the categorical imperative 'must sufficiently determine the will as will even before I ask whether I have the ability required for a desired effect or what I am to do in order to produce it'.[16] In other words, in the case of moral imperatives, the will, and thus the motive, is determined independently of the question of skills. Yet this does not preclude further analyses, from different perspectives and in different contexts; and in particular it does not preclude them from focusing on its relationship to skill – in fact, this is precisely the role of anthropology *vis-à-vis* ethics. For as Kant crucially claims in the *Metaphysics of Morals*, there is a 'counterpart of a metaphysics of morals' that 'cannot be dispensed with', moral anthropology, which 'deal[s] only with the subjective conditions in human nature that hinder people or help them in *fulfilling* the laws of a metaphysics of morals'.[17] This suggests that different philosophical domains deal with different – but complementary or at least compatible – aspects of human agency, and correlatively different dimensions of the same capacity can be more or less relevant to, or significant for, these domains; and yet they can all refer to one and the same capacity. In fact, one may even argue that it is precisely the range of Kant's various perspectives on practical freedom, and the fact

that they complement each other so effectively, that make his account at once plausible and compelling. For the capacity for practical freedom is central to, perhaps even the keystone of, any analysis of human nature, whether transcendental, cultural or anthropological.

However, whilst the distinction between different perspectives on the same power can be used to solve a number of problems, the very idea of a cultural perspective on freedom needs further elucidation – in particular the passages from Kant's works that seem to suggest that moral agency and the kind of freedom it presupposes require a number of necessary preparatory steps including culture, education, law, politics and religion. As encapsulated by Louden, for Kant 'moralization […] necessarily presupposes the preparatory steps of culture and civilization.'[18] How are we to understand the relationship between culture and moralisation?

One way of understanding the role of these necessary preparatory steps for moralisation is to define them as conditions of moral agency, which include a certain form of freedom, a minimal level of rationality and the consciousness of the moral law. Kant certainly seems to have this in mind when he writes that human moral agency presupposes a certain skilfulness that can be defined in terms of standing, walking, talking, conversing and thinking.

> The first human being could, therefore, *stand* and *walk*; he could *speak* (*Genesis* 2:20), even *discourse*, i.e. speak according to connected words and concepts, hence *think*. These are all skills which he had to acquire for himself […]; but I assume him now already provisioned with them, merely in order to consider the development of what is moral in his doing and refraining, which necessarily presupposes that skill.
>
> (*C.B.*, 164–5 [8:110–11])

These are the basics, to which are added four extra steps: (1) an ability to choose one's own way of life and set one's own purposes, which I have defined as practical freedom; (2) a rational control over one's instinct for sex; (3) an expectation of the future; and (4) a conception of oneself as the true end of nature, that is a conception of nature as a means to achieve one's purposes.[19] As Kant sums up: '[t]he production of the aptitude of a rational being for any ends in general (thus those of his freedom) is *culture*.'[20]

More precisely, Kant defines culture in two ways. On the one hand, 'The culture of *skill* is certainly the foremost subjective condition of aptitude for the promotion of ends in general; but it is still not sufficient for

promoting the *will* in the determination and choice of its ends.'[21] On the other hand, the culture of discipline 'is negative, and consists in the liberation of the will from the despotism of desires, by which we are made, attached as we are to certain things of nature, incapable of choosing for ourselves, […] while yet we are free enough to tighten or loosen them, to lengthen or shorten them, as the ends of reason require'.[22] The former can be understood as the external condition of moral agency, for it amounts to a minimal level of social, cultural and political organisation. The latter is the internal condition of moral agency in the sense that it amounts to a minimal level of self-mastery necessary to the exercise of the power of choice.[23]

However, these conditions are really *pre*-conditions of morality: they allow human beings to be moral in a broad sense (i.e. they can then choose to be moral or immoral), but do not seem to go any further. For to be conditions of 'moralisation', they would have to involve something extra that helps human beings be moral in the narrow sense of the word (i.e. to be morally autonomous insofar as they act from duty). In other words, these conditions would have to improve human beings' moral status rather than merely their capacity for moral agency, and to do so would require empirical factors (some form of culture and civilisation) to have an impact on the intelligible character of agents (the locus of moral worth). Yet insofar as Kant restricts freedom and moral worth to the domain of the intelligible, they cannot be influenced by anything empirical, including culture. As Kant writes, 'the sensible cannot determine the supersensible in the subject.'[24] In a footnote, he adds:

> One of the various alleged contradictions in this whole distinction between the causality of nature and that through freedom is that if I speak of the *hindrances* that nature lays in the way of causality through the laws of freedom (the moral laws) or of its *promotion* of this causality, I still concede an *influence* of the former on the latter. But if one would simply understand what has been said, this misinterpretation can very easily be avoided. The resistance or the promotion is not between nature and freedom, but between the former as appearance and the *effects* of the latter as appearances in the sensible world.
>
> (*C.J.*, 81fn [5:195–6])[25]

Given Kant's transcendental framework, we seem to be stuck with the impossibility of any type of direct influence of the sensible on the intelligible: empirical factors, whether political, cultural or social, cannot

effect any direct change in the moral character of agents. For we cannot in principle postulate, even practically, what is impossible from a theoretical point of view. The implication of this claim for the relationship between culture and freedom takes the form of a dilemma. Theoretically, there can be no causal influence of the empirical on the intelligible and the only possible causal connection between the agent and his environment operates from the latter to his *empirical* character; yet practically, culture (which includes moral education, political institutions, sociocultural conditions, etc.) seems to have a moral relevance that cannot be accounted for. As a result, either we should abandon the theoretical impossibility of an empirical influence on the intelligible, or we have to accept the moral futility of culture, politics and education.

On the basis of what I have argued so far, we have to conclude that the possibility of an influence of the empirical on the intelligible is invalid in principle, and hence, that culture and civilisation cannot have any influence on the transcendental choice of the agent; that is to say, they cannot effect any direct change in his moral character. Moral attitudes stem from a free choice of the agent, a transcendental choice so to speak, a pure act of the will: 'The human being must make or have made *himself* into whatever he is or should become in a moral sense, good or evil'; his 'moral education must begin […] with the transformation of his attitude of mind and the establishment of a character.'[26] Nothing empirical can influence this choice, for genuine virtue has to be grafted onto a morally good character: 'everything good that is not grafted onto a morally good disposition, is nothing but mere semblance and glittering misery.'[27]

However, these limitations do not entail that culture is simply irrelevant to moral agency – or at least to human moral agency. In fact, the crux of the argument in Chapters 4 and 5 will be that the moral relevance of the human sciences consists precisely in uncovering the fact that culture has a crucial impact on the realisation of moral choices in the world by making human agents more morally efficacious. In other words, the following chapters will defend the claim that the human sciences are relevant to the realisation of human moral objectives despite the limitations set by Kant's theory of freedom.

Of course, one may simply be unwilling to accept Kant's claim about the intelligible locus of moral worth – Louden, amongst others, sometimes takes such a route, and it is undoubtedly appealing for those who take the idea of human moralisation seriously, within or without a Kantian context.[28] One could also argue that the problem of the relationship between the empirical and the intelligible only arises as a

metaphysical problem, which would make most non-Kantians as well as many Kantians suspicious. To address these concerns, Section 2 explores a promising way of rescuing Kant's account from the dilemma by relying on the two-standpoint interpretation of transcendental idealism.[29]

2. The standpoint of the human sciences

The two-standpoint interpretation suggests that for Kant, human beings can view themselves according to two standpoints, an intelligible standpoint from which they view themselves as free and a naturalistic standpoint from which they view themselves as causally determined.

> The human being 'has two standpoints from which he can regard himself and cognize laws for the use of his powers and consequently for all his actions; *first*, insofar as he belongs to the world of sense, under laws of nature (heteronomy); *second*, as belonging to the intelligible world, under laws which, being independent of nature, are not empirical but grounded merely in reason.'
>
> (*Groundwork*, 99 [4:452])

On this basis, we can distinguish within Kant's theory between two accounts of action: from the empirical standpoint, human action is considered as part of the natural world, and subject to natural causation; from the intelligible standpoint, it is considered as free from the determination of natural causes. On this reading, these two standpoints are thought of as equally necessary and indispensable, the first model serving for empirical explanation and the second serving for guiding choice.[30]

To prevent hasty objections, note that these two models are not meant to be independent from each other. There is no practical reasoning unless we assume a causally ordered world in which action takes place, and no theoretical reasoning unless we assume that we are active interveners in that world.[31] Thus from the standpoint of deliberation, (1) some causal relations are understood as stemming from the free choices of agents (i.e. I look at my/others' actions as caused by my/others' free choices), and (2) the causal effects of my actions are relevant to my deliberation. That is to say, I need to know causal connections as they take place in the world in order to be able to make choices; in particular, I need to know (at least to some extent) the effects my actions are likely to have.

The problem, however, is that this duality of standpoint does not seem to cover adequately the domain of the human sciences. For the

human sciences, and Kant's *Anthropology* in particular, tackles human phenomena from a perspective that encompasses both the theoretical and the practical standpoints whilst being in some sense more than their mere conjunction. In other words, the human sciences open a realm of enquiry that cannot be straightforwardly covered by the two-standpoint account. This claim will become clearer when we focus on the pragmatic perspective of the human sciences in Chapter 4; but to anticipate for a moment, they seem to operate precisely at the 'inter-section' of the two standpoints: they require *within the same claim* the articulation of a normative and a naturalistic account of *one and the same act*. For instance, a claim typical of Kant's pragmatic anthropology takes the form: 'If you have a choleric temperament, you should learn to control your emotions so that it is easier for you to respect others.' There is no doubt that this claim is action-guiding: it is a recommendation that takes place from the practical standpoint and thus under the presupposition of freedom. However, it also seems to presuppose that temperaments (which are part of the empirical dimension of the self) have an impact on our choices, and thus that we are not (or at least not fully) free; that is to say, it presupposes that our actions are in some sense determined, or at least affected, by prior empirical states.

To put the same claim slightly differently, the issue at stake is that of the relevance of the very discipline of pragmatic anthropology: if it is to be morally relevant, it can only function under the presupposition that empirical factors do impact on (and perhaps even determine) our ability to make choices. Yet being a prescriptive, forward-looking discipline, it has to work under the assumption that we are ultimately free and responsible for our choices.[32] In this sense, either temperaments do have an impact on our choices, in which case we are not working under the presupposition of freedom, or we are completely free from any empirical determination, in which case the claims of anthropology become irrelevant to our moral choices.[33] Whichever way we go, it seems that we have to give up one of Kant's claims – either freedom or the moral relevance of anthropology.

However, I believe that this dilemma is in fact based on a misunderstanding of the kind of claims that can be made from the practical standpoint. For, when I deliberate under the assumption of freedom, it certainly does feel like I am nevertheless affected by my desires, passions, interests and so on – in other words, nature. So even from a practical standpoint, I have to take into account parts of the naturalistic account of my self (my temperament, my desires, my emotions, my interests, etc.). But the crucial point is that doing so does not amount

to presupposing that I am not free; it does not entail that empirical elements do in fact determine my choice. Rather, it amounts to seeing myself as an empirical being who is nonetheless free. Acting under the idea of freedom requires me to understand my experience of deliberation (which includes my temperament, my desires, my emotions, etc.) as compatible with the possibility of freedom, although I can neither know nor understand how I can be both empirically affected and yet free.[34] As Kant writes,

> [I]t is impossible to explain the phenomenon that at this parting of the ways (where the beautiful fable places Hercules between virtue and sensual pleasure) the human being shows more propensity to listen to his inclinations than to the law. For we can explain what happens only by deriving it from a cause in accordance with the laws of nature, and in so doing we would not be thinking of choice as free. – But it is this self-constraint in opposite directions and its unavoidability that makes known the inexplicable property of *freedom* itself.
>
> (*M.M.*, 512fn [6:380])

This is precisely the locus of the fundamental and necessary mystery of freedom: it cannot be known, but adopting the practical standpoint is nothing but presupposing that when I act, I can be affected by empirical elements whilst being ultimately free to choose against them. Insofar as I have to assume that these elements affect me but do not determine my choice, I have to presuppose that I could always have acted otherwise, despite the fact that it is necessarily incomprehensible to me.[35]

However, this still leaves our problem untouched, for if the two-standpoint interpretation is effective in making sense of the relevance of empirical facts about the self whilst preserving the possibility of freedom, it does not account for the *moral* relevance of anthropology. Rather, it defines empirical claims about the self (for instance, 'my choleric temperament makes it hard for me to control my emotions') on a par with other facts about the empirical world: for instance, that 'I am a body that acts in space and time', 'this person is my father', 'if I hit the ball, it will have these effects', and so on. There is no doubt that all these facts are relevant to my decision-making process insofar as they inform me about the world in which my actions take place. But the difficulty pointed to at the beginning of this chapter is precisely that certain facts about the world, namely facts about my empirical self, seem to have

a special status *vis-à-vis* my decision-making process. Can this special status be accounted for? On the basis of the two-standpoint account just delineated, we have to conclude that this knowledge is no more (although no less) relevant to moral agency than any other empirical claim about the world – which means that it is not ultimately *morally* relevant. This conclusion is satisfactory on many levels, for, not only does it account for the relevance of anthropology to human delibera-tion, it does so whilst maintaining that this relevance is not ultimately moral. But although it remains within the limitations of Kant's theory of freedom outlined in Section 1, it is bound to disappoint those who were hoping for a more robust moral account of the role of anthropology.

However, I believe that this demand for robustness can in fact be met if we further refine our account of the standpoint that the human sci-ences adopt. As I have just argued, from the standpoint of the *rational* deliberating agent, anthropological claims are not morally relevant. Yet my suggestion is that from the standpoint of the *human* deliberating agent, an embodied agent who acts in the empirical world, anthro-pology is morally relevant because it identifies the form his exercise of autonomy should take at the empirical level. This type of guidance is necessary for human beings because of what is usually called the opacity of motivation, that is to say, the fact that I can never know whether I have ever met moral demands.[36] This opacity entails that I do not know, and can never know, what an autonomous choice or a virtuous act looks like from an empirical perspective. Empirically, all actions appear the same insofar I have no insight into maxims and motives, whether my own or others'.[37] However, the aim of the prag-matic standpoint that anthropology adopts is precisely to compensate for this opacity: its moral relevance consists in teaching us a certain way of thinking about how we, free beings, should act in the empirical world. Insofar as it is a forward-looking, prescriptive discipline, it instructs the deliberating agent that he should choose to be polite and to control his choleric temperament since these actions are the forms assumed by the exercise of autonomy in the empirical world. Thus, self-control, control over one's emotions or temperament, does not provide an understand-ing of what freedom really is, for we can never hope to understand such a thing; rather, it represents the only way we can conceive of how an autonomous being should act in the empirical world.

In other words, my suggestion is that the demand for robustness can be addressed by arguing that anthropology is morally relevant in the sense that it teaches the deliberating agent ways in which his freedom should be exercised at the empirical level. It is directed at agents who

act in the empirical world and who need guidance as to what form their autonomy should take in the world in which they act and their actions have their effects – that is, what they should make of themselves in this world. Thus, empirical facts about myself are morally relevant to my exercise of freedom because exercising self-control, mastering all the elements that constitute my empirical self, is nothing but how I must understand the realisation of my autonomy at the empirical level.[38] This is why anthropology can be prescriptive and action-guiding without threatening the presupposition of freedom. Its prescriptions are relevant insofar as they are addressed to an agent who is embodied, who 'feels nature's push' whilst he deliberates, despite the fact that he deliberates under the idea of freedom. In other words, for Kant, from the practical standpoint, the exercise of our rational and moral capacities is experienced 'as empirically embodied' (i.e. as taking place together with the experience of nature's push) rather then happening in some timeless inaccessible world. In fact, the practical standpoint never implies that I do not see myself as an empirical being acting in an empirical world. It merely implies that I must see myself as an empirical being who views himself as acting freely.

As a result, the recommendations of anthropology are not as problematic as they first seemed, for its claims can be unpacked so as to avoid threatening the presupposition of freedom whilst remaining morally relevant to the deliberating agent. The anthropologist whose interest lies in understanding actions according to natural laws (what we could call the 'natural anthropologist') operates from a theoretical standpoint that is independent from the idea of freedom.[39] On this basis, he can legitimately claim to know that, for instance, my choice was caused by my choleric temperament. From a practical standpoint, I can recapture this claim by reformulating it as 'I have to presuppose that I freely chose to let my choleric temperament cause my action' (i.e. I could always have chosen otherwise). And the 'pragmatic anthropologist' whose interest is to offer guidance on human action (which is the type of anthropology Kant is ultimately concerned with, as I will show in Chapter 4) can put forward claims such as 'choose to control your choleric temperament' because self-control is one of the ways of realising autonomy, of exercising freedom, *in the empirical world*, at the empirical level of human action. Anthropology can legitimately make these different kinds of claims as long as each is understood within the right epistemic context.

Accordingly, on this interpretation, the relationship between freedom and the human sciences has been misconceived, not only because Kant's conception of freedom is particularly problematic, but also, and more

importantly, because the role of the human sciences has been misunderstood. For Kant, the human sciences, and anthropology in particular, are *pragmatic* disciplines; by which he means that they are forward-looking, they are oriented towards human action *in the world*. This has crucial implications for their relationship to human freedom. For as I have argued, many potential difficulties disappear as soon as we understand how and in what sense Kant's anthropology is forward-looking and prescriptive. Of course, a lot remains to be said about its contribution to moral agency, and this issue will be further explored in Chapter 4. In the meantime, I have shown that first, the human sciences can legitimately refer to 'practical freedom' understood as the power to determine one's aims and to act independently of sensuous impulses through intentions and the representation of purposes; and second, they can be prescriptive and morally efficacious without threatening the idea of freedom.

2
The Model of Biological Science

One of the central claims of this book is that for Kant, the model for the human sciences is to be found foremost in the biological sciences.[1] To support this claim, I will show that the connection between biology and the human sciences operates at a number of levels: the methodological level (in terms of their principles of explanation), the epistemological level (in terms of the type of knowledge-claim they produce), the metaphysical level (in terms of the relationship between freedom and nature they entail), the anthropological level (in terms of their conception of human nature) and the historical level (in terms of their conception of the evolution of the human species). These connections will be explored throughout this study, so an overall picture will only emerge towards the end. In the meantime, the aim of this chapter is to examine Kant's model of biological science in order to bring to light its specific features.

1.   The part–whole relationship in organisms

Kant initially describes the distinctive features of organisms through the example of a tree. These features, which all have to do with the fact that organisms in some sense produce themselves, can be grouped into three categories: reproduction, generation and conservation. First, 'reproduction' means that a tree can produce other trees: 'a tree generates another tree in accordance with a known natural law. However, the tree that it generates is of the same species; and so it generates itself as far as the *species* is concerned.' Organisms produce offspring of the same kind and thus secure the survival of their species; that is, an organism produces itself at the level of the species. Second, 'generation' means that the tree's leaves protect the branches that nourish them: 'This plant first prepares the matter that it adds to itself with a quality peculiar to its

species, which could not be provided by the mechanism of nature outside of it, and develops itself further by means of material which, as far as its composition is concerned, is its own product.' In this sense, an organism produces itself as an individual. Finally, 'conservation' means that the tree grows, regenerates and repairs itself: 'one part of this creature also generates itself in such a way that the preservation of the one is reciprocally dependent on the preservation of the others.'[2] Thus, an organism produces itself at the level of its parts.

These characteristics call for two remarks. First, the self-productive feature of organisms operates at three levels: the species, the individual and the parts. And far from being merely juxtaposed, these functions are intrinsically coordinated. It is because the parts of the organism work together towards the survival of the whole that it can then produce offspring and secure the survival of the species. Second, not only are the parts organised, but the organisation of the whole affects the organisation of each part. It is the parts' ability to adapt for the sake of the whole that demonstrates their superiority over mechanical organisation (in which the parts are not informed of and by the aim pursued by the whole):

> [I]ts parts reciprocally produce each other, as far as both their form and their combination is concerned, and thus produce a whole out of their own causality, the concept of which, conversely, is in turn the cause […] of it in accordance with a principle; consequently the connection of *efficient causes* could at the same time be judged as an *effect through final causes*.
>
> (*C.J.*, 245 [5:373])

The distinction between organisms and machines consists in the fact that the parts of the latter function externally and in some sense independently of each other: 'In a watch one part is the instrument for the motion of another, but one wheel is not the efficient cause for the production of the other: one part is certainly present for the sake of the other but not because of it.'[3] Whereas the parts of an organism exist for and through the whole, the parts of a machine do not produce each other and, more importantly, do not contain the cause of their production: 'the producing cause of the watch and its form is not contained in the nature (of this matter), but outside of it, in a being that can act in accordance with an idea of a whole that is possible through its causality.'[4] In contrast, an organism is both the means and the end of its existence in the sense that it does not owe its organisation to an external intention; it is what Kant calls an 'intrinsic purpose'.

Thus, the distinctive feature of organisms is to be found in the peculiar part–whole relationship they exhibit – a relationship accounted for by the concept of natural purpose: 'Organized beings are thus the only ones in nature which, even if considered in themselves and without a relation to other things, must nevertheless be thought of as possible only as its ends.'[5] Kant singles out two requirements for a thing to be a natural purpose. The first is that its parts should only be possible relative to the whole: 'the thing itself is an end, and is thus comprehended under a concept or an idea that must determine *a priori* everything that is to be contained in it.'[6] Yet, this condition can be fulfilled by a technical or artistic object insofar as a piece of art is the product of a rational cause determined by an idea of the whole that it makes possible. Consequently, a second condition is called for.

> [I]t is required, *second*, that its parts be combined into a whole by being reciprocally the cause and effect of their form. For in this way alone is it possible in turn for the idea of the whole conversely (reciprocally) to determine the form and combination of all the parts.
> (*C.J.*, 245 [5:373])

The distinguishing feature of organisms is thus to be found foremost in the particular connection between the whole and its parts: first, the idea of the whole informs the parts, and second, the parts exist only by and for the others as well as by and for the whole. In this sense, an organism is a natural purpose insofar as '*it is cause and effect of itself* (although in a twofold sense)', which means that the parts cause the whole and reciprocally the whole determines the parts.[7] The concept of 'natural purpose' indicates that the existence of organisms not only entails efficient causality – a phenomenon's determination by its antecedent – but also a reciprocity of the cause and the effect. This is the reason why for Kant, organisms are the beings 'which thus first provide objective reality for the concept of an *end* that is not a practical end but an end of *nature*, and thereby provide natural science with the basis for a teleology'.[8] More precisely, organisms are said to objectify purposiveness for three reasons based on the characteristics just discussed:

1. An organism is both cause and effect of itself.
2. Its parts are only possible through their relation to the whole and they exist for the sake of the whole.
3. The whole and its parts are both causes and effects of their organisation.

These characteristics can be formalised in the following fashion:

> Given x: the part of an organism,
> Given y: an organic whole,
>> (1) x is a part of an organism of y
>> (2) x is a cause of y
>> (3) y determines x.

However, (3) seems particularly problematic: how can an organic whole 'determine the form and combination of all the parts'?[9] According to Kant, there are two ways in which the determination of the parts by the whole can be construed, 'that of efficient causes (*nexus effectivus*)' and 'that of final causes (*nexus finalis*)'. And he adds that 'The first could perhaps more aptly be called the connection of real causes, and the second that of ideal ones, since with this terminology it would immediately be grasped that there cannot be more than these two kinds of causality.'[10] In other words, the whole can be either the real or the ideal cause of its parts. When Kant writes that 'in this way alone is it possible in turn for the idea of the whole conversely (reciprocally) to determine the form and combination of all the parts', he seems to favour the latter alternative.[11] If the representation of the end is the principle determining the organisation of the whole, the connection between parts and whole amounts to the following relation:

> [Teleological/Ideal Model of Explanation]
> Given R: a representation,
> Given a: the parts of an organic whole,
> Given b: an organic whole,
>> $R(b) \Rightarrow a \rightarrow b$.[12]

Yet insofar as this model conceives of organisms by analogy with intentional action, it requires a rational being as its cause, and is thus a deficient account of organisms. For, as Kant puts it, this analogy omits the fact that nature 'organizes itself', that is to say it ignores the self-organising feature of organisms by defining them merely as artefacts.[13] But on the other hand, if one considers the whole as the real cause of the possibility of its parts and their organisation, the following relation results:

> [Mechanical/Real Model of Explanation]
> Given a: the parts of an organic whole,
> Given b: an organic whole,
>> $b \rightarrow a \rightarrow b$.

This model is not analogous to intentional action, which is consistent with Kant's claim that calling organisms an '*analogue of art*' overlooks what is specific to them.[14] Yet it raises a serious difficulty. Even though it seems that we can formulate and formalise it, Kant believes we cannot in fact conceive its possibility.

> [I]f we would not represent the possibility of the whole as depending upon the parts, as is appropriate for our discursive understanding, but would rather, after the model of intuitive (archetypical) understanding, represent the possibility of the parts (as far as both their constitution and their combination is concerned) as depending upon the whole, [...] this cannot come about by the whole being the ground of the possibility of the connection of the parts (which would be a contradiction in the discursive kind of cognition).
>
> (*C.J.*, 277 [5:407–8])

The mechanical model of explanation indicates the conception an intuitive understanding would have. But according to Kant, this conception is a contradiction for our discursive kind of cognition. The only way *we* can conceive the possibility of the parts as dependent on the whole is in the form of the teleological model (R (b) $\Rightarrow$ a $\rightarrow$ b), that is to say 'by the *representation* of a whole containing the ground of the possibility of its form and of the connection of parts that belongs to that.'[15] This difficulty gives rise to an antinomy, the antinomy of reflective judgement.

This antinomy has two formulations, one in the form of reflective principles for our investigation of nature [1], the other in the form of constitutive principles concerning the possibility of the objects themselves [2].

[Antinomy [1] – Reflective]

The first maxim of the power of judgment is the *thesis*: All generation of material things and their forms must be judged as possible in accordance with merely mechanical laws.

The second maxim is the *antithesis*: Some products of material nature cannot be judged as possible according to merely mechanical laws (judging them requires an entirely different law of causality, namely that of final causes).

(*C.J.*, 258–9 [5:387])[16]

[Antinomy [2] – Constitutive]

Thesis: All generation of material things is possible in accordance with merely mechanical laws.

Antithesis: Some generation of such things is not possible in accordance with merely mechanical laws.

(*C.J.*, 259 [5:387])

The theses of these antinomies express the necessity of judging things according to mechanical principles alone, whereas the antitheses argue for the restriction of the theses and the necessary resort to teleological principles in order to account for specific objects, namely organisms. The difference between the two formulations is that whilst antinomy [2] is a claim about the nature of the world (i.e. an ontological claim), antinomy [1] is a heuristic maxim for our judgement (i.e. an epistemological principle). Yet acknowledging the reflective nature of the conflict between teleology and mechanism is not sufficient to solve the antinomy. For, without the resort to a supersensible principle, the conflict between mechanism and teleology remains. Therefore, it is the distinction between a discursive and an intuitive understanding, which uncovers the subjective nature of the contradiction between mechanism and teleology (i.e. relative to our cognitive apparatus), that allows us to believe that mechanism and teleology are in fact compatible: 'The possibility that both may be objectively unifiable in one principle (since they concern appearances that presuppose a supersensible ground) is secured.'[17] Consequently, Kant believes we can study nature using these two principles 'confidently', 'without being troubled by the apparent conflict between the two principles for judging this product'.[18]

Unfortunately, there is no space to examine the antinomy and its resolution in further detail here. What is crucial for my present purpose, however, is the implication of the resolution of the antinomy for our use of mechanical and teleological principles: 'The two principles cannot be united in one and the same thing in nature as fundamental principles for the explanation (deduction) of one from the other, i.e., as dogmatic and constitutive principles of insight into nature for the determining power of judgment.'[19] They can only be reconciled within an explanation if we acknowledge their reflective nature (i.e. they are not about the world but about our way of judging the world) and use them within the realm of the interpretation of nature alone. On this basis, Kant holds that claims about natural purposes cannot be legitimately ontologically committed: 'all the systems that can even be sketched for

the dogmatic treatment of the concept of natural ends and of nature as a whole connected by final causes cannot decide anything about it, whether objectively affirmative or objectively negative.'[20] What does this entail for the epistemic status of teleology?

Insofar as it refers to the possibility of *our judgements* as opposed to the possibility of things themselves, teleology lacks objective explanatory power: it 'does not pertain to the possibility of such things themselves (even considered as phenomena) in accordance with this sort of generation, but pertains only to the judging of them that is possible for our understanding'.[21] Because of their reflective nature, teleological judgements are hypothetical modes of explanation that cannot attain the level of objectivity required by physical science. That is why Kant continually repeats that teleological explanations are not informative: 'positing ends of nature in its products provides no information at all about the origination and the inner possibility of these forms, although it is that with which theoretical natural science is properly concerned.'[22] However, the fundamental point is that teleology, although not self-sufficient, is not illegitimate as such; it is illegitimate only if used outside the limits of human knowledge:

> I do not find it advisable to use a *theological* language in matters that concern the mere cognitions of nature and their reach (where it is quite appropriate to express oneself in *teleological* terms) – in order to indicate quite diligently to each mode of cognition its boundaries.
>
> (*On the Use*, 213 [8:178])

Doing away with teleology would lead to the loss of a precious heuristic principle, for it is 'allowed to use the teleological principle where sources of theoretical cognition are not sufficient'.[23] Consequently, we should always think of organisms as being mechanically possible and go as far as possible in our mechanical explanation of them, but without excluding the use of teleological principles.

> It is thus rational, indeed meritorious, to pursue the mechanism of nature, for the sake of an explanation of the products of nature, as far as can plausibly be done, and indeed not to give up this effort because it is impossible *in itself* to find the purposiveness of nature by this route, but only because it is impossible *for us* as humans.
>
> (*C.J.*, 286 [5:418])

These remarks on teleology are of course very general. The aim of the following sections is to spell out the specific uses of teleology in the

context of two issues, the origin of life and human races. These discussions will be relevant to the issue of the status of teleology as such, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to Kant's account of the human sciences. For I will suggest that his views on life and human races have crucial implications for his conception of human nature.

2. Teleology and the origin of life: Epigenesis vs. preformation

To understand the specific features of Kant's position regarding the issue of organic generation, it is helpful to be aware of the scientific context of the time. A passage from Blumenbach's treatise *On the Formative Drive* summarises the debates on generation by delineating two rival theories:

> It is either supposed that the prepared, but at the same time unorganized rudiments of the foetus, first begins to be gradually organized when it arrives at its place of destination at a due time, and under the necessary circumstances. This is the doctrine of Epigenesis; Or, we deny every sort of generation, and believe that the germ of every animal, and every plant that ever has lived and ever will live, were all created at one and the same time, namely, at the beginning of the world; and that all that is necessary is, that one generation should be developed after the other. Such is the celebrated theory of evolution.
> (Blumenbach (1792): 5, quoted in Jardine (1991): 22–3)

Sloan's detailed categorisation of these rival theories can help further our understanding of these debates.[24] On the one hand, theories of preformation (what Blumenbach calls 'evolution') generally take one of two forms. First, the classic version of strong individual preformation envisions the preformation of the entire embryo as encapsulated, like Russian dolls, within the egg or the sperm. According to this theory, organisms are not really generated by causes residing in their parental ancestors in historical time; rather, God has created them all in their essential properties at the creation of the world. Second, there is the weaker Haller–Bonnet theory of the pre-existence of primordial germs that develop with the addition of structuring dispositions into complete organisms on the occasion of fertilisation. What distinguishes the latter from strong individual preformation is that the preformation is limited to the primordial of the embryo, pre-existing as germs that unfold in time.

On the other hand, theories of epigenesis generally take one of two forms. First, there is the mechanistic version of epigenetic development, formulated by Maupertuis and Buffon, which posits the formation of the embryo from atomic matter under the action of Newtonian micro-forces. Buffon's theory, for instance, relies on organic molecules that form the matter of all living beings and are organised into specific structures by the action of the *moule intérieur*. The interaction of the mould and the molecule is sufficient to account for the organisation of the embryo, its subsequent growth, its nutrition and the perpetuation of the species by means of the self-replicating powers of the mould. Second, there is the Wolffian theory according to which the embryo develops from an originally structureless matter by the action of an organising *vis essentialis*.[25]

On the basis of this classification, I believe that Kant's position is best labelled as a middle ground between preformation and epigenesis, by which I mean that it has both an epigenetic and a preformationist component.[26] To have a better understanding of this claim, I will examine successively each component, beginning with epigenesis. In doing so, I will focus for the most part on Kant's theory as it appears in the short period leading to the publication of the *Critique of the Power of Judgment* [1790], and will not discuss the historical shifts in Kant's thinking on these issues.[27]

Two essential features of epigenesis are particularly attractive for Kant. First, it does not try to account for the possibility of an original form of organisation.[28]

> No one has done more for the proof of this theory of epigenesis as well as the establishment of the proper principles of its application, partly by limiting an excessively presumptuous use of it, than Privy Councilor *Blumenbach*. He begins all physical explanation of these formations with organized matter. For he rightly declares it to be contrary to reason that raw matter should originally have formed itself in accordance with mechanical laws, […] that life should have been able to assemble itself into the form of a self-preserving purposiveness by itself; at the same time, however, he leaves natural mechanism an indeterminable but at the same time also unmistakable role under this inscrutable *principle* of an original *organization*.
>
> (*C.J.*, 292 [5:424])[29]

Epigenesis rightly leaves aside the question of nature's beginnings and limits itself to the claim that an organism can only be conceived as the product of another organism, as shown by Blumenbach's theory: 'No

one could be more totally convinced by something than I am of the mighty abyss which nature has fixed between the living and the lifeless creation, between the organized and the unorganized creatures.'[30]

Kant's second reason for supporting epigenesis is that it characterises nature not only as something that develops mechanically, but as something that is productive and has a teleological element: '[I]t considers nature, at least as far as propagation is concerned, as itself producing rather than merely developing those things that can initially be represented as possible only in accordance with the causality of ends, and thus, with the least possible appeal to the supernatural, leaves everything that follows from the first beginning to nature.'[31] The conception of nature as producing is conveyed by the concept of *Bildungstrieb*, or 'formative impulse', which Kant borrows from Blumenbach.

> [H]e [Blumenbach] calls the faculty in the matter in an organized body (in distinction from the merely mechanical *formative power* that is present in all matter) a *formative drive* [*Bildungstrieb*] (standing, as it were, under the guidance and direction of that former principle).
>
> (*C.J.*, 292–3 [5:424])

Kant approves of Blumenbach's use of the *Bildungstrieb* because it accounts for the original organisation of matter without resorting to a mechanistic explanation of the origin of life. In this sense, the decisive contribution of epigenesis to the debates on organic generation is to acknowledge a primitive organisation and accordingly subordinate mechanical principles to teleological principles: 'our judging of them must always be subordinated to a teleological principle as well.'[32]

However, it is crucial to note that Kant's official support for epigenesis as the only viable theory of organic generation is in fact supplemented with a strong preformationist component. This appears most clearly in his definition of epigenesis as 'the system of *generic preformation*, since the productive capacity of the progenitor is still preformed in accordance with the internally purposive predispositions that were imparted to its stock, and thus the specific form was preformed *virtualiter*.'[33] Thus, Kant's endorsement of epigenesis should be understood as limited by the role assigned to natural predispositions. As he writes in his *Review of Herder's Ideas*:

> [O]ne could call this natural vocation of the forming nature also 'germs' [*Keime*] or 'original predispositions,' [*ursprüngliche Anlagen*] without thereby regarding the former as primordially implanted

machines and buds that unfold themselves only when occasioned (as in the system of evolution), but merely as limitations, not further explicable, of a self-forming faculty, which latter we can just as little explain or make comprehensible.

(*Review of Herder's Ideas*, 140 [8:62–3])

The remaining question is thus to understand why, whilst being a fervent supporter of epigenesis, Kant nevertheless retains some crucial traits of preformationism.

The preformationist component of Kant's account is to be found first and foremost in the ordering principles, or predispositions, inherent in the organism's stock.[34] These natural predispositions, which are dynamic and purposive, play the role of limiting structures that prevent the mutation of species. In other words, they account for the fact that species cannot transform and that their characteristics are predetermined.

I myself derive all organization from *organic beings* (through generation) and all later forms (of this kind of natural things) from laws of the gradual development of *original predispositions* [*ursprünglichen Anlagen*], which were to be found in the organization of its phylum.

(*On the Use*, 214 [8:179])

This entails that some structuring powers or predispositions, acting upon specific pre-determinative and pre-existent 'germs' [*Anlagen*], underlie organic development. The role played by these predispositions is thus akin to what is an essential trait of preformationism, namely the idea that there are intrinsic, pre-existent, purposive structures that predetermine the development of organisms: 'it incorporate[s] nothing into its generative power that does not belong to one of the undeveloped original predispositions of such a system of ends'.[35]

Despite the fact that Kant brings these natural predispositions into play in his account of organic generation in the *Critique of the Power of Judgment*, he does not expound their nature in any detail there, but does so instead in the context of his earlier discussions of human races. However, on the basis of this section, it can be concluded that Kant's theory of organic generation is a middle ground between preformation and epigenesis that takes the form of what I would like to call an 'epigenesis of natural predispositions'. The aim of Section 3 is to examine the implications of this theory in the context of the debate on the unity of the human species and the diversity of the human races.[36] This debate,

and Kant's distinct stance on it, will be particularly relevant to the following chapters insofar as it has crucial repercussions for his historical and anthropological study of human beings.

3. Teleology and the human races: Monogenesis vs. polygenesis

The issue of the unity of humankind was very much debated in the eighteenth century, in particular following the publication of Lord Kames' defence of a polygenetic theory in *Six Sketches on the History of Man* (1774).[37] Kant, for his part, was a fervent advocate of monogenesis, the idea that humanity comes from a single original stock.[38]

> [A]ll human beings on the wide earth belong to one and the same natural species because they consistently beget fertile children with one another, no matter what great differences may otherwise be encountered in their shape. One can adduce only a single natural cause for this unity of the natural species, which unity is tantamount to the unity of the generative power that they have in common: namely, that they all belong to a single phylum, from which, notwithstanding their differences, they originated, or at least could have originated.
>
> (*Of the Different Races*, 84–5 [2:429–30])

The need for Kant to develop his own theory of race is based on the fact that whilst Buffon's rule (namely that 'animals which produce fertile young with one another (whatever difference in shape there may be) still belong to one and the same physical species') explains the biological unity of the human species, it is insufficient to account for human racial diversity.[39] In other words, he believes that Buffon's definition of the human species, which supports monogenesis, needs to be complemented by a theory of races that defines them as sub-categories of the same species so that the fact of human racial diversity stops being a threat to monogenesis.[40] And this is precisely where Kant's theory of organic generation comes into play: the epigenesis of natural predispositions provides the biological ground for his theory of human races. For, without a preformationist component that allows for natural predispositions to be developed and then transmitted, permanent racial lineages cannot be secured. Yet without an epigenetic component that allows some seeds rather than others to be actualised depending on the environment, racial differences cannot be accounted for. In this sense,

Kant's theory of organic generation can be understood as the condition of possibility of his account of human races.

Yet if the theory of the epigenesis of natural predispositions allows Kant to develop the theory of race he needs in order to secure the monogenesis of the human species, it also imposes a number of restrictions, the most noteworthy being that the seeds of all races had to be present from the start in the original stock since the transmission of seeds is the only way of securing the inheritance of racial characteristics on his account. In other words, at variance with purely epigenetic theories of generation, Kant's theory entails that biological inheritance can only be caused by natural predispositions present in the original stock: 'heredity, even only the contingent one, which does not always succeed, [can never] be the effect of another cause than that of the germs [*Keime*] and predispositions [*Anlagen*] lying in the species itself.'[41] This is due to the fact that 'outer things can well be occasioning causes but not producing ones of what is inherited necessarily and regenerates.'[42] The preformationist component of Kant's theory of generation demands that there must have been an original, single stock containing the seeds of all human races. This stock, in turn, guarantees that all races belong to the same species since the biological lineage is preserved by inheritance.

On this basis, Kant's strategy consists in distinguishing between traits that are invariably inherited, which will form the basis of his definition of a race, and those that are not. The necessity of this distinction is based on the fact that 'Only that which is *unfailingly hereditary* in the classificatory differences of the human species can justify the designation of a particular human race.'[43] Thus, within each species, two types of differentiation can be made: a differentiation between 'races' (according to which the members of a species who possess characters that are invariably inherited belong to the same race); and a differentiation between 'varieties' (according to which the members of a species who possess characters that are only partially hereditary constitute varieties).

> Among the subspecies, i.e., the hereditary differences of the animals which belong to a single phylum, those which persistently preserve themselves in all transplantings (transpositions to other regions) over prolonged generations among themselves and which also always beget half-breed young in the mixing with other variations of the same phylum are called *races*. Those which persistently preserve the distinctive character of their variation in all transplantings and thus regenerate, but do not necessarily beget half-breeds in the mixing

with others are called *strains*. Those which regenerate often but not persistently are called *varieties*.

(*Of the Different Races*, 85 [2:430])

Kant importantly observes that traces of the colours of a Negro and a White who breed both unfailingly appear in the offspring, whereas the complexions of a brunette and a blonde who breed do not.[44] Skin colour, insofar as it appears to be the only character that is invariably dependent on the two parents, is thus identified as the biological criterion for distinguishing between races. On this basis, Kant's classification of the human races takes the following form:

We know with certainty of no other hereditary differences of skin color than those of the *whites*, the *yellow* Indians, the *Negroes*, and the *copper-red* Americans. [...] the skin, as the organ of that secretion [through perspiration], carries in itself the trace of this diversity of the natural character which justifies the division of the human species into visibly different classes.

(*Determination*, 147 [8:93])[45]

Kant's choice of skin colour as the criterion for distinguishing between races is, of course, partly based on the fact that skin colour appears to be the only character that is invariably inherited from both parents. But it is also based on what Kant believes to be the essential feature of skin colour, namely its purposiveness.

The reason why this character [skin colour] is an appropriate basis for a class distinction [...] is that the expulsion of wastes by means of sweating is the most important bit of concern exercised by nature insofar as the creature – which is affected quite differently by exposure to all sorts of different climates – is supposed to be preserved with the least amount of recourse to artificial means.

(*Lectures on Physical Geography*, [8:93])

Skin colour fulfils a crucial function in the survival of the human species: it allows its adaptation to different climates and different environmental conditions by regulating the constitution of the blood and allowing the expulsion of waste through sweating.[46] In this sense, skin colours are purposive, they are all pre-adapted to a specific type of climatic environment, and they are all present, latently, as seeds, in the original human stock.

> [T]hose of their descendants [of the first human couple] in which the *entire* original predisposition for all future subspecies was still unseparated were fit for all climates (*in potentia*), such that the germ that would make them suitable to the region of the earth in which they or their early descendants were to find themselves could develop in that place.
>
> (*On the Use*, 208 [8:173])

It is not that the human species has to adjust itself to fit the environment in which it lives; rather, the human species can adjust to different environments because it possesses a variety of seeds pre-adapted to a variety of environments:

> Only if one assumes that the predispositions to all this classificatory difference must have lain necessarily in the germs of *a single first phylum*, so that the latter would be suitable for the gradual population of the different regions of the world, can it be comprehended why, once these predispositions developed on occasion and accordingly also in different ways, different classes of human beings had to arise.
>
> (*Determination*, 152 [8:98–9])

Certain seeds contained in the original stock are actualised in accordance with the requirements of the environment human beings find themselves in, and the actualisation of these seeds is precisely what constitutes a race. The racial characters produced by these actualised seeds are then transmitted to the offspring, thus guaranteeing permanent racial lineages:

> The human being was destined for all climates and for every soil; consequently, various germs and natural predispositions had to lie ready in him to be on occasion either unfolded or restrained, so that he would become suited to his place in the world and over the course of the generations would appear to be as it were native to and made for that place.
>
> (*Of the Different Races*, 90 [2:435])[47]

The seeds of all races were present from the start, and the appropriate seeds were first actualised to serve a purpose that arose from environmental circumstances, and then transmitted to the offspring. In this sense, Kant's account of the human races is grounded on a teleological account that attributes racial permanent lineages to the possession

of natural predispositions. As expounded in this section, Nature's intentions for the species appear most clearly in the definition of races as Nature's means to secure its adaptation to different climatic environments. The fact that Kant's account of human natural predispositions is teleological is thus central to his biological definition of human beings, the implications of which will be further explored in Section 4.

4. Freedom, intentionality and the antinomy of reflective judgement

The aim of this section is to argue that the basis of the method of the human sciences for Kant is to be found foremost in his model of biological science. For, although the third antinomy of pure reason might be sufficient to address the issue of the transcendental compatibilism between freedom and natural determinism, it is insufficient regarding the issue of our understanding of human phenomena. This entails that the conceptual framework necessary to account for it will have to be found elsewhere, and I believe that it is to be found in the antinomy of reflective judgement.

To understand why the third antinomy of pure reason will not do as the methodological basis for the human sciences, we should begin by contrasting it with the antinomy of reflective judgement.

[Antinomy (i) – Third antinomy of pure reason]
Thesis: Causality in accordance with laws of nature is not the only one from which all the appearances of the world can be derived. It is also necessary to assume another causality through freedom in order to explain them.

Antithesis: There is no freedom, but everything in the world happens solely in accordance with laws of nature.
(*C.P.R.*, 484–5 [A444–5/B472–3])

[Antinomy (ii) – Antinomy of reflective judgement]
The first maxim of the power of judgment is the *thesis*: All generation of material things and their forms must be judged as possible in accordance with merely mechanical laws.

The second maxim is the *antithesis*: Some products of material nature cannot be judged as possible according to merely mechanical laws

(judging them requires an entirely different law of causality, namely that of final causes).

(*C.J.*, 258–9 [5:387])

First, it would seem that human phenomena should be tackled from an empirical perspective. Yet the thesis of antinomy (i) is about the intelligible whilst its antithesis is about the empirical. Consequently, antinomy (ii) alone, consisting as it does of two claims about the empirical, seems to take up the appropriate perspective. Of course, one could argue that it is precisely because antinomy (i) is about both the intelligible and the empirical that it is the most appropriate model for the human sciences. Insofar as human beings can be viewed from two standpoints, studying them should entail that we investigate them from both standpoints. However, what Chapter 1 has shown is that the human sciences are not concerned with transcendental freedom but rather with practical freedom defined as the power to set my own purposes; they spell out how I must understand the realisation of my autonomy at the empirical level. Teleology is thus applied to human phenomena in the form of intentionality (intentional purposiveness) because from the standpoint of the human sciences, the empirical form of human action (i.e. the fact that it is motivated by intentions and entails the representation of ends) is purposive.

Second, whilst antinomy (i) – and in particular its antithesis – posits the principle of natural determinism as universally valid for all phenomena, antinomy (ii) introduces the idea that certain phenomena call for teleological explanations. It suggests that mechanical explanations do not exclude teleological explanations in the cases in which the former are unable to account for certain features of objects, and in particular their purposive and systematic nature. For, to recapitulate the conclusions of the preceding sections, the antinomy of reflective judgement is resolved by showing that mechanical explanations are insufficient for us to account for the possibility of natural purposive objects, namely organisms. Accordingly, it is legitimate to resort to teleological explanations insofar as they allow us to understand the organic features and properties that cannot be accounted for through mechanism alone – the result of the supersensible solution to the antinomy of reflective judgement being the guarantee that the two principles are compatible in principle.

This argument is decisive for the possibility of the human sciences because of Kant's biological conception of human nature. Insofar as

human beings develop a number of goal-directed natural predispositions, human phenomena exhibit certain purposive characteristics that cannot be understood without resorting to the level of the species: 'what meets the eye in individual subjects as confused and irregular yet in the whole species can be recognized as a steadily progressing though slow development of its original predispositions.'[48] By acknowledging that mechanism is not the only principle legitimately applicable to the empirical realm, antinomy (ii) validates the resort to teleology. We can thus understand certain human features by viewing them as parts that are both purposes and means in a greater whole, and thereby focus on the level of the big picture, namely the human species.

Third, the resolution of antinomy (ii) does not consist in the suppression of the conflict between the thesis and the antithesis, as in antinomy (i), but in the legitimisation of the conflict within the boundaries of the empirical, at an epistemological level as opposed to an ontological one. This suggests that through the concept of natural purposiveness, Kant in fact acknowledges the existence of a specific dimension of judgement, a dimension that does not explain things according to mechanical laws, but makes them intelligible through the idea of purposive causality.

> [T]he inner possibility of [organisms] is only *intelligible* [*verständlich*] through a causality according to ends. [...] the mere mechanism of nature cannot be adequate at all for the explanation of these products of it.
>
> (*C.J.*, 282 [5:413])

In this sense, antinomy (ii) can be interpreted as putting forward two distinct models of explanation and two different notions of understanding, one that consists in 'explaining' the object through mechanical laws, and another that allows the 'understanding' of certain features of the object through teleology. The first model, which is put forward by the thesis of antinomy (ii), defines the explanation of an event as the deduction of its occurrence from the conditions that causally produce it. The second model, which corresponds to the antithesis of antinomy (ii), defines the explanation of an event as the understanding of its occurrence as being systematically connected with other events in a purposive way.[49]

If we apply these two epistemic models to our account of human phenomena, it follows that on the one hand, human actions being intentional products, they should be accounted for in teleological terms by focusing on the reasons behind the actions and placing them within

the intentional framework constituted by agents' purposes. Yet on the other hand, as part of a biological species that develops natural predispositions through generations, human beings' actions should be accounted for in terms of their function for the development of the species, by focusing on the natural causes of behaviour and replacing them within the framework of Nature's purposes for the species. Human phenomena can thus be tackled from two perspectives, and within each perspective we face the following methodological conflicts. From the perspective of individuals, teleological judgements about reasons (legitimate insofar as human beings can set their own purposes) conflict with mechanical judgements about causes (legitimate insofar as human beings are biological organisms). From the perspective of the human species, teleological explanations in which the destination of the species determines individual behaviour through predispositions conflict with mechanical explanations in which the sum of individual intentions causes the development of the species.

Crucially, these conflicts mirror the antinomy of reflective judgement, both in their form and their epistemic motivations. From the perspective of individuals, human phenomena cannot be fully accounted for by mechanical explanations (i.e. biological accounts based on natural predispositions) insofar as they seem to overlook some of their fundamental features (i.e. their intentional character), thus legitimating the resort to teleology as a principle of explanation of human purposiveness. From the perspective of the species, human phenomena cannot be fully accounted for by mechanical explanations (i.e. accounts based on individual intentionality) insofar as they seem to overlook some of their fundamental features (i.e. the purposive character of natural predispositions), thus legitimating the resort to teleology as a principle of explanation of Nature's intentions for the species (see Figure 2.1).

How can the apparent conflict between these two models of explanation be resolved? There seems to be no reason why it could not be resolved in the same fashion as the biological antinomy. Provided that the compatibility between mechanical and teleological explanations is guaranteed in principle (albeit by resorting to the supersensible), both explanations are legitimate: they provide distinct approaches to the human realm, and being reflective and interpretative, they are compatible and complementary. Moreover, this version of the antinomy has the benefit of avoiding some of the epistemic problems faced by its biological counterpart. Whilst in the latter, purposiveness is merely subjective, in the former, purposiveness is a feature of its object: human beings have

intentionality, they adopt ends as part of the exercise of their practical freedom, which entails that teleological explanations have epistemic value despite the exercise of their practical reflective nature.[50] In this sense, the crucial difference between biology and the human sciences is that in the latter, two types of teleology are at play: human intentions and Nature's intentions. Thus depending on the perspective we adopt, different teleological stories will obtain.
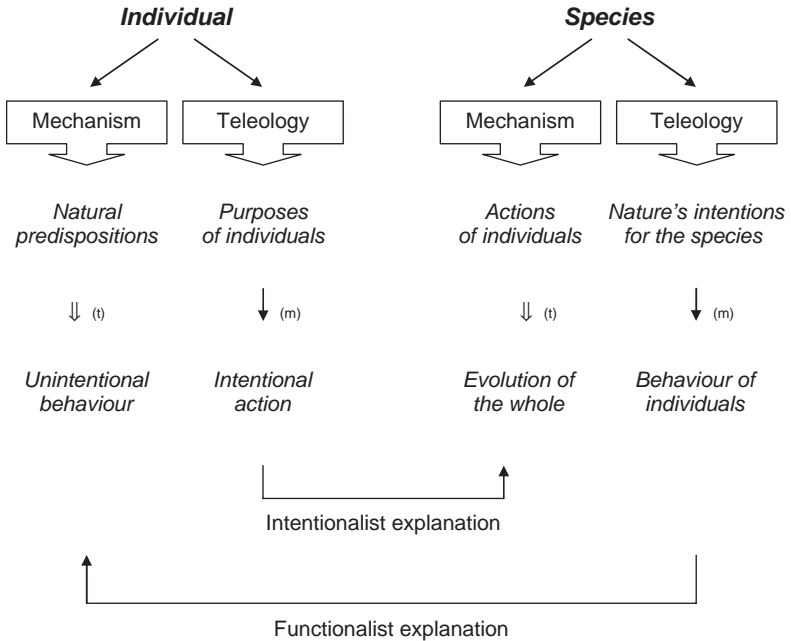
Figure 2.1 The two perspectives on human phenomena

Consequently, the human sciences can be thought of as following two threads, each consisting in the application of reflective judgement to a level of human phenomena: one focuses on the intentions of the parts (human beings), the other on the destination of the whole (the human species). It gives rise to two types of methodologies based on different focal points. For, if we combine the two levels of study, the level of the species and that of the individual, we are led to two distinct pictures of the human world. On the one hand, the teleological account of individual behaviour is connected to the mechanical account of the evolution of the species. It amounts to an intentionalist picture of the human world in which human purposes determine the evolution of

the species. On the other hand, the mechanical account of individual behaviour is connected to the teleological account of the evolution of the species. It amounts to a functionalist picture of the human world in which the final destination of the species determines human behaviour. In both accounts, mechanical explanations are oriented by teleological principles: in the first account, the purpose of the species, in the second, human purposes.

This is of course very sketchy, and a large part of the following chapters will consist in an elucidation of the claim that the human sciences for Kant are based on the model of biology. In the meantime, this chapter has shown that the distinctive feature of organisms is to be found in the peculiar part–whole relationship they exhibit – a relationship accounted for by the concept of natural purpose. In light of this discussion, I claimed that Kant's account of biological science offers a methodological alternative to the physical sciences, an alternative that makes use of both mechanical and teleological judgements. Sections 2 and 3 explored Kant's theories of life (epigenesis) and the human races (monogenesis), showing in the process that they have crucial implications for his account of human nature: racial differences are attributed to the possession of natural predispositions that are teleologically oriented and which may or may not develop depending on the environment. In this sense, human nature is, for Kant, naturally purposive. The final section outlined a twofold methodology for the human sciences based on Kant's model of biological science. This methodology consists of a combination of functionalist accounts, which explain practices and behaviour in terms of their biological functions, and intentionalist accounts, which explain them in terms of agents' intentions.

3
What Is the Human Being?

Kant's *Anthropology* seems to suggest that the attempt to identify the distinguishing mark of humanity cannot be successful. For to do so, we would have to be able to compare what we think to be our distinctive features, namely the fact that we define ourselves in terms of terrestrial rational beings, with that of other rational beings in order to see what is specific to the human form of rationality. Because we have no empirical evidence of a non-terrestrial rational being, we are left without a term for comparison and 'It seems, therefore, that the problem of indicating the character of the human species is absolutely insoluble.'[1] Human beings are creatures without compare, and yet in Section 1, I will show that Kant does not hesitate to imagine what he cannot experience in order to compensate for this empirical shortage.[2] Thus, and perhaps unexpectedly, 'alienology', which populates the Kantian corpus in various disguises, is in fact crucial for Kant, for it is the gauge by which the human being can measure his own humanity.[3] This will allow me to argue that Kant's answer to the question 'what is the human being?' entails a decisive re-evaluation of traditional conceptions of human nature. In Section 2, I examine three difficulties faced by the human sciences and suggest ways of overcoming them in order to preserve the viability of Kant's project.

1.   Anthropology vs. alienology

(i)   The three levels of human praxis and their aliens

In the *Anthropology*, Kant defines the distinctive features of human beings in the following terms:

> [T]he human being is markedly distinguished from all other living beings by his *technical* predisposition for manipulating things

(mechanically joined with consciousness), by his *pragmatic* predisposition (to use other human beings skillfully for his purposes), and by the *moral* predisposition in his being (to treat himself and others according to the principle of freedom under laws).

(*Anthropology*, 417 [7:322])

Regrettably, Kant has not drawn the full implications of these features for the human sciences and our understanding of the relationship between the human being and the world. However, I shall expand Kant's thoughts by analysing various allusions and remarks he makes throughout the *Anthropology* and the *Lectures on Anthropology*, in particular, by focusing on some passages he dedicates to human beings' 'others' or 'aliens'.[4] On this basis, I will show that three types of aliens in Kant's works can be used to illustrate, by contrast, each level of what I would like to call 'human praxis' (i.e. the ability to act in the world): the levels of technicality, prudence and morality.[5] These types are aristocrats, sincere aliens (of which women will be a terrestrial form) and non-white races – they correspond respectively to the first, second and third level of human *praxis*.

(a)   *Aristocrats: The sterile aliens (first level of human praxis)*

The first level of human praxis consists in man's technical ability to manipulate and produce things, and thus to secure his subsistence by cultivating nature. Kant understands this ability as corresponding to a natural imperative: 'The invention of his means of nourishment, his clothing, his external safety and defense [...] should be entirely his own work.'[6] The fact that the human being is entirely responsible for his subsistence allows him to feel a form of self-esteem: he 'may have only his own merit alone to thank for it; just as if [nature] had been more concerned about his rational *self-esteem* than about his well-being'.[7] Yet aristocrats – understood as representing the non-working classes – are certainly not entitled to this self-esteem. Insofar as they do not produce anything, they are not worthy of the life they live, and perhaps even not worthy of life itself: 'it appears to have been no aim at all to nature that he should live well; but only that he should labor and work himself up so far that he might make himself worthy of well-being through his conduct of life.'[8] What sets aristocrats apart from all other human beings is that they believe themselves to be quite above labour: 'those who *have enough to live on*, whether in affluence or penury, consider themselves *superior* in comparison with those who must work in order to live. [...] All, in a word, consider themselves superior to the extent that they believe they do not have to work.'[9] They consume goods and

services without producing anything for their subsistence, and this goes against Nature's intention for the human species: 'Nature has willed that the human being should produce everything that goes beyond the mechanical arrangement of his animal existence entirely out of himself.'[10] In this respect, aristocrats are undoubtedly in-human.

(b)   Extraterrestrial rational beings: The sincere aliens (second level of human praxis)

The second level of human praxis, the 'pragmatic disposition (to use other human beings skillfully for his purposes)', presupposes a mediation between the human being's interior and his exterior.[11] For, his prudential attitude is made possible by the fact that his thoughts, desires and intentions have to be expressed or signified indirectly by a variety of signs. Kant illustrates this distinctive feature with a thought-experiment: we are to imagine a society of beings who have the opposite feature, namely beings who cannot but reveal themselves completely.

> It could well be that on some other planet there might be rational beings who could not think in any other way but aloud; that is, they could not have any thoughts that they did not at the same time *utter*, whether awake or dreaming, in the company of others or alone.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 427–8 [7:332])

For such a being, there would be no distinction between his interior and his exterior; everything would be literally out in the open. He simply would not be able to conceal his feelings and intentions, and so would not be capable of acting prudentially in the sense of deceptively using others for his own purposes.[12] Thus, this being, which I would like to call the 'sincere alien', allows Kant to identify human duplicity – the gap between being and seeming – as one of the human being's distinctive features and as a condition of possibility of a certain type of prudence: 'it already belongs to the original composition of a human creature and to the concept of his species to explore the thoughts of others but to withhold one's own.'[13] I will examine the case of 'sincere aliens' in further detail in Sections (ii) and (iii), for I believe that it discloses crucial features of Kant's account of human nature.

(c)   Women: The loquacious and yet secretive aliens (second level of human praxis)

Women seem to feature in between men and sincere aliens – they are what I would like to call the 'loquacious and yet secretive aliens'; for although they can keep their own secrets, they cannot but speak others'

secrets aloud. On the one hand, woman is an open book; because she is poorly equipped to keep to herself, she is liable to share indiscriminately the secret thoughts of others: 'she is poor at keeping another person's secret (because of her loquacity).'[14] Yet on the other hand, 'woman does not betray her secret' – though Kant seems to think that he has discovered it: 'inclination to *dominate* is woman's real aim, while *enjoyment in public*, by which the scope of her charm is widened, is only the means for providing the effect for the inclination.'[15] Keeping her most precious secret to herself enables her to attain her goal and secure her place within society.

(d)   Non-white races: The amoral aliens (third level of human praxis)

Some passages, and in particular the following, suggest that Kant holds extreme racial views that justify the consideration of certain human races as inferior and even alien.

(1) '[I]nsensitive' Americans with no prospects; even the people of Mexico and Peru cannot be cultivated; (2) lively Negroes, who can be cultivated as 'servants' but are 'incapable of leading themselves'; (3) self-possessed Indians who can progress in art but not in 'sciences and enlightenment', and make good citizens but not magistrates, because they only know compulsion, and not 'justice and freedom'; and finally (4) whites, who have 'all of nature's motives in affects and passions, all talents, all tendencies to cultivation and civilisation', and can 'obey as well as govern: they are the only ones who always progress in perfection'.

(*Reflexion 1520* [15:877–8])

(1) The American people are uneducable; for they lack affect and passion. They are not amorous, and so are not fertile. They speak hardly at all, . . . care for nothing and are lazy.

(2) The race of Negroes, one could say, is entirely the opposite . . .; they are full of affect and passion, very lively, chatty and vain. It can be educated, but only to the education of servants, i.e. they can be trained. They have many motives, are sensitive, fear blows and do much out of concern for honor.

(3) The Hindus have incentives, but have a strong degree of calm, and all look like philosophers. That notwithstanding, they are much inclined to anger and love. They thus are educable in the highest degree, but only to arts and not to sciences. They will never achieve

abstract concepts. . . . The Hindus will always stay as they are, they will never go farther, even if they started educating themselves earlier.
(4) The race of the whites contains all motives and talents in itself; and so one must observe it more carefully. To the white race belong all of Europe, the Turks, and the Kalmucks. If ever a revolution occurred, it was always brought about by the whites, and the Hindus, Americans, Negroes never has any part in it.

(*L.A.*, [25.2:1187–8])

This racial hierarchy is presented according to two criteria: the internal play of incentives within each race, and the degree of culture and civilisation each can achieve. To understand this criterion, it is important to recall that, as shown in Chapter 1, if certain people cannot develop culture in the most basic sense (as the culture of skill and discipline), they cannot possibly be considered as autonomous moral agents – they do not possess the capacity for moral agency. I will analyse each race successively in order to identify their abilities and the type of cultural and moral progress they are capable of.

First, American people lack affect and passion, and thus have 'no prospects'. This remark can be understood in two senses: either they have no prospect of developing civilisation, or they have no prospect at all, and are thus destined to disappear. Kant's text is quite unclear on this issue. The fact that by not being amorous they are not fertile suggests the latter, namely that they are doomed to eventual extinction. In any case, it is clear that insofar as Americans are incapable of any type of cultivation, they are not truly human.[16] The case of Negroes is in some sense the opposite of Americans. They do have affects and passions but cannot be properly educated – they can only be trained through physical constraint. Insofar as their training comes from an external source, it does not belong to a genuine process of civilisation (for such a process has to come from the inside): they can only become competent servants who can be governed but can never govern. Third, Hindus are superior to both Negroes and Americans.[17] They have some access to culture, and yet this access is only partial because they cannot properly use their rational powers; in particular, they cannot achieve abstract concepts. What Kant seems to suggest here is that insofar as Hindus are limited to a purely empirical perspective, their access to culture (justice and freedom in particular) is prevented by their lack of abstract rational power. Finally, the white race is for Kant the expression of the ideal of humanity. It is the unique driving force of history and the only race capable of full and constant progress in perfection. In

this sense, Americans, Negroes and Hindus are 'amoral aliens' – they do not possess the potential for moral agency; the white race alone possesses it.[18]

Table 3.1   The four human races and their levels of praxis

Race	Level of praxis
American	No praxis
Negro	Technical
Hindu	Prudential
White	Moral

On this basis, there is a hierarchy according to which the lowest race does not possess any 'praxical' ability, whilst the highest possesses all of them (see Table 3.1). Americans do not develop any level of praxis; Negroes, insofar as they can only be trained to execute physical tasks, develop the first, technical level of praxis alone; Hindus, who have some access to culture but not to abstract rationality, can reach the second, prudential level of praxis; and finally Whites, who can reach the level of morality, are the only human race that can develop the full potential of human predispositions.

As a result, each type of alien analysed in this section can be understood as lacking one of the human being's praxical abilities: the aristocrats lack technical ability, sincere aliens lack prudential ability and non-white races lack moral ability.

(ii)   Sincere aliens vs. deceitful humans

Rousseau famously diagnoses the gap between 'being' and 'seeming' as the source of evil in human beings: 'To be and to seem became two totally different things; and from this distinction sprang insolent pomp and cheating trickery, with all the numerous vices that go in their train.'[19] At first glance, Kant takes a similar route when he writes: 'This [behavior of not revealing oneself completely] already betrays the propensity of our species to be evil-minded toward one another.'[20] More precisely, he describes the human tendency to conceal one's thoughts as follows:

[S]ince foolishness combined with a lineament of malice [...] is not to be underestimated in the moral physiognomy of our species, it is

already clear enough from the concealment of a good part of one's thoughts, which every prudent human being finds necessary, that in our race everyone finds it advisable to be on his guard and not to allow others to view *completely* how he is.

> (*Anthropology*, 427 [7:332])

The gap between motives and thoughts on the one hand, and behaviour and appearances on the other hand, seems to lead to the possibility of evil and deceit: it 'does not fail to progress gradually from *dissimulation* to *intentional deception* and finally to *lying*'.[21] As a result,

> He would like to discuss with someone what he thinks about his associates, the government, religion and so forth, but he cannot risk it: partly because the other person, while prudently keeping back his own judgments, might use this to harm him, and partly because, as regards disclosing his faults, the other person may conceal his own, so that he would lose something of the other's respect by presenting himself quite candidly to him.
>
> (*M.M.*, 586–7 [6:472])[22]

By contrast, the problem of deceit and distrust would not emerge in a society made of sincere aliens – they simply would not be able to keep back their feelings and conceal their thoughts. Everything would be literally out in the open, and truthfulness and trust would be necessary features of these aliens' relationships. A reference to Rousseau can once again be useful in this respect, for as he shows in the second *Discourse*, it was precisely when humans were 'transparent' beings that humanity had its golden age and that human societies were most peaceful.[23] Similarly, the society the young Rousseau was part of with the Lamberciers and his cousin Bernard was ruled by an ideal of transparency. Their faces, far from being masks that concealed their feelings, were the mirrors of their souls: there was no distance between their being and their seeming, and they could trust what they saw.[24] It was, in his view, the appearance of a gap between being and seeming that led to the first instances of evil behaviour in human society.[25] Thus for Rousseau, sincere aliens would embody a form of moral purity and virtuousness that deceitful humans lack.

However, in contrast to Rousseau's portrayal of humanity's golden age of transparency, Kant's imaginary sincere alien state turns out to be far from peaceful and idyllic. And this suggests that the human capacity to conceal one's thoughts is in fact not only advantageous but even

necessary for the survival of the species. For a society constituted of
sincere aliens is in effect an unviable society.

> Unless they were all *pure as angels*, it is inconceivable how they could
> live in peace together, how anyone could have any respect at all for
> anyone else, and how they could get on well together.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 428 [7:332])

One can easily see how this could be the case. A society made of non-
angelic sincere beings, where everyone literally spoke his mind, would
lead to humiliations, embarrassments and quarrels. As suggested in the
preceding quotation, such a society would have no peace, no respect
and no companionship – three crucial features of a good society for
Kant. The aliens' incapacity to keep quiet thus proves to be even more
destructive for their society than the human capacity to deceive.

It may be the case, however, that the sincere aliens' society would
differ, at least eventually, from human societies in a number of ways so
as to allow for its survival. For instance, rules of etiquette would have to
differ so that telling someone he is ugly or fat, for instance, would not
be considered rude or mean.[26] Nevertheless, Kant's point is that if we
assume these aliens are identical to humans in every respect but their
lack of social opacity, their society cannot be viable. And crucially, the
feature that Kant highlights as the one making human social opacity
necessary, and not merely helpful, for the survival of the species is their
actual moral nature – note the decisive opening of Kant's remark: 'unless
they were all *pure as angels*'; neither humans nor sincere aliens are as
pure as angels.[27] If sincere aliens were as pure as angels, their sincerity
would be not only tolerable but perhaps even beneficial. And if human
beings were as pure as angels, their opacity would not be necessary for
their survival.

As a result, Kant does not in fact reject Rousseau's claim that social
opacity is a human evil; rather, he makes a complementary and equally
valid point, namely that this opacity is at once an expression of the evil
in human nature and part of the necessary palliative for it. For, given
the human species' other moral failings, what appeared as a moral flaw
turns out to prevent it from self-destruction and allow peaceful relations
amongst its members. As Kant notes, the rules of social intercourse such
as 'courtly gallantry' are admittedly a 'play of pretences', but a neces-
sary one insofar as it allows polite society, and even mere society itself:
'On the whole, the more civilized human beings are, the more they are
actors. [. . .] And it is also very good that this happens in the world.'[28]

This remark would certainly surprise readers familiar with Kant's moral philosophy. For does not Kant repeat endlessly in his works on ethics that the moral duty to tell the truth is universal?[29] Does this passage imply that he is inconsistent? I do not think so. For the crucial point here is that the pretence of virtue is taken for what it is, namely pretence.[30]

> *Politeness* (*politesse*) is an illusion of affability that inspires love. *Bowing* (compliments) and all *courtly* gallantry together with the warmest verbal assurances of friendship are to be sure not exactly always truthful ('My dear friends: there is no such thing as a friend.' *Aristotle*); but this is precisely why they do not *deceive*, because everyone knows how they should be taken.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 264 [7:152])

Someone who pretends virtue in fact fosters polite society and peaceful companionship. For instance, insofar as all the participants of a dinner party are aware of the fact that in order for them to spend a nice evening, they have to pretend virtue (or at least conceal vice), they are not being immoral but pragmatic: they pursue the purpose of a sociable interaction between the guests, and for Kant,

> These are, indeed, only *externals* or by-products (*parerga*), which give a beautiful illusion resembling virtue that is also not deceptive since everyone knows how it must be taken. *Affability, sociability, courtesy, hospitality*, and *gentleness* (in disagreeing without quarrelling) are, indeed, only tokens; yet they promote the feeling for virtue itself by a striving to bring this illusion as near as possible to the truth.
>
> (*M.M.*, 588 [6:473–4])[31]

A lie that everyone knows to be a lie is not in this sense a 'true lie': human beings 'adopt the illusion of affection, of respect for others, of modesty, and of unselfishness without deceiving anyone at all, because it is understood by everyone that nothing is meant sincerely by this.'[32]

Consequently, first, what we thought to be deceit is not in fact deceit but pretence, and thus it is not morally reprehensible. Kant's approval (or at any rate toleration) of social pretence is entirely compatible with his condemnation of falsehood and deception. For the imperative of truth-telling should be distinguished from that of telling the *whole* truth.[33] In this sense, the human capacity to deceive does not merely consist in the capacity to lie, but also in the capacity not to tell the

whole truth. Human beings can hold secrets whilst sincere aliens do not possess this peculiar capacity not to speak their mind; they cannot but mean what they say and say what they mean.

And second, if we go back to Kant's claim regarding our capacity 'to explore the thoughts of others but to withhold one's own', we can now understand why he writes that it is a 'neat quality' that deteriorates gradually.[34] This quality is 'neat' as long as it is applied to 'the manners one is obliged to show in social intercourse,' and restricted to the purpose of fostering polite and civil society; as soon as it becomes the means to mislead others, it turns into 'intentional *deception* and finally […] *lying*'.[35]

(iii)   Sincere aliens vs. opaque humans

Although the opacity of human motivation allows human beings to create the pretences that make society possible and viable, it also seriously complicates Kant's attempts to develop an anthropology that would provide the knowledge one needs to function well in that society. For, the opacity of human motivation entails significant theoretical limitations for our knowledge of human beings; namely, we are unable to access reliable data through observation of the outer sense. The psychological form of this opacity entails that we cannot know human beings' ultimate thoughts and intentions – the fact of the matter about their interior is indeterminable from a scientific, third-person perspective as well as from a first-person perspective, agents having no privileged access to their maxims: 'we can never, even by the most strenuous self-examination, get entirely behind our covert incentives.'[36] Anthropological observation is further disrupted by the fact that, as shown in Section 1(ii), human beings have a strong tendency to conceal and disguise the truth about themselves. For instance, if someone notices he is being observed, he will either be embarrassed and hence unable to show himself as he really is, or deliberately dissemble and refuse to show himself as he is:

> [I]f he who is being judged for this purpose perceives that someone is observing him and spying out his interior, his mind is not at rest but in a state of constraint and inner agitation, indeed even indignation, at seeing himself exposed to another's censure.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 393 [7:295])[37]

As a result, the possibility of anthropological observation seems to be threatened from the start in the case of human beings.

In a society of sincere aliens, however, the problem does not seem to emerge. Insofar as there is no distinction between these aliens' interior and their exterior, 'alienologists' can take their behaviour at face value; nothing is hidden, everything is given and transparent. These sincere aliens are in this sense ideal objects for science. For, a science of sincere aliens would not be interpretative, as is the case for the human sciences, but purely descriptive and explanatory. There would be no room for inference to the best explanation from their behaviour to their intentions since their intentions would be transparent and spoken aloud. In other words, a society made of sincere aliens would allow constitutive – as opposed to interpretative – 'sincere alien sciences'.

This claim undoubtedly raises issues about the type of knowledge at play here. Is it scientific? Universal? Mathematisable? Answering these questions would call for another chapter. For my present purpose however, it is sufficient to note that contrary to anthropology, alienology is not interpretative insofar as it requires no interpretation or inference from behaviour to intentions and motives as the agents themselves articulate them. Of course, it nevertheless requires some level of interpretation in the context of inferences from the aliens' intentions and motives to their overall character. But this does not threaten the contrast between anthropology and alienology insofar as conscious intentions and motives are concerned.[38] For, by contrast, the opacity of human motivation leads to a crucial problem for anthropology, and for human beings' understanding of each other in general: how are we to account for their behaviour, assign meaning and motives to their actions, and judge their character?

Given the Kantian framework, one reliable means available to anthropology is to use human beings' exterior, their external appearance, as the basis of inferences and deductions about their interior.[39] In fact, Kant remarks that we naturally rely on this procedure in our everyday practices. For instance,

> If we are to put our trust in someone, no matter how highly he comes recommended to us, it is a natural impulse to first look him in the face, particularly in the eyes, in order to find out what we can expect from him. What is revolting or attractive in his gestures determines our choice or makes us suspicious even before we have inquired about his morals.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 394 [7:296])

However, not everything exterior in human beings can serve as the basis for inductions regarding their interior, and we should distinguish

in their exterior between what is meaningful and what is not, or put slightly differently, between what reveals something of the interior and what does not. To illustrate this point, Kant discusses what he believes to be a disanalogy between the connection between the case of a watch and the watch on the one hand, and the connection between a human body and the soul on the other:

> [I]f the case is poorly made, one can with considerable certainty conclude that the interior is also no good; [...] But it would be absurd to conclude here, by the analogy of a human craftsman with the inscrutable creator of nature, that the same holds for Him.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 393 [7:295–6])

There is no reason to believe that God could have wanted to associate a good soul with a handsome body. For what pleases us in a handsome body is subjective, it depends on our taste, and thus it cannot be used to find the objective, meaningful purpose of certain natural qualities. In this sense, good looks should not be taken as the sign of a good soul, and reciprocally, unattractive looks should not be taken as the sign of an evil soul.

If mere physical appearance cannot be the basis of legitimate inferences about one's interior, bodily movements might offer better prospects. However, amongst bodily movements themselves, we have to distinguish between meaningful and meaningless ones. For example,

> If someone who is otherwise not cross-eyed looks at the tip of his nose while relating something and consequently crosses his eyes, then what he is relating is always a lie. – However, one must not include here the defective eye condition of a cross-eyed person, who can be entirely free from this vice.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 397–8 [7:301])

Some human movements are significant and carry a meaning, that is, they undoubtedly *reveal* something of the character of a person (such as the liar's cross-eyed look), whereas others, such as the squint of the short-sighted person, do not.[40] In particular, we have to distinguish between mere facial features and expressions, the former being meaningless whereas the latter are meaningful. It is in this sense that Kant remarks that 'As concerns the bare skull and its structure which constitutes the basis of its shape, [...] observations about it belong more to physical geography than to pragmatic anthropology.'[41] The shape of a

skull is meaningless; insofar as it does not reveal anything of the character of a person, it cannot be of any use to pragmatic anthropology. Thus, if Kant discards what was going to become 'phrenology' as permitting 'only an uncertain interpretation', he acknowledges pragmatic uses for physiognomy, which studies expressions: 'Expressions are facial features put into play.'[42] The facial features put into action acquire a meaning and can thereby give rise to inferences about the interior. Consequently, ascribing a particular intention to an agent – and therefore characterising his action – requires that we interpret the movement in a particular way; that is to say, to describe an action *qua* action rather than mere movement, we must employ intentional terms that pick out the intended meanings and rules that define the type of act it is.[43] This importantly suggests that the descriptions provided by anthropology are not in fact mere descriptions but rather 'thick' descriptions, as defined by Gilbert Ryle.

Ryle imagines two boys whose eyelids rapidly contract in a way that is physically identical. But in one case the movement is a twitch while in the other it is a wink, and the difference between the two cases is fundamental.[44] According to Ryle, the twitch is not something that the boy did – it is not an action, but rather something that merely happens, a movement. The wink, on the other hand, is an action performed by the second boy – it is something he does deliberately for the purpose of communicating a message. Ryle argues that to describe the boy's behaviour in terms of mere physical movement is to describe it 'thinly'; to describe it as an action is to describe it 'thickly', which involves mention not only of the physical movement itself, but also of the intentions of the person performing the movement. Thus, a 'thin' description merely depicts the physical movements involved, whilst a 'thick' description includes intentional concepts that signify the meanings and rules expressed through the physical movement.[45] On this basis, for anthropology not to become trivial, its descriptions have to be thick and thereby include interpretations of the movement in terms of the intended meaning that defines the type of act it is.

However, the use of one's meaningful exterior as the basis for inferences about one's interior can in fact be done in two ways: as was just shown, through the interpretation of one's intended movements, that is to say by inference from the actions to the intentions and motives behind them; and through the analysis of one's unintended movements. Kant identifies the latter procedure with physiognomy, 'the art of judging a human being's way of sensing or way of thinking according to his visible form, […] the interior by the exterior', 'by means of certain

external, involuntary signs'.[46] This suggests that physiognomy is concerned with borderline behaviour, behaviour that is strictly involuntary but reflects something of one's character, intentions or motives. For instance,

> It is difficult not to betray the imprint of an affect by any expression; it betrays itself by the painstaking restraint in gesture or in the tone itself, and he who is too weak to govern his affects will expose his interior through the play of expressions (against the wish of his reason), which he would like to hide and conceal from the eyes of others.
>
> > (*Anthropology*, 397 [7:300])

Kant believes that physiognomy 'can never become a science'.[47] For as he records in the case of blushing, knowing 'whether [it] reveals consciousness of guilt, or rather a delicate sense of honor, or just an imposition of something about which one would have to suffer shame, is uncertain in cases that come before us'.[48] And this limitation of physiognomy, which studies involuntary behaviour, seems to apply equally to anthropology, which studies voluntary behaviour. For it is the 'thickness' of their descriptions that stops them both from ever acquiring the status of genuine science: insofar as they have to do with ascribing motives and intentions, and given the opacity of human motivation, they are condemned to remain interpretative, contrary to alienology which can be constitutive.

Of course, there are many ways anthropologists can attempt to overcome this limitation – by thorough interview and cross-examination of the participants under observation, by a critical attitude towards the data, and so on. However, insofar as (1) the objects under study are intentions and motives, and (2) these can only be reached indirectly through inferences from the exterior (by examining either voluntary or involuntary behaviour), it remains the case that anthropology, just as physiognomy, is *de facto* restricted to an interpretative status.[49] Yet for Kant, the fact that they cannot lead to genuine knowledge does not entail that they are superfluous. For as he notes in the following passage, physiognomy is nevertheless useful:

> [N]othing remains of it [physiognomy] but the art of cultivating taste, and to be more precise not taste in things but in morals, manners, and customs, in order to promote human relations and knowledge of

human beings generally by means of a critique, which would come to the aid of this knowledge.

(*Anthropology*, 394 [7:297])

This remark can be best understood through Kant's theory of 'Anthropological characterisation', which consists in an analysis of human varieties according to four criteria: person, sex, nation and race (see Table 3.2). I will tackle it thoroughly in Chapter 4, but in the meantime I want to argue that although physiognomy, in particular, and anthropology, in general, are interpretative, they have crucial pragmatic uses for human beings.

Table 3.2 Kant's classification of human types

Category	Person	Sex	Nation	Race
Criterion	Temperament	Gender	Civil whole united through common descent	Hereditary transmitted features
Types	Sanguine, Melancholic, Choleric, Phlegmatic	Male and Female	French, English, Spaniard, etc.	White, Negro, Hindu, Hunnish-Mongolian-Kalmuck

One of the purposes of anthropological characterisation is that it offers 'the completeness of the headings under which this or that observed human quality of practical relevance can be subsumed', and thereby 'the human form in general is set out to judgment according to its *varieties*, each one of which is supposed to point to a special inner quality of the human being.'[50] What Kant is interested in here is classifying the variety of human phenomena under certain anthropological categories so as to be able to determine which type someone belongs to. This classification has a decisive pragmatic role to play in human interactions. For anthropological characterisation is necessary to deal with others as well as to adjust our judgements and responses accordingly: it 'makes it possible to judge what each can expect from the other and how each could use the other to its own advantage'.[51]

Anthropological characterisation can thus be used in a number of ways. Negatively, having a better understanding of the connection between one's exterior and one's interior stops us from making unwarranted judgements, as in the case of the ugly, the shape of the skull or

sheer unfamiliarity.[52] And positively, it provides us with means of figuring out the people we deal with and acting appropriately – for instance, it allows us to determine someone's temperament.

> The sanguine 'is carefree and of good cheer; he attributes a great importance to each thing for the moment, and the next moment may not give it another thought'; the melancholic 'attributes a great importance to all things that concern himself'; the choleric 'is *hot-tempered*, flares up quickly like straw-fire'; finally, the phlegmatic has a 'propensity to inactivity'.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 386–7 [7:288–90])[53]

Familiarity with human temperaments is useful both prudentially and morally. For on the one hand, if we know who we are dealing with (namely, what temperament a person has), we will know what to expect from him and will thereby be better equipped for using him to realise our purposes: if we are dealing with someone sanguine, we should not expect him to keep his promises; whilst if we are dealing with someone melancholic, we can count on him since keeping his word is dear to him; and so on.[54]

On the other hand, anthropological knowledge of temperaments is a crucial epistemic help to moral assessment.[55] For according to Kant, if I act in accordance with duty on the basis of my temperament rather than from the motive of duty, I cannot be morally satisfied with myself. Thus, the sanguine person who 'is good-natured enough to render help to others' should not be morally satisfied for being beneficent if he does so merely on the basis of his temperament. And conversely, a choleric, who is by temperament 'avaricious in order not to be stingy', can count his beneficence to his moral credit, since doing so goes against his sensible nature.[56] Of course, even the beneficent choleric should not be morally complacent since he can never be certain that he acted from duty even when he did so against his temperament and inclinations; but he can be fairly confident that he did. For as Kant often notes, when all my inclinations point in the opposite direction of what duty commands and I nonetheless choose to follow the path of duty, I can be fairly confident (albeit not certain) that I acted from duty. For instance, it is when the philanthropist who feels no sympathy for the fate of others acts beneficently that 'the worth of character comes out, which is moral and incomparably the highest, namely that he is beneficent not from inclination but from duty.'[57] However, the situations when all of one's inclinations point in the same direction are rare; and more importantly,

Kant's claim here is, I believe, an epistemic one. It is not that one can be more moral if one acts either without or contrary to inclinations, but rather that one can be more confident that one has acted from duty if the action takes place in a motivational context where duty alone points in a particular direction. On this basis, I would like to suggest that awareness of one's temperament creates an epistemic situation akin to that of the unsympathetic philanthropist, and in this sense that it is a crucial help to moral assessment both of oneself and others. As Kant writes,

> [T]he sublimity and inner dignity of the command in a duty is all the more manifest the fewer are the subjective causes in favor of it and the more there are against it, without thereby weakening in the least the necessitation by the law or taking anything away from its validity.
>
> (*Groundwork*, 77 [4:425])

Similarly, knowing one's temperament points to potential moral pitfalls, thus making one's assessment more effective. It reveals domains where a temperament is pointing in the same direction as duty (for instance, the sanguine temperament and the duty of benevolence; or the phlegmatic temperament and the duty of virtue), and conversely domains where a temperament is pointing away from duty (for instance, the choleric temperament and the duty of benevolence; or the melancholic temperament and the duty to keep promises). On the basis of this knowledge, it follows that in coinciding situations (when temperament and duty converge), I should be more suspicious that I acted from duty; whilst in conflicting situations (when temperament and duty diverge), I can be more confident that I acted from duty. Similarly, when assessing the moral worth of a sanguine person who acts benevolently, I should be more sceptical of his motives, whilst if a melancholic person keeps his promises, I should be more confident that he acted from duty.

Of course, the knowledge at stake in Kant's anthropological characterisation is interpretative insofar as it is based on approximations and inferences to the best explanation. In this sense, one may be mistaken in one's ascriptions of temperament. And mistakes of this sort could lead to a number of moral problems. For instance, I might find myself complacently expecting charity from someone, and even providing opportunities for them to help me on the assumption that they are sanguine, when in fact they are melancholic and helping me at enormous personal cost. However, Kant's point is that despite the epistemic limitation of anthropological characterisation and the moral pitfalls

associated with it, human beings cannot but rely on it when they interact with others. For, as suggested by the Schutzian model of typification, classifying human beings in sets of categories, however simplistic, ties in with the capacity of agents to anticipate others' responses to their actions. As a result, the fact that anthropology is condemned to an interpretative status when it deals with human intentions does not entail that it is superfluous. On the contrary, it has a decisive pragmatic role to play in helping human beings make better judgements both about themselves and others, and thus in fostering successful human relations.

2.   The difficulties faced by the human sciences

As already noted, the success of the human sciences is threatened by numerous difficulties due to the peculiar nature of their object: 'all such attempts to arrive at such a science [anthropology] with thoroughness encounter considerable difficulties that are inherent in human nature itself.'[58] Although Kant has not actually reflected upon them methodologically, I believe that these difficulties can be grouped into three categories, each of them related to a specific feature of humanity: methodological (we never observe a generic form of humanity), experimental (observation modifies human states) and metaphysical (we are not acquainted with other rational beings). I will examine each in turn and suggest various ways of overcoming them in order to preserve the viability of Kant's project.

(i)   Methodological considerations

Kant claims that the first source of our knowledge of human beings, on the basis of which we judge others, is our own inner experience: 'it is advisable and even necessary to begin with observed *appearances* in oneself, and then to progress above all to the assertion of certain propositions that concern human nature.'[59] Thus for Kant, the human sciences begin with introspection. Through one's inner experience, one can observe the play of motives, inclinations, desires, and intentions, and derive from it empirical knowledge of oneself: 'as the object of inner empirical intuition; that is, in so far as I am affected inwardly by experiences in time, simultaneous as well as successive, I nevertheless cognize myself only as I appear to myself, not as a thing in itself.'[60] However, it does not entail that these observations cannot assume a certain kind of generality. For when we observe ourselves, Kant believes that we observe a structure that is shared by others. And since we have no reason to doubt that others share the structure we experience through inner sense,

we can explore this structure within ourselves and use it as a means of discovering general truths about human nature. This is confirmed by the fact, for Kant, we judge others on the basis of the knowledge of our own inner experience: 'knowledge of the human being through inner experience, because to a large extent one also judges others according to it, is more important than correct judgment of others.'[61] However, extending the claims from one's self-knowledge to all people might be more difficult than first thought. For insofar as we never observe a generic human inner sense but always our own, there is a danger of mistaking contingent facts about our particular inner experience for universal facts about humans in general.[62] Thus, we have to discriminate between the aspects that can rightly be applied to others and those that are peculiar to ourselves.

The most straightforward means for this discrimination is the investigation of others' behaviour through outer sense, and this necessitates interactions with other human beings: 'one must have acquired knowledge of human beings at home, through social intercourse with one's townsmen or countrymen.'[63] Yet, the observation of one's neighbours may be insufficient to distinguish human nature from a second nature that is common to the group. For how can we identify the regularities that might be indicative of human nature as opposed to particular cultures? The basis of the problem is that a great deal of behaviour is due to habits that become a 'second nature': 'Circumstances of place and time, when they are constant, produce *habits* which, as is said, are second nature, and make it difficult for the human being to judge how to consider himself, but even more difficult to judge how he should form an idea of others with whom he is in contact.'[64] The danger is thus to mistake this second nature for human nature in general, and it makes it difficult in principle to formulate any reliable generalisation about human dispositions.

The most efficient solution to this difficulty is to compare the observations of our culture with that of other cultures in order to detect what is common to humanity and what is specific to certain cultures. Thus it calls for an enlargement of the scope of investigation, namely a broadening of one's anthropological horizon through the observation of different forms of human society. In this respect, travel and travel reports are a precious source of information about the diversity of human customs and habits: '*Travel* belongs to the means of broadening the range of anthropology, even if it is only the reading of travel books.'[65]

However, the empirical status of the observations on which anthropology is based raises the question of the type of universality its

discourse can reach: in anthropology, '*General* knowledge always precedes *local* knowledge here, if the latter is to be ordered and directed through philosophy: in the absence of which all acquired knowledge can yield nothing more than fragmentary groping around and no science.'[66] Kant's claim about the universality of anthropology (i.e. its application to all human beings) seems to be in tension with his general account of knowledge, which maintains that the only basis for universal claims is a priori.

> Experience is without doubt the first product that our understanding brings forth as it works on the raw material of sensible sensations. [...] It tells us, to be sure, what is, but never that it must necessarily be thus and not otherwise. For that very reason it gives us no true universality [...] Now such universal cognitions, which at the same time have the character of inner necessity, must be clear and certain for themselves, independently of experience; hence one calls them *a priori* cognitions: whereas that which is merely borrowed from experience is, as it is put, cognized only *a posteriori*, or empirically.
>
> (*C.P.R.*, 127 [A1–2])[67]

Given this definition of universality, it seems problematic to maintain that anthropological claims can be universal. However, a priori universality is not the only kind of universality.

> Experience never gives its judgment true or strict but only assumed and comparative *universality* (through induction), so properly it must be said: as far as we have yet perceived, there is no exception to this or that rule. [...] Empirical universality is therefore only an arbitrary increase in validity from that which holds in most cases to that which holds in all, as in, e.g., the proposition 'All bodies are heavy,' whereas strict universality belongs to a judgment essentially; this points to a special source of cognition for it, namely a faculty of *a priori* cognition.
>
> (*C.P.R.*, 137 [B3–4])[68]

The distinction between these two kinds of universality is drawn explicitly in the third *Critique*: 'here the universality is understood only comparatively, and in this case there are only *general* rules (like all empirical rules are), not *universal* ones.'[69] The knowledge in question here is universal in a comparative sense: it is merely contingent. Given

this definition of empirical universality and its relationship to induction, Kant can proceed to establish generalisations applying to all human beings and thus 'open up the sources of all sciences, of morality, of skill, of social intercourse, of cultivating and governing men, and thus of everything that is practical'.[70]

However, a further condition of the empirical universality of anthropological claims is that of the unity of humankind despite its apparent diversity. For, how can we think that white human beings in Europe and black human beings in Africa are in some sense the same when observation makes us believe that 'man' changes when we change continent?[71] Without a theory about the common origin of humanity, it seems difficult if not impossible to ground general claims about human nature. For this reason, the combination of epigenesis and monogenesis can be understood as the condition of possibility of Kant's anthropology. For as shown in Chapter 2, Kant's conception of humankind as a natural species is based on two premises: first the biological unity of the human species (monogenesis of the human races), and second the existence of 'germs' which may or may not develop depending on the environment (epigenesis of human natural predispositions). The former guarantees the empirical universality of anthropological claims by allowing us to conceive of human beings as coming from a single biological origin and thus as being in some fundamental sense the same, biologically and psychologically.[72] The latter accounts for the production of natural variations within the human species through a theory of race according to which races are sub-categories of the same species. As a result, Kant's support for monogenesis and epigenesis can be interpreted as a philosophical presupposition necessary to his anthropological works as well as a claim justified by certain scientific theories available to him.[73] However, the very possibility of anthropological observation seems to raise additional problems.

(ii) Experimental considerations

The first experimental difficulty faced by the human sciences is that mere observation modifies the conditions and distorts the behaviour of its object.

> [S]till less does another thinking subject suffer himself to be experimented upon to suit our purpose [. . .] and even observation by itself already changes and displaces the state of the observed subject.
>
> (*M.F.*, 186 [4:471])

The conditions of anthropological observation are further disrupted by the fact that, as shown in Section 1(ii), human beings have a strong tendency to conceal and disguise the truth about themselves.

> If a human being notices that someone is observing him and trying to study him, he will either appear embarrassed (self-conscious) and *cannot* show himself as he really is; or he dissembles, and does not *want* to be known as he is.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 232 [7:121])

In this sense, the mere possibility of observation and experimentation seems to be threatened in practice in the case of human beings. Furthermore, even if experimentation were possible, Kant would not allow it since it would be treating human subjects as mere means: 'One can indeed make experiments with animals and things, but not with human beings.'[74] In addition to the *de facto* experimental limitations of the human sciences, there are thus ethical limitations: the 'mania for spying on the morals of others (*allotrio-episcopia*) is by itself already an offensive inquisitiveness on the part of anthropology, which everyone can resist with right as a violation of the respect due him.'[75] Anthropologists dream of transforming human beings into a set of phenomena without secrets. Yet, as suggested by Clark, 'there *are* limits to the pragmatic goals of Kant's project, limits which Kant characterizes not as epistemological but as ethical in kind.'[76] Accordingly, there is – or at least there ought to be, for Kant – something that escapes the inquisitive eye of the anthropologist.

These ethical limitations may not apply in the case of the observation of oneself, for one should be allowed to explore oneself if one wants to. However, Kant remarks that there are dangers intrinsic to self-observation. He warns us

> not to concern oneself in the least with spying and, as it were, the affected composition of an inner history of the *involuntary* course of one's thoughts and feelings. The warning is given because this is the most direct path to illuminism or even terrorism, by way of a confusion in the mind of supposed higher inspirations and powers flowing into us, without our help, who knows from where. For without noticing it, we make supposed discoveries of what we ourselves have carried into ourselves.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 244–5 [7:133])[77]

Consequently, if the anthropologist wishes to base some of his study on the observation of his own inner life, he has to ensure that he is not the active cause of his findings.

An additional set of difficulties intrinsic to the observation of one's inner life stems from the impossibility of a science of psychology based on the inner sense. Part of the problem is that psychological phenomena are inherently blurred.

> [T]he situation with these inner experiences is not as it is with *external* experiences of objects in space, where the objects appear next to each other and *permanently* fixed. Inner sense sees the relations of its determinations only in time, hence in flux, where the stability of observation necessary for experience does not occur.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 245–6 [7:134])

Observing oneself in order to reach conclusions about one's inner states interferes with actual psychological states and modifies psychological phenomena: 'Even if he only wants to study himself, he will reach a critical point, particularly as concerns his condition in affect, which normally does not allow *dissimulation*.'[78] Thus, it looks as if the human sciences are unable to gather reliable data from the observation of their object.

The solution to these experimental difficulties consists firstly in enlarging the sources of anthropological data from inner sense to outer sense. For, an essential dimension of the experimental difficulties faced by the human sciences has to do with the very nature of human inner sense. The human sciences thus have to enlarge their scope by relying on observations of the outer sense, that is to say behaviour and actions. This approach encompasses both historical and geographical extents: 'while not exactly sources for anthropology, these are nevertheless aids: world history, biographies, even plays and novels'.[79] History and historical biographies are reliable sources insofar as they tell us what human beings have actually accomplished; they are an invaluable source of factual information. And despite their being fictional, plays and novels derive their basic traits from the observation of actual human beings: 'How does anthropology arise? Through the collection of many observations about human beings by those authors who had acute knowledge of human beings. For example, Shakespeare's theatrical works, the English "Spectator"; and Montaigne's *Essays* along with his life is also a book for life and not for school.'[80] Although

they are sometimes exaggerated, most novels still conform to human nature.[81]

The second solution to the experimental difficulties faced by the human sciences consists in having a critical approach to the data and their sources. In some cases, the reliability of the claims of the human beings under observation should be questioned – for instance, 'The Portuguese want to make us believe that there are, amongst the soldiers of the Emperor [of Monomotapa], amazons who have cut their left breast.'[82] Thus the data gathered from our observations of human beings and what they tell us should be critically controlled and interpreted before we can use them in our anthropological accounts.

(iii)   Metaphysical considerations

As already noted, Kant's *Anthropology* seems to suggest that the attempt to identify a distinguishing mark of humanity cannot be successful. For to do so, we would have to be able to compare what we think to be our distinctive features, namely the fact that we define ourselves in terms of 'terrestrial rational beings', with that of other rational beings in order to see what is specific to the human form of rationality.

> In order to indicate a character of a certain being's species, it is necessary that it be grasped under one concept with other species known to us. But also, the characteristic property (*proprietas*) by which they differ from each other has to be stated and used as a basis for distinguishing them. – But if we are comparing a kind of being that we know (A) with another kind of being that we do not know (non-A), how then can one expect or demand to indicate a character of the former when the middle term of the comparison (*tertium comparationis*) is missing to us? – The highest species concept may be that of a *terrestrial* rational being, however we will not be able to name its character because we have no knowledge of *non-terrestrial* rational beings that would enable us to indicate their characteristic property and so to characterize this terrestrial being among rational beings in general.

> (*Anthropology*, 416 [7:321])

For instance, there may be sentient beings who, like us, possess discursive understandings but whose form of receptivity differs from our own. If we could get to know these beings, we could identify what is distinctive of our cognitive apparatus. However, we cannot: 'the solution would have to be made through experience by means of the comparison of two

species of rational being, but experience does not offer us this.'[83] Because we have no empirical evidence of a non-terrestrial rational being and can only imagine one, we are left without a term for comparison and '[i]t seems, therefore, that the problem of indicating the character of the human species is absolutely insoluble.'[84]

Yet unexpectedly, the statement of this insolubility is immediately followed by a response:

> Among the living *inhabitants of the earth* the human being is markedly distinguished from all other living beings by his *technical* predisposition for manipulating things (mechanically joined with consciousness), by his *pragmatic* predisposition (to use other human beings skillfully for his purposes), and by the *moral* predisposition in his being (to treat himself and others according to the principle of freedom under laws). And any one of these three levels can by itself alone already distinguish the human being characteristically as opposed to the other inhabitants of the earth.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 417 [7:322])[85]

Kant can offer this response because the question addressed has in fact shifted from defining the human being in terms of what he *is* (i.e. a terrestrial rational being) to defining him in terms of what he *does*. In other words, the crucial implication of Kant's method is that it entails a decisive re-evaluation of traditional conceptions of human nature: the question 'what is the human being?' is redirected at what he *does* as opposed to what he *is* – and this calls for the distinction of what I have called the different levels of *praxis* (i.e. his acting in the world): the level of technicality, prudence and morality.

This is supported by the fact that Kant's overall contribution to the question 'what is the human being?' is in fact twofold. This chapter has focused on its positive aspect, what could be called Kant's pragmatic turn. Its negative aspect can be found in his theoretical writings, and in particular in the section on the Paralogisms in the *Critique of Pure Reason*. For it can be interpreted as criticising traditional answers to the question 'what is the human being?' by suggesting that this question can potentially instigate, and has historically lead to, three pitfalls epitomised by the likes of Descartes and Leibniz.[86] First, it calls for an ontological project, traditionally essentialist and substantialist; second, it leads to an individualist rational psychology that defines the human being as the being who says 'I';[87] and third, it posits him within the system of nature, thus conceiving of human nature as a thing in the world,

an object. In this sense, the Kantian project can be understood as dismissing the question 'what is the human being?' because it calls for a static, substantialist answer that cannot tally with his specific features, features I have defined, following Kant, in terms of praxis.

Following the pragmatic turn taken by Kant's anthropology, the question 'what is the human being?' should be replaced by the question 'what can the human being make of himself?', an enquiry about essence thus being substituted for an enquiry into meaning. This shift entails that the meaning attached to human nature, far from being an immediate given, is now defined as the result of the constructive work that the human being does freely, 'as a *citizen of the world*', through his actions, his culture and his civilisation, on his natural dispositions.[88]

> The sum total of pragmatic anthropology, in respect to the vocation of the human being and the characteristic of his formation, is the following. The human being is destined by his reason to live in a society with human beings and in it to *cultivate* himself, to *civilize* himself, and to *moralize* himself by means of the arts and sciences.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 420 [7:324])

This, I have argued, amounts to a decisive re-evaluation of traditional conceptions of human nature, a re-evaluation that redirects our enquiries towards the human being's acting in the world, 'what *he* as a free-acting being makes of himself'.[89]

4
Pragmatic Anthropology

Chapter 3 has shown that Kant's method entails a decisive re-evaluation of traditional enquiries into human nature: it redirects the question, 'what is the human being?' from his passive essence to his active relationship with the world – from what he *is* to what he *does*. Accordingly, the remaining task is to redefine our discourse about the human being, thereby inaugurating a new scientific paradigm, that of pragmatic anthropology.

In Section 1, I define the pragmatic nature of anthropology, focusing on its object, its method and its aim. I then argue that a crucial component of pragmatic anthropology consists in the study of the effects of nature on human beings, which include temperaments, gender, races and nations. This is due to the fact that, as I demonstrate, the knowledge of their natural characteristics is of crucial pragmatic importance to the realisation of their purposes in the world. On this basis, in Section 2, I develop a picture of the human sciences that advocates a twofold methodology based on Kant's model of biological science. This methodology consists of a combination of functionalist accounts, which explain practices and behaviour in terms of their natural functions, and intentionalist accounts, which explain them in terms of agents' intentions.

In Section 3, I turn to the ethical contributions of anthropology and argue that far from limiting his account of moral agency to its a priori components, Kant makes provisions for what is required empirically in order to help the realisation of moral purposes in the world. For, although there is no doubt that, for Kant, the moral law infallibly points to what is good and what is evil, my suggestion is that moral practice requires more than the mere understanding of the moral law and that it is the role of anthropology to address human needs in this respect.

1.   The pragmatic domain as the field of human action

I want to begin by drawing attention to the overall pragmatic dimension of Kant's *Anthropology*: 'pragmatic [knowledge of the human being], the investigation of what *he* as a free-acting being makes of himself, or can and should make of himself'.[1] A number of commentators have attempted to provide definitions of what Kant means by 'pragmatic' here. According to Patrick Frierson, the adjective 'pragmatic' involves: (1) one's happiness, (2) the whole sphere of the practical, and/or (3) the use of others to achieve one's ends.[2] Allen Wood highlights four senses of pragmatic: (1) pragmatic vs. physiological, (2) pragmatic vs. scholastic, (3) pragmatic as useful, (4) pragmatic as prudential.[3] Finally, Robert Louden distinguishes the following senses: (1) the skilful use of other human beings, (2) the ability to find means for one's happiness, (3) the ability to set one's own ends, (4) man's moral concerns.[4]

Of course, I do not wish to deny that these various aspects exist within Kant's use of 'pragmatic' – he himself draws these distinctions in a number of places, and they will become very useful when we focus on specific aspects of the *Anthropology*. However, what I want to suggest is that the overall approach of pragmatic anthropology should not be fragmented, at least not to begin with. For what is needed is a principle unifying all of its different meanings. My claim is that by characterising his anthropology as pragmatic, Kant fundamentally stresses the fact that it deals with the field of human action as a whole. Accordingly, I will suggest that its object, its method and its aim are pragmatic in the following senses: first, its object is pragmatic insofar as it studies human beings in terms of their actions in the world, and thus as freely acting beings; second, its method is pragmatic in that it involves interaction as well as observation; and third, its aim is pragmatic inasmuch as it is not only descriptive but prescriptive.[5]

(i)   The object of pragmatic anthropology

To understand the distinctive feature of the object of pragmatic anthropology, it is crucial to distinguish it from what Kant calls physical geography. Physical geography consists in a positivist inventory of the world.[6] Its first part presents an archaeology of the earth that focuses on winds, waters and the various transformations that have taken place in the natural world. Its second part examines what is on the earth by exploring successively human beings, animals, plants and minerals.[7] Two sections of Kant's *Lectures on Physical Geography* specifically study human phenomena: the first section of the second part entitled 'Of the

human being' and the third part entitled 'Rough observations of the main natural curios in all countries, according to a geographical order'.[8] The first section examines facts about human beings' different skin colours, their physical characteristics (on the one hand, their external bodily characteristics – the form of the face, the eyes, body hairs – and on the other, their physical abilities – running speed, sight, endurance), their diet (from hunting, gathering, breeding or fishing), the changes they make to their appearance (weighted ears, nose-rings, tongue-rings, emasculation, body-painting) and their taste (relative to their different senses). The section on the natural curios in all countries surveys the demography, the culture and the customs found in Asia, Africa, Europe and America.

The crucial feature of physical geography is that it does not study the human being as a free being, but rather as an inhabitant of the earth like plants, animals and minerals – it considers him as one type of 'thing' on earth. It is essentially descriptive and constituted by what I have called 'thin descriptions'. The descriptions of physical geography do not refer to agents' intentions and purposes in order to explain their actions, but are limited to external descriptions of social behaviour and physical appearances. This is, I believe, the essential difference between physical geography and pragmatic anthropology.[9] In this sense for Kant, both physical geography and pragmatic anthropology are pragmatic disciplines in that they are both useful for life – they are equally pragmatic with respect to their aims. As Kant writes in the introduction to his *Lectures on Physical Geography*, 'Physical geography is thus the first part of knowledge of the world. It belongs to an idea which is called the propaedeutic to understanding our knowledge of the world [. . .] it is this knowledge that is useful in all possible circumstances of life.'[10] Where they differ, however, is in the object they study. The object of pragmatic anthropology is the human being considered as a free rational being, whilst physical geography studies him as one 'thing' on earth, independently of his intentionality.[11]

Kant further defines pragmatic anthropology by contrast with what he calls 'physiological anthropology'.

He who ponders natural phenomena, for example, what the causes of the faculty of memory may rest on, can speculate back and forth (like Descartes) over the traces of impressions remaining in the brain, but in doing so he must admit that in this play of his representations he is a mere observer and must let nature runs its course, for he does not know the cranial nerves and fibers, nor does he understand how to

put them to use for his purposes. Therefore all theoretical speculation about this [physiological knowledge of the human being] is a pure waste of time.

(*Anthropology*, 231 [7:119])

This passage should be read as a criticism of the work of Platner, and in particular of his definition of anthropology. Platner conceives of anthropology as the synthesis of the physical science of physiology and anatomy on the one hand, and psychology on the other: it studies body and soul in their mutual relations, limitations and interactions.[12] Kant rejects physiological approaches to anthropology in a letter to Hertz: 'the subtle and, to my view, eternally futile inquiries as to the manner in which bodily organs are connected with thought I omit entirely'.[13] For Kant, physiological investigations of human nature do not belong to pragmatic anthropology. A number of passages from the *Anthropology* reiterate and justify this claim. First, these investigations have not reached a sufficient level of scientific certainty to be reliable: 'physicians and physiologists in general are still not advanced enough to see deeply into the mechanical element in the human being.'[14] Second, and more importantly, insofar as the purpose of Kant's anthropology is pragmatic, it cannot make any use of physiological knowledge in this context. Physiology can certainly be of some use to doctors but not to human beings who want to use anthropological knowledge to realise their purposes.

Contrary to physical geography and physiological anthropology, which study human beings in terms of their physical or physiological nature, Kant's pragmatic anthropology adopts as its starting point the fact that they are the only beings that act according to the purposes they set for themselves.

[T]he materials for an anthropology [. . .] the method of their use in attempting a history of humanity in the whole of its vocation [. . .] may be sought neither in metaphysics nor in the cabinet of natural history specimens by comparing the skeleton of the human being with that of other species of animals; [. . .] that vocation can be found solely in [human] *actions*, which reveal his character.

(*Review of Herder's Ideas*, 134 [8:56])

Hence, Kant's anthropology is 'pragmatic' in the sense that it studies the human being not through what he is (physical geography) or how he functions (physiological anthropology) but through what he *does* 'as a free-acting being': 'it observes solely the actual behaviour of man'.[15]

More precisely, the object of anthropology does not consist in his actions *per se*, but insofar as these actions reveal what Kant calls 'character', which encompasses the 'rules which that behaviour obeys': 'anthropology is concerned with subjective, practical rules.'[16] To the extent that the human being can set his own purposes, his character consists in the adoption of certain principles that give meaning to his actions. As argued in Chapter 1, what anthropology needs in order to study him *as* free is no more than practical freedom, that is to say the faculty of choice 'which can be determined independently of sensory impulses, through motives that can only be represented by reason'.[17] This concept being critically grounded, pragmatic anthropology can legitimately study him as a free being by applying teleology to human phenomena in the form of intentionality (i.e. intentional purposiveness) in order to describe the contribution of freedom to his development: pragmatic knowledge of the human being aims at 'the investigation of what *he* as a free-acting being makes of himself, or can and should make of himself'.[18]

(ii)   The method of pragmatic anthropology

Kant's anthropological method is pragmatic insofar as it involves knowledge gained through interacting with its object rather than the knowledge of a mere observer.

> [T]he expressions 'to *know* the world' and 'to *have* the world' are rather far from each other in their meaning, since one only *understands* the play that one has watched, while the other has *participated* in it.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 232 [7:120])[19]

It is in this sense that pragmatic anthropological observations differ from straightforward theoretical observations: anthropology requires interaction with the human being, or rather, human beings. This requirement is in fact closely linked to the object of pragmatic anthropology as I just defined it; for although observation is necessary to anthropology, it needs to be supplemented by interaction in order to access human beings as freely acting beings. In other words, we cannot know them as freely acting beings, that is, as having motives, intentions and purposes, through observation alone (for it would amount to treating them as 'things'); to do so, we need to interact with them.

As already noted, Kant further specifies that anthropology requires the interaction with one's neighbours as well as with foreigners through

travel (or travel books if travel is not possible). But he particularly recommends that before travelling around the human world, one should investigate one's neighbours:

> [I]f one wants to know what to look for abroad, in order to broaden the range of anthropology, first one must have acquired knowledge of human beings at home, through social intercourse with one's townsmen or countrymen.
>
> <div align="right">(Anthropology, 232 [7:120])</div>

The knowledge of one's neighbours is the ground or the guiding thread that one should use to investigate human phenomena abroad. With this knowledge in hand, one, once abroad, knows 'what to look for'. This suggests that for Kant, anthropological observations have to be carried out in accordance with a certain research programme.

> We say of the person who has travelled much that he has seen the world. But more is needed for knowledge of the world than just seeing it. He who wants to profit from his journey must have a plan beforehand, and must not merely regard the world as an object of the outer senses.
>
> <div align="right">(Introduction to the Lectures on Physical
Geography, 256 [9:157])</div>

Touring the human world is not sufficient to produce accurate knowledge of human beings; for 'only *methodically* conducted experience can be called *observing.*'[20] A number of methodological principles are necessary to organise our enquiries and gather data; without them, one only gropes in the dark:

> [N]othing of a purposive nature could ever be found through mere empirical groping without a guiding principle of what to search for [...] Such a traveler [the purely empirically minded traveler] will usually answer when asked about something: I would have been able to notice that if I had known that I was going to be asked about it.
>
> <div align="right">(On the Use, 197 [8:161])[21]</div>

The guiding principle Kant uses in his *Anthropology* is teleology. Although he does not offer an explicit account of its use for anthropology, his general critique of teleology appears in the *Critique of the*

Power of Judgment. As shown in Chapter 2, the guiding principle at the basis of Kant's biological method, which is based on the a priori principle of teleology in order to maximise the intelligibility of the world, is the following:

> [E]verything in the world is good for something, [...] nothing in it is in vain; and by means of the example that nature gives in its organic products, one is justified, indeed called upon to expect nothing in nature and its laws but what is purposive in the whole.
>
> (*C.J.*, 250 [5:379])[22]

This principle is pragmatic because it supplies a heuristic maxim with which we can methodically investigate the world in order to identify purposes.[23] With this principle in hand, Kant proceeds to his anthropological enquiries by applying the teleological maxim to human actions in the form of the following principle: "Everything in the human world is good for something or other", which in turn gives rise to the concepts of means/ends and defeating/fulfilling a purpose.[24] Consequently, teleology has a crucial role to play in anthropology: it supplies the a priori principles and maxims with which we can investigate the human world. It is a heuristic principle indispensable for confronting experience with a set of questions and for organising empirical data.

The prominence of teleology in Kant's anthropological method, and in particular the fact that Kant encourages anthropologists to assume the same teleological principle used in the investigation of non-human nature, may seem to suggest that far from being essentially pragmatic (and in this sense interested in 'what the human being makes of himself'), anthropology is rather naturalistic (and in this sense concerned with 'what nature makes of the human being'). This impression is reinforced by Kant's various claims about Nature's purposes for the human species. The worry, then, is that anthropology would really study human beings as determined by nature rather than as free.

However, it is crucial to distinguish between two conceptions of the enquiry into 'what Nature makes of the human being': one as the investigation of the mind–body relation (physiological anthropology), the other as the investigation of Nature's purposes for the human species (what I will call 'natural anthropology'). And as I will show in Section 2, Kant does in fact proceed to the enquiry into 'what Nature makes of the human being' in the latter sense. So if one form of the enquiry, namely the investigation of mind–body relations, is vain, another form, that of the investigation of Nature's purposes for the human species,

is legitimate when it is used to improve our pragmatic knowledge of human beings – a knowledge that is necessary for us to use nature, and in particular our nature, to realise our purposes.

There is thus a very straightforward way of understanding Kant's claim about Nature's purposes for humankind. Namely, from a pragmatic point of view, the human being is a biological organism as well as a free intentional being. And our everyday life is full of instances of Nature's constraints on us: for instance, we have to sleep to survive. This fact does not mean we are not free. Clearly, it means that we are not free to stay awake for the whole duration of our lives. But it does not mean that we are completely determined either. For there are many different ways of fulfilling our natural needs, and we are free to do so the way we please, as hinted at in *Conjectural Beginning*. The different ways we choose to fulfil our needs are in fact the very expression of our freedom. For instance, in the case of sleep, we can do so through siesta, power naps, late morning lie-ins or early bedtimes.

In this sense, the original worry disappears since there is no difficulty in saying that anthropology studies human beings as free, and at the same time that it studies the ways in which Nature restricts or affects their actions. In fact, since freedom is in many ways constrained by human nature, anthropology should study these constraints. This requirement is particularly pressing insofar as Kant's anthropology has a pragmatic intent. For, the study of what constrains human action will be necessary to the elaboration of useful anthropological guidance. This should become clear if we turn to the aims of anthropology.

(iii)   The aim of pragmatic anthropology

I want to begin by emphasising that the claims of pragmatic anthropology are literally practical – they comprise advice, recommendations, counsels, guidance, warnings and even admonitions. In this regard, it should be noted that Kant's *Lectures on Anthropology*, on which his published *Anthropology* is based, were intended to teach students how to apply what they learnt at university to their future profession as well as to the conduct of their life in general. In other words, these lectures, which arose from the *Lectures on Physical Geography*, were meant to show students how to use their knowledge and talents as 'citizens of the world'.

> The physical geography [course] which I am announcing hereby belongs to an idea which I make myself of a useful academic instruction and which I may call the preliminary exercise in the *knowledge of*

the world. This knowledge of the world serves to procure the *pragmatic* element for all otherwise acquired sciences and skills, by means of which they become useful not merely for the *school* but rather for *life* and through which the accomplished apprentice is introduced to the stage of his destiny, namely, the *world*.

(*Of the Different Races*, 97 [2:443])[25]

To accomplish this task, Kant focuses on knowledge 'of practical relevance', that is to say knowledge that is useful to one's conduct in life.[26] This knowledge has an extremely broad scope: it discloses 'the sources of all the [practical] sciences, the science of morality, of skill, of human intercourse, of the way to educate and govern human beings, and thus of everything that pertains to the practical'.[27]

As already noted, Kant in fact begins his *Anthropology* with an explicit reference to its aims: Pragmatic knowledge of the human being is 'the investigation of what *he* as a free-acting being makes of himself, or can and should make of himself'.[28] This fundamental claim needs unpacking. The 'make' points to the descriptive part of Kant's project (i.e. what men actually make, or have made, of themselves). The 'can make' refers to the realm of possibility (namely the scope and limits of the human being's influence on himself), whilst the 'should make' indicates the prescriptive part of Kant's project, which encompasses the whole realm of human action – that is to say its technical, prudential and moral dimensions, in connection to the three levels of human *praxis* spelt out in Chapter 3.

Of course, as is regularly noted by commentators, Kant sometimes calls the prudential dimension of human action 'pragmatic'. For instance, he writes, 'The first imperative could also be called *technical* (belonging to art), the second pragmatic (belonging to welfare), the third moral (belonging to free conduct as such, that is, to morals).'[29] However, far from entailing an inconsistency, it merely implies that, as already hinted at, the word 'pragmatic' can be understood in two distinct senses: in a narrow sense as 'prudential' and having to do with welfare and happiness, and in a broad sense as 'practical' and having to do with the field of action in general. My claim is that Kant's use of the term 'pragmatic' to describe his *Anthropology* refers to the latter rather than the former, for its recommendations encompass all of the dimensions of human actions: the development of skills, the means of achieving happiness, and the helps and hindrances to morality.[30] In other words, the prescriptive dimension of anthropology is based on the knowledge of what is necessary to achieve one's purposes, whether they are technical, prudential or moral.

However, if the notions of technical and prudential roles of anthropology do not seem to pose any difficulty, the idea of a moral role of anthropology does, and it does so for numerous reasons that have recently been the object of much debate amongst Kant scholars.[31] I will present my interpretation of the moral role of anthropology in Section 3, but in the meantime, I want to discuss whether we can reconcile Kant's various, and apparently inconsistent, uses of the concept of moral anthropology.

As is often noted, the concept of a 'moral' or a 'practical' anthropology occurs in Kant's works in an apparently inconsistent fashion. In the *Groundwork*, moral anthropology is described as the empirical part of ethics, and Kant makes clear that it should be totally separated from pure ethics: it is 'of the utmost necessity to work out for once a pure moral philosophy, completely cleansed of everything that may be only empirical and that belongs to anthropology'.[32] Yet in the *Metaphysics of Morals*, anthropology seems to be incorporated into the project of pure ethics: 'a metaphysics of morals cannot dispense with principles of application, and we shall often have to take as our object the particular *nature* of human beings, which is cognised only by experience, in order to *show* in it what can be inferred from universal moral principles'.[33] Can these two claims be reconciled?

I want to argue that this apparent inconsistency disappears if we focus specifically on the difference between the various projects at stake, and in particular on the notion of an 'application' of ethics to human nature. Claudia Schmidt makes an important contribution in this respect. She distinguishes between two senses of the word 'application': 'One is the *a priori* or constitutive application of the pure principles of morality to the human being, as an empirical given type of moral agent, in order to generate an *a priori* system of the types of duties which are binding for this type of agent. The other is what we may call the empirical or motivational application of the doctrine arising from this system of morality to any individual human will, in order to improve the moral conduct of that individual.'[34] With this distinction in hand, we can proceed to the division of the different tasks assigned to the various strands of Kant's ethical project: first, the project that produces an a priori system of duties for rational agents in general (*Groundwork, C.Pr.R.*); second, the project that generates an a priori system of the duties that are binding upon a particular type of agent, namely human agents (*M.M.*); and third, the project that examines the worldly helps and hindrances to human moral agency (*Anthropology* and *L.A.*).

On this basis, and to summarise my interpretation of the nature of Kant's pragmatic anthropology, it may be helpful to position it within

the ongoing debate between Reinhard Brandt and Werner Stark. Brandt argues that pragmatic anthropology is 'not the discipline of practical anthropology, variously described by Kant, that was supposed to function as a complement to pure moral philosophy'.[35] By contrast, Stark holds that 'an internal, positive relationship exists between Kant's lectures on anthropology and his moral philosophy; [...] Kant considered anthropology to be an integral part of his philosophy (including his critical philosophy), and that it is not to be reckoned as a mere appendage to the system. [...] The positive and critical content of the anthropology, in my opinion, cannot be reduced to a mere doctrine of prudence.'[36] I agree with Brandt that pragmatic anthropology is not identical to moral anthropology insofar as the former also contains what could be called 'prudential' anthropology. However, I agree with Stark that pragmatic anthropology does contain a specifically moral anthropology. In this sense, moral anthropology as I defined it can be thought of as a sub-discipline of the broader field of pragmatic anthropology.[37]

As a result, within its pragmatic context, Kant's anthropology essentially aims at accomplishing three tasks. First, it describes human beings' behaviour relative to their purposes. Second, it deduces from their predispositions the scope of what they can make of themselves. Third, it draws conclusions regarding what they should do, pragmatically, in order to accomplish the best possible fulfilment of their purposes, whether technical, prudential or moral.

2. A twofold method: Natural vs. pragmatic anthropology

(i) The interplay between manifest and latent functions: Intentionalism vs. functionalism

According to Kant, a distinctive feature of humankind is that as an object of study, it calls for two distinct levels of enquiry, that of the individual and that of the species. The level of the species is methodologically necessary in order to make sense of certain human characteristics that cannot be accounted for at the level of the individual: 'In the human being (as the only rational creature on earth), those predispositions whose goal is the use of his reason were to develop completely only in the species, but not in the individual.'[38] Certain underlying principles of human nature, which are revealed by our teleological enquiries, make sense at the macro-level of the species alone. This is due to the fact that 'for the ends of nature one can assume as a principle that nature wants every creature to reach its destiny through the appropriate development of all predispositions of its nature, so that at least the species, if not every

individual, fulfills nature's purpose'.[39] With regard to human beings, we are forced to think globally (from the 'objective level of Nature') as well as individually (from the 'subjective level of human agents'), for it is only at the level of the species that we can decipher objective purposive patterns in their behaviour. This claim can be better understood if we relate it to the distinction elaborated by modern theorists of sociology between 'manifest' and 'latent' functions.[40]

Robert Merton provides the following definitions: 'Manifest functions are those objective consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are intended and recognized by participants in the system; latent functions, correlatively, being those which are neither intended nor recognized.'[41] If we apply this distinction to Kant's account, the subjective perspective of human agents becomes that of manifest functions whilst the objective perspective of Nature's purposes becomes that of latent functions. In this sense, Kant's use of 'Nature's intentions' can be understood as a metaphorical way of talking about latent functions relative to the development of the human species.

An example of Kant's use of latent functions can be found in his account of war. A frequent manifest function of war is the destruction or the invasion of an enemy nation and the empowerment of one's own nation. However, war is so destructive that it might seem counterproductive, even from the perspective of the victorious nation: it is 'an enterprise so artificial, and its outcome on both sides so uncertain, but also the after effects which the state suffers through an ever-increasing burden of debt (a new invention), whose repayment becomes unending, will become [a] dubious [...] undertaking'.[42] Yet from the perspective of the species, war can be understood as an 'unintentional human endeavour (incited by our unbridled passions)' that ultimately 'develop[s] to their highest degree all the talents that serve for culture'.[43] It can thus be accounted for by its latent function, namely historical progress towards peace: 'All wars are therefore only so many attempts (not, to be sure, in the aims of human beings, but yet in the aim of nature) to bring about new relationships between states [i.e. peaceful relations].'[44] In this sense, Kant's account of the unintended consequences of war (unintended by human beings, and yet intended by Nature) amounts to an explanation in terms of its latent function: 'War is like a mechanical device of Providence.'[45]

Understood as latent functions, 'Nature's intentions' are guiding threads for our interpretations of human behaviour: 'Individual human beings and even whole nations think little about the fact, since while

each pursues its own aim in its own way [...], they are proceeding unnoticed, as by a guiding thread, according to an aim of nature, which is unknown to them, and are laboring at its promotion.'[46] This guiding thread allows us to order the apparently meaningless succession of human behaviour by avoiding the confusion between the subjective motives of human actions and their objective consequences for the society or the species: 'If we look at the history of these [states] simply as a phenomenon of inner predispositions for the most part concealed from us, we then become aware of a certain machinelike progression of nature according to ends which are not theirs (the peoples') but nature's own.'[47] In this sense, latent functions clarify seemingly irrational or counter-productive events or behaviour by explaining that they perform an unintentional function for the group, although this function might be quite remote from the conscious purpose of the action, as shown in the case of war. Therefore, although Kant's anthropology does resort to the agent's point of view, it acknowledges the fact that this point of view is sometimes blind and misled:

> Boy's games 'are unknowingly the spurs of a wiser nature to daring deeds, to test human beings' powers in competition with others; [...] Two such contestants believe they are playing with each other; in fact, however, nature plays with both of them – which reason can clearly convince them about, if they consider how badly the means chosen by them suit their end.'
>
> (*Anthropology*, 375–6 [7:275])

This suggests that when the means one has chosen to realise one's purpose seem counter-productive, or at least badly suited, we should turn to the social or natural function of the behaviour in order to account for its occurrence. Insofar as the anthropologist believes that the reasons offered by the participants for their behaviour do not suffice to explain why they do what they do, from his perspective, the important question becomes 'what actually happened?' rather than 'how is it viewed by the participants?' Thus in the case of boys' games, participants believe that they are playing together in order to have a good time, whilst the anthropologist accounts for the game by its natural function, namely the testing of their respective strength. For if the objective explanation of the existence of games were the fact that the participants want to have fun, the practice would stop since it is far from being the best means to realise their purpose – after all, more often than not, boys' games end in tears. So for the anthropologist, what these boys really

do is compete to find out who is the strongest – this is the objective, or latent, function of games. Accordingly, he replaces the participants' reasons with his own functional explanations, thereby sidestepping the content of their belief and concentrating on the effects of their believing it, namely their behaviour and its consequences.[48]

Yet, human beings do not only 'behave', they 'act', and their actions occur together with an understanding of their significance within a wider context. Thus insofar as they fail to account for the phenomenon of intentionality, functionalist explanations have to be complemented by agents' self-ascriptions. The fact that 'the human being can have the "I" in his representations [...]. Because of this he is a *person*', which makes him 'an entirely different being from *things*', legitimises the resort to his first-personal perspective in anthropological accounts of his actions.[49] This perspective corresponds to the dimension of pragmatic anthropology Kant describes as 'what the human being makes of himself'. It accounts for what he intends to achieve with, and for, himself – or put slightly differently, it describes the meaning he gives to his actions through the identification of his intentions.

Consequently, Kant's anthropological method puts forward a combination of functionalist explanations that account for behaviour through their natural function (in terms of Nature's objective purposes for the species), and self-ascriptions that explain the meaning of particular intentional phenomena (in terms of the human being's subjective purposes for himself).

Anthropology comprises a twofold perspective – the combination of a first- and a third-person perspective – that provides complementary types of explanation (see Figure 4.1). On the one hand, actions being intentional products, they can be accounted for in teleological terms by focusing on the reasons behind the actions and setting them within the intentional framework constituted by the agent's purposes (intentionalism). Yet as a part of a biological species that develops natural predispositions through generations, the human being's behaviour can be accounted for in terms of its function for the development of the species. Such an account focuses on the natural cause of the behaviour by setting it within the framework of the evolution of the species (functionalism).

As Figure 4.2 shows, at the level of the individual, mechanical explanations of human behaviour presuppose a teleological connection between the predisposition of human nature and the behaviour itself. And conversely, teleological explanations of human behaviour presuppose a mechanical connection between the intentions of the individual
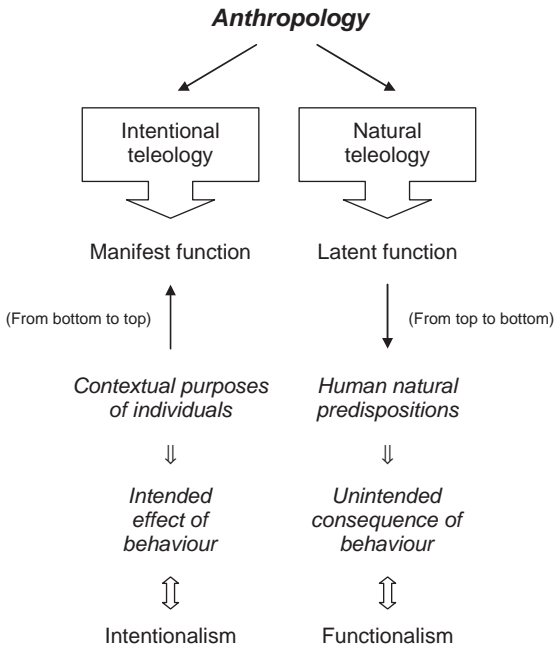
Anthropology

Intentional teleology

Natural teleology

Manifest function

Latent function

(From bottom to top)

(From top to bottom)

Contextual purposes of individuals

Human natural predispositions

⇓

⇓

Intended effect of behaviour

Unintended consequence of behaviour

⇕

⇕

Intentionalism

Functionalism

Figure 4.1 Two perspectives: Intentionalism and functionalism in anthropology

and his behaviour. Correlatively at the level of the species, mechanical explanations of the evolution of the species presuppose a teleological connection between the behaviour of individuals and the evolution of the whole, whilst teleological explanations of the evolution of the species presuppose a mechanical connection between the destination of the species and the behaviour of individuals.

As a result, anthropology can be thought of as following two threads, each consisting in the application of teleological judgement to a level of human phenomena: one focuses on the intentions of the parts (human beings), the other on the destination of the whole (the human species). If we combine the level of the species with that of the individual, we are led to two distinct pictures of the human world. On the one hand, the teleological account of individual actions is connected to the mechanical account of the evolution of the species, thereby producing an intentionalist picture of the human world in which individuals' purposes determine the evolution of the species. On the other hand, the mechanical account of individual behaviour is connected to the
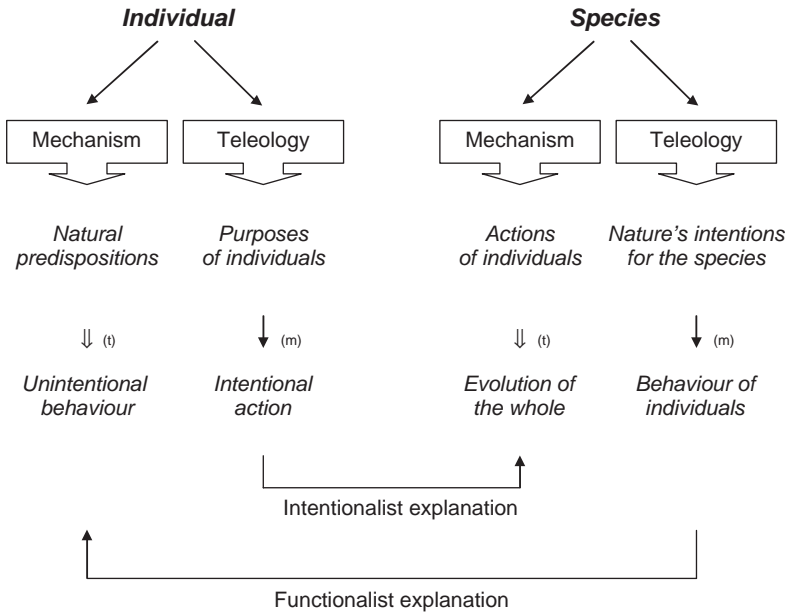
Figure 4.2 The combination of intentionalism and functionalism in anthropology

teleological account of the evolution of the species, thereby producing a functionalist picture of the human world in which the final destination of the species determines behaviour. In both accounts, mechanical explanations are oriented by teleological principles: in the first account, the purpose of the species, in the second, individuals' purposes. The aim of Section 2(ii) is to focus on Kant's account of the former, which I will call 'natural anthropology'.

(ii)   Anthropological characterisation: Natural human types and Nature's purposes

As already suggested, Kant puts forward a conception of man as a natural being whose dispositions can be understood teleologically in terms of Nature's intentions for the species. In the *Religion*, he distinguishes between three predispositions of human nature:

1. The predisposition to the *animality* of the human being, as a *living being*; 2. To the *humanity* in him, as a living and at the same time

rational being; 3. To his *personality*, as a rational and at the same time *responsible* being.

(*Religion*, 74 [6:26])

The predisposition I want to focus on here is the predisposition to animality, for I believe it is through its analysis that we can reach a better understanding of Kant's account of natural anthropology.[50] Kant defines its purpose as threefold: '*first*, for self-preservation; *second*, for the propagation of the species, through the sexual drive, and for the preservation of the offspring thereby begotten through breeding; *third*, for community with other human beings, i.e. the social drive'.[51] He notes that these animal predispositions (to which the social impulse is associated) are still at work at the level of civil life: 'In a civil constitution, which is the highest degree of artificial improvement of the human species' good predisposition to the final end of its destiny, *animality* still manifests itself earlier and, at bottom, more powerfully than pure *humanity*.'[52] In this sense, society itself, as well as a number of social institutions such as marriage, family and nations, have to be understood in terms of this predisposition. And decisively, what is presupposed for human beings in the predisposition to animality is in fact identical to what is presupposed for other organisms: the biological determination at work is the same.

> Providence signifies precisely the same wisdom that we observe with admiration in the preservation of a species of organized natural beings [human beings], constantly working toward its destruction and yet always being protected, without therefore assuming a higher principle in such provisions than we assume to be in use already in the preservation of plants and animals.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 423–4 [7:328])[53]

As already noted, in the section of the *Anthropology* entitled 'Anthropological characteristic', Kant analyses the predispositions that aim at the preservation of the human species according to four criteria: person, sex, nation and race.[54] Relative to these criteria, he distinguishes between different human types (see Table 4.1).

Thus for Kant, temperaments, gender, races and nations are defined as being determined, at least partly, according to Nature's intentions for the human species – that is to say, they are products of nature.[55] This will lead me to argue that a crucial component of pragmatic anthropology – namely the anthropological insights into human beings

considered both naturally and socially – consists in the study of 'the effects of nature on man' (what Kant calls 'what Nature makes of the human being').[56] As I will show, the knowledge of natural human characteristics is of crucial pragmatic use, for it helps human beings learn about the functionalist dimension of their behaviour, thereby enabling them to act more effectively.

Table 4.1   Kant's anthropological classification of human types

Category	Person	Sex	Nation	Race
Criterion	Temperament	Gender	Civil whole united through common descent	Hereditary transmitted features
Types	Sanguine, Melancholic, Choleric, Phlegmatic	Male and Female	French, English, Spaniard, etc.	White, Negro, Hindu, Hunnish-Mongolian-Kalmuck

Kant defines temperaments from a psychological rather than a physiological point of view, and accordingly he classifies the ways in which sensibility is affected according to their effects rather than their causes.[57] On this basis, he distinguishes between four temperaments: the sanguine, who 'is carefree and of good cheer; he attributes a great importance to each thing for the moment, and the next moment may not give it another thought'; the melancholic, who 'attributes a great importance to all things that concern himself'; the choleric, who 'is *hot-tempered*, flares up quickly like straw-fire'; and finally, the phlegmatic, who has 'the propensity to inactivity'.[58] Whilst it is unnecessary to discuss the detail of each temperament here, what is crucial for my present purpose is that temperaments are effects of nature: 'what nature makes of the human being [...] belongs to temperament (where the subject is for the most part passive)'.[59] More precisely, Kant distinguishes between natural aptitude, temperament and character: 'natural aptitude has more (subjectively) to do with the *feeling* of pleasure or displeasure' – it is a passive feeling – whilst temperament has to do '(objectively) with the *faculty of desire*' and is thus active. However, both natural aptitude and temperament belong to sensibility, whilst character belongs to the mode of thinking: 'The first two predispositions indicate what can be made of the human being; the last (moral) predisposition indicates what he

is prepared to make of himself.'[60] This suggests that temperaments are effects of nature (i.e. they belong to the domain of 'what Nature makes of the human being') whilst character is a product of freedom (i.e. it belongs to the domain of what the human being makes of himself).

One feature of Kant's account of temperaments might seem slightly misleading in this respect, namely the fact that they seem to have a moral colour. For instance, the sanguine 'makes promises in all honesty, but does not keep his word' whilst the melancholic 'makes promises with difficulty, for keeping his word is dear to him'.[61] Furthermore, Kant seems to appraise these temperaments. For instance, he notes that the phlegmatic is a 'fortunate temperament' that 'takes the place of wisdom'.[62] He thus seems to be naturally more oriented towards virtue than other temperaments, which, if true, could lead to difficulties usually referred to as moral luck.[63] For, a phlegmatic temperament would make an agent more virtuous 'by nature' rather than by his own doing. Yet Kant is quick to note that 'Not that all this happens from moral causes (for we are speaking here of *sensible* incentives).'[64] This remark can be better understood in the context of a passage from the *L.A.*:

> The proper character of a human being, however, consists in the relations of a human being through that which properly belongs to him, and is not to be attributed either to nature or to fortune. This character consists in the fundamental *Anlage* of the will to make good use of all one's talents to manage well with one's temperament. Through a good character a man becomes author of his own value; he can also substitute for lack of talent through industry and this must originate in character. The foundation for the improvement of all our talents lies in character. One calls it will, and it is the *Anlage* to make use of one's talents for the best ends. It thus depends upon a human being whether he has a character or whether he has a good or bad character.
> (*L.A.*, [25:1174–5])[65]

Therefore, the role Kant ascribes to temperaments is still part of the world of nature. Insofar as they are sensuous incentives that originate from the faculty of desire, they cannot lead to genuine virtue, which, being based on character, stems from the will. However, this does not entail that they cannot have a pragmatic role to play in human agency; in fact, I will argue that the knowledge of temperament has crucial pragmatic uses for human beings. However, insofar as this role is best understood in the context of moral anthropology, I will reserve this discussion for Section 3.

Numerous pages of the *Anthropology* are dedicated to questions of gender and in particular to feminine characteristics. For Kant, most female characteristics should be understood in naturalistic, teleological terms: 'One can only come to the characterization of this sex if one uses as one's principle not what we *make* our end, but what *nature's end* was in establishing womankind.'[66] More precisely, women are said to have two natural purposes, a biological one and a social one: 'These ends are: 1) the preservation of the species, 2) the cultivation of society and its refinement by womankind.'[67] The first purpose is accomplished through women's 'birthing' and nurturing abilities: 'When nature entrusted to woman's womb its dearest pledge, namely, the species, in the fetus by which the race is to propagate and perpetuate itself, nature was frightened so to speak about the preservation of the species and so implanted this *fear* – namely, fear of *physical* injury and *timidity* before similar dangers – in woman's nature.' The second purpose is carried out through women's taste and inclinations: 'Since nature also wanted to instill the finer feelings that belong to culture – namely, those of sociability and propriety – it made this sex man's ruler through her modest and eloquence in speech and expression.'[68]

From his remarks on what Nature makes of gender, Kant deduces numerous 'pragmatic consequences'.[69] Thus, our theoretical knowledge of the natural purposes of sexual characteristics can be put to the pragmatic use of helping human beings further their own purposes. As Kant writes,

> nature has also put into her economy here such a rich treasure of arrangements for her end, which is nothing less than the maintenance of the species, that when the occasion arises for closer researches there will still be more than enough material, in its problems, to admire the wisdom of gradually developing natural predispositions and to use it for practical purposes.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 406–7 [7:310–11])

The following examples of the kind of anthropological guidance Kant offers women should suffice to confirm the connection between the knowledge of 'what Nature makes of the human being' and its pragmatic uses: 'A young, intelligent woman will have better luck in marriage with a healthy but, nevertheless, noticeably older man'; 'It is never a woman's concern to spy out the moral properties in a man, especially a young man, *before* the wedding', and 'the woman should *dominate* and

the man should *govern*; for inclination dominates, and understanding governs'.[70]

The case of national characteristics is more complex than the preceding ones. Kant defines nations as 'united into a civil whole through common ancestry'.[71] In this sense, the common descent guaranties the genealogy and the persistence of a nation's character: 'the question here is about innate, natural character which, so to speak, lies in the blood mixture of the human being, not characteristics of nations that are acquired and *artificial* (or spoiled by too much artifice)'.[72] Kant does not actually relate national predispositions to racial ones, although some passages suggest that nations were, at least originally, made of a single racial origin.[73]

Two factors explain why national characteristics are difficult to analyse in naturalistic terms. First, 'as concerns their natural aptitude, what they actually have at present, and its formation by means of language, this must be derived from the innate character of the original people of their ancestry; but the documents for this are lacking'.[74] The primordial tendencies of various people cannot be accounted for since we have no historical documents to investigate. Second, wars and invasions have made it nearly impossible for national characteristics to remain unaltered. For instance, in the case of the character of the English, 'the immigrations of tribes of Germans and French peoples [...] have obliterated the originality of this people, as their mixed language proves'.[75] In this sense, when Kant remarks that nations have an unaltered national character 'as long as they do not become mixed by the violence of war', what he has in mind is the fact that national characters have by and large been considerably transformed by invasions that have made them mixed.[76] As a result, enquiries into what Nature makes of nations are 'risky attempts', and Kant limits himself to a mere description of nations 'as they are now', in their altered state.[77] Without getting into the details of Kant's analyses, we can note the general tone of his remarks by mentioning some of them: the French have a taste for conversation, are courteous, have good taste and are benevolent. The English renounce all kindness to others, claim respect for themselves, prefer to dine alone and hate the French. The Spaniards are solemn and proud, moderate and obedient to the law, they resist any reform and have a romantic quality of spirit.[78]

Unfortunately, Kant does not spell out the pragmatic implications of his anthropological remarks on national characteristics. But there is no doubt that knowledge of "what Nature makes of nations" has numerous pragmatic uses. For instance, it could take a political form such as "if

you invade Spain, do not impose reforms at once since the Spaniards are proud and resist reform", or "if you have to negotiate with the English, do not do it over dinner since they prefer to dine alone". It could also take a cultural form, advising travellers on how to behave and what to expect in a foreign country; for instance, "if you are in need in England, rely only on yourself and do not expect any help from the locals since for the English, foreigners are not human beings", "if you are in Germany, make friends with the locals and do not hesitate to ask for hospitality since the Germans are hospitable" and "if you are in France, ask the locals for assistance since the French like rendering services".[79]

On the basis of what I have argued so far, we can conclude that anthropological characteristics are effects determined according to Nature's intentions for the human species. Kant generally suggests that Nature's overall purpose for the human species is its preservation: 'nature has also put into her economy here such a rich treasure of arrangements for her end, which is nothing less than the maintenance of the species'.[80] Although he does not specify the role of the human characteristics I have just spelt out in Nature's grand design, I would like to suggest that they should be interpreted as the means Nature uses to realise its overall purpose. Unsurprisingly, the purpose of sexual characteristics is the reproduction and the preservation of the species, whilst as already noted in Chapter 2, races express the necessity of a diversity of human biological character so that human beings can be suited to all climates.[81]

The case of temperament is more complex. Larrimore suggests that Nature can be seen as willing the diversity rather than the uniformity of human temperaments because 'Society as a whole is best off with a variety of types, whose strengths and weaknesses provoke each other and keep each other in check.'[82] Whilst plausible, this claim can be pushed further. Namely, the social interplay between the four types of temperaments should be understood as one of the means Nature uses to create an antagonism between human beings. For their various temperaments clash with each other: first, the sanguine is opposed to the melancholic and the choleric to the phlegmatic; and second, temperaments of feeling are opposed to temperaments of activity.[83] The diversity of temperaments thus leads to an antagonism that plays a role akin to 'unsociable sociability'.

> The means nature employs in order to bring about the development of all its predispositions is their *antagonism* in society, [... that is to say] the *unsociable sociability* of human beings, i.e. their propensity

to enter into society, which, however, is combined with a thoroughgoing resistance that constantly threatens to break up this society.

(*Idea*, 111 [8:20])[84]

The antagonism compels human beings to reach an agreement that secures civil peace through the creation of a lawful civil order. In order not to self-destruct, they have to regulate social antagonism, and it is the means to this regulation, peaceful civil society, that allows them to develop fully their capacities and predispositions: 'the purposeless condition of savages [held] back all natural predispositions in our species, but finally through ills into which this condition [i.e. antagonism] transported the species, necessitated them to go beyond this condition and enter into a civil constitution, in which all those germs could be developed'.[85] Moreover, internal discord is not the only means Nature uses to establish and secure civil order.

Even if a people were not forced by internal discord to submit to the constraint of public laws, war would still force them from without to do so, inasmuch as by the natural arrangement discussed above each people would find itself in the neighborhood of another people pressing upon it.

(*P.P.*, 335 [8:365])

Thus, nations play a role akin to that of temperaments in an international context. The diversity of nations is Nature's means of securing international peace through the regulation of external wars.

[T]he mechanism of nature, through self-seeking inclinations that naturally counteract one another externally [is] a means to make room for its own end, the rule of right, and in so doing also to promote and secure peace within as well as without, so far as a state itself can do so. Here it is therefore said that nature *wills* irresistibly that right should eventually gain supremacy.

(*P.P.*, 336 [8:366–7])[86]

As a result, first, Nature's overall purpose is the preservation of the human species and the full development of its capacities. And second, each human type is the means to the realisation of a particular purpose that contributes to the realisation of Nature's overall purpose for the species, as summarised in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2   Nature's purposes for the human species

Criterion	Type	Nature's purpose
Gender	Male, Female	Reproduction and preservation of the species
Race	White, Negro, Hindu, Hunnish-Mongolian-Kalmuck	Diversity of biological characters so as to be suited for all climates
Temperament	Sanguine, Melancholic, Choleric, Phlegmatic	Diversity of temperaments (leading to social antagonism) which secures civil peace
Nation	French, English, German, Italian, etc.	Diversity of national characters (leading to external war) which secures international peace

I have shown that a central component of Kant's pragmatic anthropology consists in the examination of 'what Nature makes of the human being', that is to say of the characteristics that stem from his natural and biological composition. For, the knowledge of natural human characteristics is of crucial pragmatic use, as suggested by the various examples of guidance expounded in this section. In other words, one of the roles of anthropology is to help human beings learn about the functionalist dimension of their behaviour, thereby enabling them to act more effectively.

3.   The ethical contributions of anthropology

One of Kant's most famous ethical claims is that reason clearly indicates the path humankind ought to follow, namely that of moral duty: 'reason by itself and independently of all appearances commands what ought to happen [...] by means of a priori grounds.'[87] As a result, 'common human reason, with this compass in hand [the moral law], knows very well how to distinguish in every case that comes up what is good and what is evil, what is in conformity with duty or contrary to duty'.[88] A priori practical reason is sufficient to ground and guide moral agency, and what is needed is merely rational hope that nature is amenable to our moral purposes.[89] Thus,

> (1) I can accomplish my moral duty in the world because I ought to: a priori practical reason commands that it can be the case since it ought to be the case.

(2) It is not contradictory to believe that I can accomplish my moral duty in the world: a priori theoretical reason confirms that there is no reason to believe that it cannot be the case, and I can have rational hope that nature is amenable to morality.[90]

For Kant, moral attitudes stem from a free choice of the agent, a transcendental choice so to speak, a pure act of the will: 'The human being must make or have made *himself* into whatever he is or should become in a moral sense, good or evil'; his 'moral education must begin [...] with the transformation of his attitude of mind and the establishment of a character.'[91] And as shown in Chapter 1, nothing empirical can influence this choice. For genuine virtue has to be grafted onto a morally good character: 'everything good that is not grafted onto a morally good disposition, is nothing but mere semblance and glittering misery'.[92] However, I will argue that far from limiting his account of moral agency to its a priori components, Kant makes provisions for what is required in order to help the realisation of moral purposes in the world.

Although there is no doubt that for Kant, the moral law infallibly points to what is good and what is evil, the aim of this section is to show that human moral practice requires more than what the a priori can provide. In particular, once one's 'moral choice' is made, many empirical factors can help or hinder its realisation in the world – its being literally made real in the form of human actions. In other words, if one's moral purpose is to obey and realise the moral law, there are empirical means, means that can be empirically identified, that help further its realisation. These means can be categorised as fulfilling two different kinds of function:

(3) To construct interpretations that support the practicability of moral willing.
(4) To identify the helps and hindrances to the realisation of moral ends in the world.

This is precisely why human beings *qua* human (rather than *qua* rational) need anthropology and thus why anthropology becomes morally relevant. In Sections (i) and (ii), I will elaborate claims (3) and (4) respectively in order to account for the moral relevance of anthropology. In Section (iii), I will suggest that the role of anthropology in this respect is that of a map-making venture.

(i)   Anthropology as a support to the practicability of moral willing

Kant often expresses serious doubts about the presence of any true virtue in the world.

> One need not be an enemy of virtue but only a cool observer, who does not take the liveliest wish for the good straight-away as its reality, to become doubtful at certain moments (especially with increasing years, when experience has made one's judgment partly more shrewd and partly more acute in observation) whether any true virtue is to be found in the world.
>
> (*Groundwork*, 62 [4:407])

But when experience gives rise to these doubts, Kant seems to suggest that we should turn away from it and reflect on the a priori commands of practical reason. For experience and examples are irrelevant to the ground of moral obligation, and we should never use them for moral guidance.

> [N]othing can protect us against falling away completely from our ideas of duty and can preserve in our soul a well-grounded respect for its law than the clear conviction that, even if there never have been actions arising from such pure sources, what is at issue here is not whether this or that happened; that, instead, reason by itself and independently of all appearances commands what ought to happen; that, accordingly, actions of which the world has perhaps so far given no example, and whose practicability might be very much doubted by one who bases everything on experience, are still inflexibly commanded by reason [...] by means of a priori grounds.
>
> (*Groundwork*, 62 [4:407–8])[93]

Thus, we should not base our moral commitments on examples or experience but rather on the a priori commands of practical reason. However, a passage that follows the one just quoted puts forward another claim:

> Imitation has no place at all in matters of morality, and examples serve only for encouragement, that is, they put beyond doubt the practicability of what the law commands and make intuitive what the practical rule expresses more generally, but they can never justify setting aside their true original, which lies in reason, and guiding oneself by examples.
>
> (*Groundwork*, 63 [4:409])

This is a crucial and very different claim: examples not only encourage us to act morally, but more importantly, they settle doubts about the practicability of moral willing. Are Kant's two claims in tension? It seems to be the case. For on the one hand, he argues that examples of outward virtue cannot ground the possibility of moral willing; only a priori practical reason can. Yet on the other hand, he suggests that these very same examples establish the practicability of moral imperatives.

To resolve this apparent tension, it is important to recall that it is experience that gives rise to doubts about the practicability of moral willing. More precisely, our doubts are caused by two factors. First, an epistemological fact about the nature of virtue and human motivation in general: 'we can never, even by the most strenuous self-examination, get entirely behind our covert incentives'; and second, an anthropological fact about human nature: 'we like to flatter ourselves by falsely attributing to ourselves a nobler motive'.[94] These two factors give rise to serious doubts about the practicability of moral willing, be it for myself or any other human agent. So Kant's suggestion here is that the a priori commands of practical reason might not suffice to eliminate the doubts occasioned by our experience of the human world, and that, as a result, we might need to resort to examples: 'A good example (exemplary conduct) should not serve as a model but only as a proof that it is really possible to act in conformity with duty.'[95] It is in this sense that examples of virtue prove the practicability of the moral law. Their role is not to clear doubts about what I ought to do – or put slightly differently, where I ought to be heading. For, as Kant repeatedly shows, reason clearly indicates the path that I ought to follow, namely that of moral duty – irrespective of whether anyone has ever actually followed this path.

> Any high praise for the ideal of humanity in its moral perfection can lose nothing in practical reality from examples to the contrary, drawn from what human beings now are, have become, or will presumably become in the future; and *anthropology*, which issues from merely empirical cognition, can do no damage to anthroponomy, which is laid down by a reason giving laws unconditionally.
>
> (*M.M.*, 534 [6:405–6])

However, the problem at stake here is not one of disorientation in practical thought, but rather one of worldly disorientation: I am disoriented insofar as I doubt whether anyone, be it myself or any other human agent, has ever acted virtuously.[96] This differs from, and is in some sense

independent of, the fact that I know a priori that because I ought to act virtuously, in principle, I can. Although I know that I can realise this ought on the basis of pure practical reason, I am not a pure agent, and the human features of my agency make me doubt that, in worldly practice, I can. This is where examples become crucial: they settle my doubts by proving the practicability of moral willing in the world and showing that if they can do it, so too can I. Whether it is 'the most hardened scoundrel [...] when one sets before him examples of honesty of purpose, of steadfastness in following good maxims, of sympathy and general benevolence', or the '*good* example on the part of the teacher (his exemplary conduct)', thereby,

> [t]he heart is freed and relieved of a burden that always secretly presses upon it, when in pure moral resolutions, examples of which are set before him, there is revealed to the human being an inner capacity not otherwise correctly known by himself, the *inner freedom* to release himself from the impetuous importunity of inclinations.
>
> (*C.Pr.R.*, 268 [5:161])[97]

Examples thus provide the 'encouragement' human beings need given the gloomy state of the world – a state that 'cool' observation suffices to expose.[98]

   Although this section has focused on anthropology's contribution in this respect, a number of other empirical dimensions of Kant's works make similar contributions. The one that has been traditionally identified is aesthetics. For, as Paul Guyer has so convincingly shown, there are at least six specific connections between aesthetics and ethics, and most of them have to do with providing empirical support for the belief that human beings can transform the natural world into a moral world. As he writes, 'we are sensuous as well as rational creatures, and therefore need sensuous as well as rational presentation and confirmation of the conditions of the possibility of morality. [...] aesthetic and teleological experience and judgment [...] both give us sensuous images of morality and a feeling of its achievability that can supplement and strengthen our purely – but also merely – rational insight into its demands and the possibility of our fulfilling them.'[99] Just as anthropology, aesthetics provide empirical support for our belief in the practicability of human moral agency.

   The human need for an empirical supplement to the a priori commands of the moral law is based on the fact that human beings, *qua* human, need more than the mere moral command. As I argued, this

need is based on certain psychological and anthropological facts about human nature – most notably the doubts about the existence of virtue that arise from experience, and the epistemic limitations caused by the opacity of human motivation. What this tells us about ourselves is precisely that we are needy creatures, creatures in need of empirical help, whichever form it may take. And yet this help, which Kant's empirical works provide, is far from relieving the essential burden of the task morality demands of us, that of having a good will. However, although strictly speaking nothing can help us with that, the aim of Section 3(ii) is to argue that anthropology can nevertheless be morally relevant.

(ii) Anthropology as a help to moral efficacy

A difficulty raised by the idea of a moral anthropology is that Kant's *Anthropology* and the *Lectures on Anthropology* do not seem to contain much discussion of it. This has been noted by a number of commentators. For instance, Louden remarks that 'there exists no one central text in the Kantian corpus [not even the *Anthropology*] that is devoted specifically to moral anthropology'.[100] Frierson also notes that 'much of Kant's anthropology is clearly *not* moral anthropology in the narrow sense'.[101] This has led commentators such as Zammito to conclude that 'The great promise of a "moral anthropology", included in every one of Kant's writings in ethics, was never fulfilled.'[102] However, I believe that Kant's *Anthropology* and the *Lectures on Anthropology* provide sufficient evidence to support the following claims: first, there is a legitimate place for moral anthropology within Kant's system, and second, it can be identified and expounded on the basis of textual evidence.

This section will show that anthropology is relevant to our moral practice insofar as it identifies the helps and hindrances to the realisation of duty, thereby making us more morally efficacious. More precisely, I will suggest that it plays two distinct roles *vis-à-vis* moral agency, a general and a local role.[103] Its general role consists in identifying, and thus recommending, the means that help the realisation of duty for all human agents. Its local role consists in recommending specific means to particular types of agents, and above all to agents endowed with particular temperaments. In this sense, although Chapter 1 has shown that empirical factors cannot have any effect on our moral character, this does not by any means entail that they are irrelevant to our moral practice.

We should begin by examining Kant's clearest description of the role of moral anthropology, which appears in the *Metaphysics of Morals*. There, he writes that moral anthropology deals 'only with the subjective

conditions in human nature that hinder people or help them in *fulfilling* [*die Ausführung*] the laws of a metaphysics of morals'.[104] To understand this claim, we should go back to the distinction introduced in Section 1(iii) between pure ethics, the metaphysics of morals and moral anthropology. There, I argued that the various strands of Kant's ethical project should be divided along the following lines: first, the project that produces an a priori system of duties for rational agents in general (*Groundwork*, *C.Pr.R.*); second, the project that generates an a priori system of the duties that are binding upon a particular type of agent, namely human agents (*M.M.*); and third, the project that examines the worldly helps and hindrances to human moral agency (*Anthropology* and *L.A.*).

Accordingly, the relationship between each ethical project and the knowledge of human nature it requires can be distinguished in the following fashion. The first project is completely independent of any knowledge of human nature: it focuses on pure practical rationality alone. The second project is not completely independent of it: it presupposes certain features of human nature.[105] In particular, insofar as virtue is the form that fulfilling one's duty takes for human agents, the metaphysics of morals outlines duties of virtue that presuppose a number of empirical features of human nature and the human world more generally.[106] As Kant writes in the *Groundwork*, 'the whole of morals [...] needs anthropology for its *application* to human beings'.[107] However, the problem is that the *Groundwork* also maintains that a 'metaphysics' should be 'pure', that is to say independent of considerations of human nature: 'it is of the greatest practical importance not to make its principles dependent upon the special nature of human reason.'[108]

This apparent tension can be disentangled by replacing these claims within their context. For one of the aims of the *Groundwork* is to discriminate between the a priori basis of morality and the empirical foundation of prudence, and in this respect, it is crucial for Kant to preserve the purity of the grounding of morality. This does not entail that he cannot then go from what can be said from a pure a priori perspective about what applies to all rational beings, to what can be said about what applies specifically to human agents – that is, the metaphysics of morals. As Kant writes, 'a metaphysics of morals cannot be based upon anthropology but can still be applied to it.'[109] Of course, instead of trying to rescue Kant's consistency at all cost, one could simply acknowledge that he changed his mind from the *Groundwork* to the *Metaphysics of Morals*, as suggested by Wood: in the latter, 'Kant now regards a metaphysics of morals as constituted not by a set of wholly pure moral principles, but

instead by the system of duties that results when the pure principle is applied to the empirical nature of human beings in general'.[110] Either way, there is no doubt that the metaphysics of morals, which I have identified as Kant's second project, is not completely pure in the sense that it requires some empirical knowledge of human nature.

Finally, Kant's third project examines the empirical helps and hindrances to moral agency – not any empirical helps and hindrances, but specifically 'the subjective conditions *in human nature*'.[111] In this sense, it is completely dependent upon empirical considerations of human nature. And this is where anthropology comes into play: its role is to provide the empirical knowledge of the world (and in particular of the human being, his capacities and his inner workings) that is necessary to identify the features that can help or hinder the performance of duty. In other words, the third project requires anthropological knowledge of human nature.

> It would deal with the development, spreading, and strengthening of moral principles (in education in schools and in popular instruction), and with other similar teachings and precepts *based on experience*. It cannot be dispensed with, but it must not precede a metaphysics of morals or be mixed with it.
>
> (*M.M.*, 372 [6:217]; my emphasis)[112]

On this basis, my argument will rely on the claim that the recommendations spelt out by moral anthropology regarding the subjective human conditions that help or hinder the fulfilment of the moral law should in fact be interpreted in terms of what Kant calls, in the *Metaphysics of Morals*, indirect duties. If this interpretation is correct, we will have to conclude that Kant is not entirely consistent because his *Metaphysics of Morals* contains some elements of moral anthropology.

Although Kant never presents a clear and systematic account of indirect duties (he merely mentions them in passing), I have compiled a table that summarises his scattered remarks (see Table 4.3).[113] Since he does not actually develop a full account of these indirect duties, I would like to suggest that this list should be further refined. For, although he clearly identifies the pursuit of one's own happiness as an indirect duty, more can be said about its role *vis-à-vis* moral agency.

As showed in Table 4.5, promoting one's happiness is an indirect duty because it prevents temptation, which thereby preserves one's moral integrity. However, there are two sides to the endeavour of preventing temptation. One is to address the risk of temptation by meeting

Table 4.3   Textually based table of indirect duties

Indirect duty	Purpose
Secure one's happiness[114]	To prevent temptation
Allow conscience a hearing[115]	To promote attention to one's inner judge
Foster natural feelings of compassion[116]	To cultivate capacity for sympathy
Refrain from maltreating animals[117]	To preserve capacity to feel sympathy
Refrain from destroying natural beauty[118]	To preserve disposition for disinterested love

some of the demands made by the inclinations; this is the role played by the indirect duty to promote one's happiness.[119] The other side of this endeavour is to limit the amount or the force of the inclinations in the first place, which leads to what Kant calls moral apathy (i.e. weakening inclinations as much as possible).

> [I]n cases of moral apathy feelings arising from sensible impressions lose their influence on moral feeling only because respect for the law is more powerful than all such feelings together.
>
> (*M.M.*, 536 [6:408])

Another way of formulating the same claim is to argue that since one may not be strong enough to tame all of one's inclinations and (thus reaching a state of moral apathy), a more reliable strategy may be to address the most important, pressing or valued inclinations by satisfying them (and thus promoting one's own happiness).

> [T]he end is not the subject's happiness but his morality, and happiness is merely a means for removing obstacles to his morality – a *permitted* means [. . .]. But then it is not my happiness but the preservation of my moral integrity that is my end and also my duty.
>
> (*M.M.*, 519–20 [6:388])

In this sense, pursing one's own happiness and taming one's inclinations are complementary endeavours that support the same purpose: the realisation of the duty to preserve one's moral integrity.

To support the claim that human beings can be said to have an indirect duty to tame their inclinations and cultivate their capacity for self-mastery as well as to pursue their own happiness, it should be noted that the capacity for self-mastery corresponds to what I have called in Chapter 1 the culture of discipline, which 'is negative, and consists in the liberation of the will from the despotism of desires, by which we are made, attached as we are to certain things of nature, incapable of choosing for ourselves, [...] while yet we are free enough to tighten or loosen them, to lengthen or shorten them, as the ends of reason require.'[120] Thus, cultivating self-mastery (*qua* indirect duty) is not a matter of becoming free from the determination of desires when one is not already free, or becoming freer than one already is, but rather a matter of developing control over one's inclinations, thereby indirectly consolidating moral resolve, determination and strength of character.

> Strength of any kind can be recognised only by the obstacles it can overcome, and in the case of virtue these obstacles are natural inclinations, which can come into conflict with the human being's moral resolution; and since it is the human being *himself* who puts these obstacles in the way of his maxims, virtue is not only self-constraint (for then one natural inclination could strive to overcome another), but also self-constraint in accordance with a principle of inner freedom.
>
> (*M.M.*, 524–5 [6:394])

Thus, the cultivation of the capacity for self-mastery is precisely what Kant refers to in *C.J.*, 299 [5:432] in terms of tightening, loosening, lengthening or shortening our inclinations. Of course, from the perspective of the strength of one's inclinations, one can be said to be more or less free in the sense that one can have weaker or stronger inclinations (i.e. the 'forces opposing' duty). Kant seems to have this in mind when he writes that 'The less a human being can be constrained by natural means and the more he can be constrained morally (through the mere representation of duty), so much the more free he is.'[121] However, this sense of freedom should be distinguished from transcendental freedom, which is necessarily presupposed when one deliberates and acts from the practical standpoint.

> Since virtue is based on inner freedom it contains a positive command to a human being, namely to bring all his capacities and inclinations under his (reason's) control and so to rule over himself,

which goes beyond forbidding him to let himself be governed by his feelings and inclinations (the duty of *apathy*); for unless reason holds the reins of government in its own hands, his feelings and inclinations play the master over him.

(*M.M.*, 536 [6:408])[122]

To understand how cultivating the capacity for self-mastery can play a facilitating role for moral agency, we should examine more closely the way in which Kant describes the hindrances to its use, namely natural impulses: 'Impulses of nature, accordingly, involve *obstacles* within the human being's mind to his fulfilment of duty and (sometimes powerful) forces opposing it.'[123] It is these natural inclinations that form the obstacles to the performance of duty, so that hindering what hinders the fulfilment of duty (namely inclinations and impulses), or at least weakening or taming them, will ease the performance of duty by strengthening the force of the moral resolve: 'Ethical gymnastics, therefore, consists only in combating natural impulses sufficiently to be able to master them when a situation comes up in which they threaten morality.'[124] But how can the capacity for self-mastery be cultivated in order to ease moral efficacy? Or to extend the metaphor, what kind of training should the moral gymnast practice in order to be ready when time comes to attempt the somersault?

   Kant's favoured means, or at least the means he recommends most often, is what he calls civilised social intercourse.

In society everyone is well-behaved, [but] everything is appearance, the desires of the citizens against each other are there; in acting everyone burns with wickedness [...], and yet he is as composed and indifferent as if this did not stir him at all. Truly this betrays a self-mastery and is the beginning of conquering oneself. It is a step towards virtue or at least a capacity thereto.

(*L.A.*, [25:930])

So if politeness is not virtue, it is a step towards it, a step that exercises and strengthens self-mastery, and helps one to overcome – or at least control and refine – one's passions.

The passion of love is much moderated through [politeness], when one plays around with the beautiful for the amenities of association and conceals the red-hot inclination, that otherwise would be

difficult to suppress; the well-mannered association and the artful joke defeat the otherwise hard to overcome inclination.

(*L.A.*, [25:930])

In this sense, the capacity for self-mastery consists in being able to keep under control the passions and inclinations that are, for Kant, the main source of harm to freedom and reason: 'Inclination that prevents reason from comparing it with the sum of all inclinations in respect to a certain choice is *passion* […] It is also easy to see that they do the greatest damage to freedom.' Thus, it is because 'Passions are cancerous sores for pure practical reason' that combating and controlling them through civilised social intercourse, which cultivates the capacity for self-mastery, is a step towards virtue.[125]

On the basis of what I have argued, I have compiled a second table summarising the connection between the indirect duties identified in this section and the capacities that are thereby cultivated (see Table 4.4).

A common feature of these indirect duties is that they are concerned with the self, and more specifically with either the improvement of some of its capacities or the hindering of whatever hinders these capacities from performing their function. In this sense, they can be interpreted as duties that are indirectly prescribed as means to the realisation of a direct duty, namely the direct imperfect duty that commands the pursuit of one's own perfection. According to Kant, this latter duty is twofold: it prescribes the cultivation of both our natural and our moral perfection. The first duty is expressed in the maxim 'Cultivate your powers of mind and body so that they are fit to realise any ends you might encounter',

Table 4.4   Second table of indirect duties[126]

Hinder the hindrances to duty (negatively)	*Effect on the capacity thereby empowered (positively)*
Prevent temptation by securing happiness, and tame inclinations through social intercourse	Strengthening of the capacity for self-mastery
Silence voices that obstruct conscience	Cultivation of conscience
Refrain from maltreatment of animals and sympathise with others' fate	Preservation and cultivation of the capacity for sympathy
Refrain from destroying natural beauty	Preservation of the disposition for disinterested love

whilst the second duty is expressed in the maxim 'strive with all one's might that the thought of duty for its own sake is the sufficient incentive of every action conforming to duty'.[127] As Kant notes, these are wide duties – they can be realised in many different ways, and it is up to the agent to choose the form that the realisation of these duties should take; or to put it more accurately, it is up to the agent to choose the means he judges to be most appropriate to his own realisation of these duties.

> [I]f the law can prescribe only the maxim of actions, not actions themselves, this is a sign that it leaves a playroom (*latitudo*) for free choice in following (complying with) the law, that is, that the law cannot specify precisely in what way one is to act and how much one is to do by the action for an end that is also a duty.
>
> (*M.M.*, 521 [6:390])

However, I would like to suggest that although, strictly speaking, there is latitude in the ways in which we can comply with wide duties generally, in the case of wide duties to the self, these duties are supplemented with a set of indirect duties that point towards particular means to their realisation. To understand this claim, note that, as shown in Table 4.7, our predispositions, and in particular the development of the capacities for conscience, disinterested love, sympathy and self-mastery, are also Nature's purposes for the human species.[128] So from a naturalistic perspective, it is Nature that develops these capacities for the purposes it sets for us. But by tracking Nature's purposes for us (what I have called the functionalist features of human nature), anthropology enables human beings to make the most of those capacities in order to further *their own* purposes.

Therefore as suggested by Table 4.5, anthropology offers two distinct perspectives on our capacities: one that views them as realising Nature's purposes for us (natural anthropology), the other that views them as means for us to realise our own purposes (pragmatic anthropology), including moral ones (moral anthropology).

> [N]ature has after all placed the germs in these plants, and it is merely a matter of proper sowing and planting that these germs develop in the plants. The same hold true with human beings. Many germs lie within humanity, and now it is our business to develop the natural dispositions proportionally and to unfold humanity from its germs and to make it happen that the human being reaches his vocation.
>
> (*Lectures on Pedagogy*, 440 [9:445])

Table 4.5 The connection between Nature's purposes and human duties

Nature's purpose (natural anthropology)	Indirect duty (moral anthropology)	Direct duty (metaphysics of morals)
Culture of discipline[129]	To prevent temptation by promoting happiness, and to tame inclinations	Duty to pursue moral perfection[130]
Natural disposition for conscience[131]	To silence voices that obstruct conscience	Duty to obey the voice of conscience[132]
Feeling of sympathy[133]	To refrain from maltreatment of animals and sympathise with others' fate	Duty of humanity[134]
Feeling of love[135]	To refrain from destroying natural beauty	Duty of love[136]

From the standpoint of moral agency, it becomes *our* duty to perfect ourselves, and accordingly it becomes our indirect duty to perform the actions that strengthen our natural capacities, and to refrain from doing what hinders them (by being polite, protecting natural beauty, etc.).[137] In this sense, to go back to the taxonomy of Kant's ethical project I have delineated at the beginning of this section, the metaphysics of morals expounds the direct duties we have *qua* human *agents* by spelling out duties of virtue, and moral anthropology expounds the indirect duties we have *qua human* agents by spelling out the subjective helps and hindrances to the performance of our direct duties of virtue.

Therefore, indirect duties are not concerned with the agent's moral improvement as such, but rather indirectly with the improvement of its natural capacities. They do not help the making of the moral choice (they do not tell him how to be a morally worthy agent – only direct duties, duties of virtue, do); rather, they help the realisation of his choice, whatever it is, by identifying the subjective human features that may either further or hinder it. But if this is the case, why call these indirect duties 'duties' at all? For, the fact that they merely point to the means for promoting the performance of our duties suggests that they are not morally required, but more importantly that acting from these 'pseudo-duties' has no moral colour, however faded. For instance, having sympathetic feelings is not a moral quality unless it is connected with a good will, in which case it merely carries an indirect moral worth.

> Some qualities are even conducive to this good will itself and can make it much easier; despite this, however, they have no inner unconditional worth but always presuppose a good will, which limits the esteem one otherwise rightly has for them and does not permit their being taken as absolutely good.
>
> (*Groundwork*, 49–50 [4:393–4])

Thus it seems that the contribution of indirect duties to the realisation of direct duties is akin to that of rules of skills: they are 'necessary for attaining some possible purpose to be brought about by it [...] Whether the end is rational and good is not at all the question here, but only what one must do in order to attain it'.[138] If this is the case, then it follows that indirect duties are not in fact duties in any meaningful sense of the term: they are neither morally obligatory, nor necessary for the realisation of our direct duties, and thus do not have any duty-making features; rather, they are mere optional and contingent means.[139]

The idea that indirect duties should be relegated to the status of mere rules of skill is supported by the fact that their contribution to moral agency is limited to the role of making agents better prepared for realising their moral goals – just as being more informed about technical imperatives about the world will help them improve their efficiency. For instance, if I am well versed in financial investments (skill), I will be better able to fructify my charitable donations, or more able to use taxation relief so as to be able to give more to charity (duty of beneficence). And similarly, being more informed about technical imperatives that apply to human nature will help me improve the efficiency of the realisation of my duty. For instance, if I am aware of the connection between securing my own happiness (indirect duty) and cultivating my own perfection (direct duty), I will strengthen my moral resolve by achieving the former and thus be better able to achieve the latter. In both cases, the connection between the duty and the means to its realisation seems equally discretionary. I could act on both the duty of beneficence and the duty to cultivate my own perfection without using these particular means – I could choose other means, and whichever I choose is contingent.

Of course there are two types of contingencies at stake here: the contingency of particular causal connections in the world and the contingency intrinsic to human nature. In the former case, the connection between what duty commands and the actions that are the means to the realisation of the duty depends on the contingent features of the world.

In the latter case, the connection between what duty commands and the actions that are the means to its realisation depends on how we are, *qua* human beings. This contingency in fact takes two forms: one that refers to the general human condition (for instance, the fact that we are not holy wills, that we have inclinations, that we naturally desire our own happiness, etc.), and one that refers to our particular condition *qua* individuals (for instance, the fact that I have a particular temperament, a particular personal history, a particular set of personal relationships, etc.). Thus, it seems that nothing can differentiate between rules of skill and indirect duties: neither is morally obligatory, both are contingent in the same way, and as a result,

> what is derived from the special natural constitution of humanity – what is derived from certain feelings and propensities and even, if possible, from a special tendency that would be peculiar to human reason and would not have to hold necessarily for the will of every rational being – that can indeed yield a maxim for us but not a law; it can yield a subjective principle on which we might act if we have the propensity or inclination, but not an objective principle on which we would be *directed* to act even thought every propensity, inclination and natural tendency of ours were against it.
>
> (*Groundwork*, 76–7 [4:425])

However, a difference between rules of skill and indirect duties is that indirect duties have to do specifically with the self and the means to the improvement of its capacities (or to the hindrance of what hinders their functioning). In this sense, 'anthropological means' are means that define human beings as acting agents: they define the conditions of agency. This has two implications for the status of indirect duties. First, as already noted, improving one's means to realise one's duty entails that the agent is thereby improving himself *qua* agent, which is certainly part of realising the duty towards one's own perfection.[140] Second, and more importantly, it suggests that one could not maintain one's moral standing whilst not performing the actions that fall under indirect duties – which would imply that indirect duties are in fact proper duties.

To support this claim, it is necessary to go back to yet another imperative, namely the one that commands the use of all the means necessary to the realisation of the ends that we are committed to: 'Whoever wills the end also wills […] the indispensable necessary means to it that are within his power.'[141] From this imperative, it follows that if we are committed to the improvement of the capacities necessary to the

actualisation of our moral commitments (through direct duties), we are thereby committed to the means necessary to its realisation (through indirect duties); or put the other way round, if we are not actually committed to the means necessary to the improvement of our ability to actualise our moral commitments, we are in fact at least inconsistent in our moral commitments, at worst violating them.

> [W]ith respect to contingent (meritorious) duty to oneself, it is not enough that the action does not conflict with humanity in our person as an end in itself; it must also *harmonize with it*. Now there are in humanity predispositions to greater perfection, which belong to the end of nature with respect to humanity in our subject; to neglect these might admittedly be consistent with the *preservation* of humanity as an end in itself but not with the *furtherance* of this end.
>
> (*Groundwork*, 80–1 [4:430])[142]

Thus, by being committed to the improvement of the capacities necessary to the actualisation of our moral commitments, we are thereby committed to the means necessary to its realisation.

However, one could object that in the case of indirect duties, these means are not strictly speaking necessary, for in principle, one could act from duty without actively cultivating these capacities, and thus without cultivating what helps the improvement of these capacities. In this sense, from the perspective of the moral law, the link between the end (direct duties) and the means (indirect duties) remains contingent, and thus the latter are not in fact duties. Yet it is crucial to note that my discussion is not actually concerned with the perspective of the moral law, but rather with that of anthropology – which entails that it is not concerned with rational beings in general, but rather with the embodied human agent whose actions take place in the world we know. To understand in what sense this is relevant here, it may be helpful to recall that the present dilemma (i.e. whether indirect duties are 'duties') is in fact a version of the dilemma we faced in Chapter 1 (i.e. whether anthropological claims about human beings are more relevant to moral agency than any other empirical claim about the world). The way I dealt with this dilemma was to argue that from the standpoint of the *rational* deliberating agent, anthropological claims are no more relevant to him than other claims about the world, which entails that they are not morally relevant. However, I further argued that from the standpoint of the *human* deliberating agent, an embodied agent whose actions take place in the empirical world, anthropology is morally relevant in the sense

that it identifies the form the realisation of *his* exercise of autonomy should take at the empirical level.

On this basis, my suggestion is that the same distinction applies here: although indirect 'duties' are not entailed by the moral law, the fact that they are directed to an embodied human agent whose actions take place in the empirical world suggests that they can be said to be necessary given certain features of human nature. For as shown in Chapter 3, the opacity of human motivation and the human propensity for deception (including self-deception) entail not only that we can never be certain of having ever acted from duty, but also that we can be mistaken about our moral strength.

> Very often he mistakes his own weakness, which counsels him against the venture of a misdeed, for virtue [...] how many people who have lived long and guiltless lives may not be merely *fortunate* in having escaped so many temptations?
>
> (*M.M.*, 523 [6:392–3])

Therefore, what is at stake here is not so much a matter of determining whether indirect 'duties' are proper duties (the answer to which is negative from the perspective of pure ethics), but rather a matter of understanding their function for embodied human agents (which amounts to taking up the perspective of pragmatic anthropology). In this sense, it is the epistemic opacity of human beings that creates the 'necessary' resort to moral anthropology – what we could improperly call a 'human necessity' or perhaps more accurately a human need.[143] For, if human beings could be certain of their motives and their moral strength, they would not need the backup that moral anthropology provides in the form of indirect duties. But insofar as they cannot be certain, they would be letting themselves down if they were not adopting indirect 'duties' as means to further their moral efficacy, and yet claiming to be committed to realising moral ends. It is in this respect that indirect duties are not morally neutral, or at least that they are not morally neutral in the same way as technical imperatives about the world.[144]

So far I have argued that the general role of moral anthropology is to identify and recommend the means that help the realisation of duty for human agents and counsel against the hindrances to it, thereby making them more morally efficacious. I now want to turn to its second role, what I have called its local role, which consists in recommending specific indirect duties to particular types of agents. More precisely,

I will argue that moral anthropology has two local functions: one *vis-à-vis* one's maxims, and the other *vis-à-vis* one's capacities.

Just as Chapter 3 has shown that anthropological knowledge of temperaments is an epistemic help to moral assessment, I now want to argue that the first local function of moral anthropology consists in the fact that knowledge of one's temperament is a crucial help to moral deliberation. As Kant writes,

> [T]he sublimity and inner dignity of the command in a duty is all the more manifest the fewer are the subjective causes in favor of it and the more there are against it, without thereby weakening in the least the necessitation by the law or taking anything away from its validity.
>
> (*Groundwork*, 77 [4:425])

Similarly, knowing one's temperament points to potential moral pitfalls, thus making one's deliberation, and thus one's maxims, more effective. For it reveals domains where a temperament is pointing in the same direction as duty (for instance, the sanguine temperament and the duty of benevolence; or the phlegmatic temperament and the duty of virtue), and conversely domains where a temperament is pointing away from duty (for instance, the choleric temperament and the duty of benevolence; or the melancholic temperament and the duty to keep promises). On the basis of this knowledge, it follows that in coinciding situations (when temperament and duty converge), I should make sure to discriminate between the moral and the non-moral motives so as to isolate the dutiful one; whilst in conflicting situations (when temperament and duty diverge), I should exercise control over the non-moral motives so as to facilitate action from the moral one. For instance, the melancholic should be wary of making promises unless he is certain he can keep them; or in situations when the duty of benevolence applies, the sanguine should question his seemingly benevolent motives whilst the choleric should temper his selfish motives.

The second local function of moral anthropology consists in recommending specific indirect duties to particular types of human agents. These recommendations are based on the fact that certain temperaments have the tendency to weaken the use of certain capacities – or rather, to pose stronger obstacles to the use of certain capacities for moral purposes. For instance, choleric temperaments are more prone to passions than others. And since passions hinder the ability to choose rationally, moral anthropology recommends that cholerics refine, and if

possible overcome, their passions in order to strengthen their capacity for self-control. And to do so, they should read books.

> [A]lthough the charms and passions are much exaggerated therein [books that serve for amusement] they still refine men in their feelings, by turning an object of animal inclination into one of more refined inclination; a man is thereby made receptive to the motive force of virtue on principles. They also have an indirect use, for in taming their inclinations, men become more civilised. The more we refine cruder elements, the more humanity is purified, and man is rendered capable of feeling the motive force of virtuous principles.
>
> (*L.E.*, 210 [27:456])

Although taming one's inclinations is not a virtue, it eases the realisation of duty by facilitating self-control. And in this sense, it will be important for choleric temperaments to attend to their capacity for self-mastery by refining their feelings. Phlegmatic temperaments on the other hand are not prone to feeling sympathy. They are naturally insensitive to human distress, and thus unable to detect situations where they ought to exercise their duty of benevolence.[145] As a result, it will be more important for them to attend to their capacity for sympathy by encouraging acquaintance with other people's painful feelings. The melancholic, by 'attributing a great importance to all things that concern himself', is naturally selfish. Thus it will be important for him to attend to his capacity for disinterested love by cultivating his appreciation of natural beauty. Finally, the sanguine is erratic: 'he attributes a great importance to each thing for the moment, and the next moment may not give it another thought', which entails that he tends to 'not keep his word [and be] a bad debtor'.[146] Thus, it will be important for him to foster attention to his conscience by silencing the voices that obstruct it (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6   The second local role of moral anthropology

Temperament	Indirect duty	Capacity
Sanguine	To silence the voices that obstruct conscience	Conscience
Phlegmatic	To sympathise with others' fate	Sympathy
Choleric	To read books, to refine feelings	Self-mastery
Melancholic	To appreciate natural beauty	Disinterested love

Of course, as already noted, this does not mean that the capacities for sympathy, disinterested love, self-control and conscience have any intrinsic moral worth. For one could just as well use them for immoral purposes. In this sense, a melancholic who develops his sympathetic feelings, or a choleric who learns to control his emotions, is not a morally improved agent in the sense that his moral character is better than if he had not cultivated these capacities; rather, first, he is a more efficient moral agent in the sense that he will be better armed to carry out his moral purposes. And second, one could say that this agent will be more confident (though never certain) that he is as committed as possible to the realisation of duty; or at least that he will be more warranted in feeling confident than agents who do not cultivate these capacities at all.

However, the idea that there could be duties (albeit indirect) that apply to certain agents and not others may seem to go against basic tenets of Kant's ethics, and in particular its universalism. As Sullivan suggests, 'Since moral rules have the characteristic of universality, what is morally forbidden to one is forbidden to all, what is morally permissible for one is equally permissible for all, and what is morally obligatory for one is equally obligatory for all.'[147] In other words, what grounds Kantian universalism, whichever form it takes, is the thought that agents ought not to use their particular circumstances as a ground for determining what is morally obligatory, permissible or forbidden. This suggests that what I have argued about the role of moral anthropology entails a recasting or refining of Kantian universalist intuitions. For on my interpretation, the role of individual circumstances, and agent-specific features in particular, should be reversed: not as exempting but as obliging myself; not as making exceptions or excuses for myself but rather as making certain demands on myself. In other words, it is not that no particular circumstance is special enough to exempt me from duty, but rather that my particular circumstances impose specific duties on me.[148]

There is no doubt that this claim seems in tension with numerous passages from Kant's works; for instance, the teachings of morality 'command for everyone, without taking account of his inclinations, merely because and insofar as he is free and has practical reason'.[149] But understood within its context, this claim should be interpreted as a claim about the grounding of the moral command, which can never arise from inclinations since it would lead to heteronomy. This does not entail, however, that the content of moral demands cannot be shaped by particular circumstances. In fact, Kant acknowledges that it is always shaped by particular circumstances, insofar as the moral law, which applies to

all rational beings, needs to be tailored to human agents (metaphysics of morals) as well as to particular cases (judgement) and to particular subjective conditions for its fulfilment (moral anthropology).[150] My claim is that moral anthropology takes this notion of shaping even further: first in its local role, by recommending specific indirect duties to particular types of human agents based on the fact that certain temperaments have the tendency to weaken the efficacy of some of their capacities; and second in its general role, by helping human beings learn about the functionalist features of their behaviour, thereby enabling them to be more effective in realising their moral objectives in their actual circumstances. In this sense, moral anthropology and the indirect 'duties' it spells out are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions for moral agency; rather they aim to promote and facilitate the exercise of virtue from the standpoint of worldly action, thus making human agents more morally efficacious.

(iii)   Anthropology as a map-making venture

As suggested in Chapter 3, as soon as the human being is understood in terms of his *praxis*, he becomes the product of his own making: he 'has a character, which he himself creates'.[151] Humankind results from the constructive work that it does freely, through its actions, its culture and its civilisation, on its natural predispositions. In other words, the human being is the ongoing result of his own making. As soon as he is understood in terms of what he makes of himself rather than in terms of what he is, two crucial issues arise: first, what is the purpose (or purposes) of his making? And second, how can he reach this (or these) destination(s)? As for the first question, three essential purposes can be identified: cognition, morality and happiness (prudence). And on the basis of what I have argued, my claim is that anthropology addresses the second question by identifying the worldly helps and hindrances to the realisation of human purposes in the world – and this is the reason why it should be understood as a 'pragmatic' science.

First, Kant's *Anthropology* provides knowledge of how to improve human cognition. It identifies different types of cognitive derangements that afflict the faculties of human cognition, and suggests various ways of overcoming them: for instance, he examines the decreasing, weakening and entire loss of the faculty of the senses and the soul's weaknesses and illnesses with respect to its cognitive faculty.[152] It also provides numerous recommendations for ways of improving the use of cognitive faculties: memory, sensory perception, understanding, judgement and reason, imagination, wisdom and so on.[153] Second, as shown in

Section 3(ii), anthropology provides knowledge (which in this context comprises more than the discussions that take place in the *Anthropology* itself) of how to help the realisation of our moral purposes in the world. On the one hand, it identifies the hindrances to morality and suggests various ways of overcoming them: combating passions, controlling emotions, moderating affects and so on.[154] On the other hand, it identifies the helps to morality: moral education, political institutions, politeness, social intercourse and so on.[155] Third, anthropology provides knowledge of how to realise our prudential purposes, and in particular happiness: boredom and amusement, sensuous pleasures, taste, the art of good living and so on (see Table 4.7).[156]

I believe that in this respect, pragmatic anthropology can be best described as a 'map-making venture', thus extending Kaulbach's analysis of Kant's philosophy of history to his conception of anthropology: 'Just as a traveller helps himself to a map, in order to identify the way and the destination', so analogously, human agents can also benefit from a map that describes the path they should follow in order to reach their destination.[157] Anthropology provides human beings with 'a plan, a map of the whole, within which one is able to determine one's own position and can trace out for oneself the path by which one can reach one's chosen goals'.[158] In other words, it supplies the topographical sketch of the whole that is necessary for the parts, human beings, to fulfil their purposes.

A difficulty with Kaulbach's interpretation of the metaphor of the map, however, is that it seems to conflate the path and the destination.[159] Yet on my interpretation, anthropology does not in

Table 4.7   Anthropological helps and hindrances to the realisation of human purposes

Purposes	*Helps*	*Hindrances*
Cognition	Improving memory, sensory perception, understanding, judgement and reason, imagination, wisdom, etc.	Decreasing, weakening, and entire loss of the faculty of the senses; the soul's weaknesses and illnesses, etc.
Morality	Moral education, politeness, social intercourse, just political institutions, etc.	Passions, emotions, affects, etc.
Happiness	Amusement, sensuous pleasures, taste, the art of good living, etc.	Boredom, pain, grief, overindulgence, debauchery, etc.

fact reveal our destination; rather, it shows how we can reach this destination.[160] In other words, it does not have to do with the identification of purposes ('where to go?'), but rather with the identification of the path to be followed in order to realise one's purposes ('how to get there?'). Its role is not to clear doubts about what I should, or ought to, do – or put slightly differently, where I should, or ought to, be heading. Desires and inclinations provide the basis for where I should go (i.e. prudential purposes – in their general form, happiness and well-being): 'prudence is the capacity to choose the best means to our happiness. Happiness consists in the satisfaction of all of our inclinations.'[161] And reason clearly indicates my moral destination, namely the realisation of the moral law:

> [R]eason by itself and independently of all appearances commands what ought to happen; that, accordingly, actions of which the world has perhaps so far given no example, and whose practicability might be very much doubted by one who bases everything on experience, are still inflexibly commanded by reason [...] by means of a priori grounds.
>
> (*Groundwork*, 62 [4:408])

It is only once their destination has been identified (either prudentially or morally) that human agents can then benefit from a map that describes the path they should follow in order to reach it. Anthropology supplies this map in the form of a topographical sketch of the whole, it provides interpretations of the world that help the human being understand that, and more importantly how, his purposes can be realised in the world. More precisely, it addresses the problem of 'disorientation in acting' by accomplishing three tasks: first, it describes human beings' behaviour relative to their purposes; second, it deduces from their predispositions the extent to which they can actually make something of themselves; thirdly, it draws conclusions regarding what they should do in order to accomplish the best possible fulfilment of their purposes.

However, one may be tempted to argue that the analogy of the map, though well-suited to the technical and prudential uses of anthropology, fits less comfortably in the moral case. For, properly speaking, we have no moral end that is analogous to the first two types of ends, which would threaten the aptness of the metaphor of the map.[162] I believe that this worry can be addressed by explaining in what sense we have moral ends and clarifying that the moral dimension of anthropology has nothing to do with the identification of these moral ends.

First, it is clear that for Kant, it is not because I am motivated to act for the sake of duty alone that I do not have moral ends. For, what the moral law actually commands me to do is precisely to realise certain ends. Thus we do have moral ends, although crucially these ends acquire moral worth only insofar as I am motivated to realise them because this is what duty commands me to do. If this is correct, then defining the moral guidance of anthropology in terms of identifying the helps and hindrances to the realisation of one's moral purposes does not stand in tension with Kant's ethics.

The second part of the worry can be addressed if we further refine the metaphor of the map. A more suitable metaphor for the role of anthropology could be that of a 'satellite navigation system'.[163] For this model clearly suggests that the practical reasoning that leads to the identification of the destination not only differs from, but more importantly is entirely independent of the process of determining the means to reaching it. For instance, the moral law tells me that I ought to tell the truth. However, what it does not tell me is *how* I can tell the truth, in particular if I am in a situation where I am tempted to lie because it suits my self-interest. Anthropology does so. For instance, it teaches me how I can control my countervailing inclinations so as to be able to tell the truth even when I have prudential reasons not to do so. The metaphor of the satellite navigation system finds further support in Kant's use of another metaphor, that of the compass: 'common human reason, with this compass in hand [the moral law], knows very well how to distinguish in every case that comes up what is good and what is evil, what is in conformity with duty or contrary to duty.'[164] This indicates that if ethics is the compass that points to our moral destination, anthropology is the navigation system that shows us the path that leads to it.[165]

5
Philosophical History

The aim of this chapter is to examine Kant's philosophy of history understood as the diachronic counterpart of his anthropology. In particular, I shall argue that the antinomy of reflective judgement examined in Chapter 2, and Kant's philosophy of biology in general, have crucial repercussions for our understanding of his philosophy of history. A number of commentators have recently acknowledged a connection between the *Critique of the Power of Judgment* and Kant's philosophy of history. For instance, Robert Louden remarks that 'Surprisingly, the best entrée into Kant's philosophy of history is not the short essays on history themselves but rather part 2 of the *Critique of Judgment*.'[1] He also cites Ludwig Siep ('the most detailed and for the mature Kant the decisive grounding of his philosophy of history is to be found in the *Critique of Judgment*') and Pauline Kleingeld ('in the *Critique of Judgment* one finds the only text of some size in which Kant touches on the themes of history within a Critique').[2] The passages these commentators have in mind are essentially §63 on the distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic purposiveness and §§83–84 on the distinction between ultimate and final purpose of nature.[3] As I will show in Section 2, these distinctions are indeed significant for Kant's philosophy of history. However, I will argue that by focusing almost exclusively on the passages that directly refer to history and culture, these commentators fail to draw out the full implications of the connection between Kant's philosophy of history and the *Critique of the Power of Judgment*, and more particularly between the former and Kant's philosophy of biology. This leads them to overlook the crucial connection between the antinomy of history and the antinomy of reflective judgement on the one hand, and the functioning of human societies and that of organisms on the other.[4]

In Section 1, I begin by outlining the connections between the antinomy of history and the antinomy of reflective judgement on the one hand, and the functioning of human societies and that of organisms on the other hand.[5] These connections reveal two types of historical method, empirical history and philosophical history, built on different models of explanation. Section 2(i) and (ii) focus specifically on Kant's philosophical history, a teleological account of history that takes two forms that parallel the distinction drawn in Chapter 4 between natural and moral anthropology: a teleological story of civilisation (natural history) and a teleological story of moralisation (moral history). In Section 2(iii), I argue that the distinction between these two stories brings to light the fundamental contributions of history to the realisation of moral agency in the world.

1. The antinomy of history: Teleology vs. mechanism in historical explanations

(i)   The part–whole relationship in the human species

To begin with, I want to argue that Kant's account of history takes the form of an antinomy that is structurally identical to the one put forward in Kant's analysis of organisms. To support this claim, I will compare the two antinomies and show in what sense they can be said to parallel each other: they exhibit the same pattern of part–whole relationship and the same conflict between mechanism and teleology.

As shown in Chapter 2, to describe something as an organism is to conceive its parts as combining into a whole in which they reciprocally produce each other: 'An organized product of nature is that in which everything is an end and reciprocally a means as well.'[6] This distinctive feature has been broken down intro three categories which all have to do with the fact that organisms in some sense produce themselves: reproduction, generation and conservation. I summarised the essential characteristics of an organism in the following terms:

(1)   An organism is both cause and effect of itself.
(2)   Its parts are only possible through their relation to the whole and they exist for the sake of the whole.
(3)   The whole and its parts are both causes and effects of their organisation.

To have a better grasp of Kant's concept of organism, recall that I have formalised the relation between the whole and its parts as follows:

> Given x: a part of an organism,
> Given y: an organic whole,
>> (1) x is a part of y
>> (2) x is a cause of y
>> (3) y determines x.

The existence of organisms not only implies mechanical causality – a phenomenon's determination by its antecedent – but also a reciprocity of the cause and the effect: 'a thing exists as a natural end *if it is cause and effect of itself* (although in a twofold sense).'[7] I have already formulated their peculiar character in terms of an antinomy between teleological and mechanical judgements. Now, I shall argue that Kant's account of the relationship between human beings and the human species exhibits the same peculiar character, namely a reciprocity of the cause and the effect. In other words, the part–whole relationship at work in human history is identical to the part–whole relationship in the functioning of organisms, as suggested by the following passage:

> One can, conversely, illuminate a certain association, though one that is encountered more in the idea than in reality, by means of an analogy with the immediate ends of nature that have been mentioned [i.e. organisms]. [...] For in such a whole [i.e. the entire body politic] each member should certainly be not merely a means, but at the same time also an end, and, insofar as it contributes to the possibility of the whole, its position and function should also be determined by the idea of the whole.
>
> (*C.J.*, 246–7fn [5:375])

This passage is fundamental and yet it calls for a number of remarks in order to be elucidated. First, it should be noted that the analogy between organisms and the human species functions at different levels. As shown in Chapter 2, in the case of biology, the part–whole relationship operates essentially at the level of individual organisms. This is due to the fact that for Kant, organisms fully develop their capacities at individual level whilst, as shown in Chapter 4, human natural capacities 'were to develop completely only in the species, but not in the individual'.[8] Thus in the case of human history, the part–whole relationship operates at the level of the species – the parts, human beings, are thought of in terms of their relationship with the whole they are part of, the human species. This entails that, first, the purposiveness at work in human history is intrinsic to the species as a whole, whereas the purposiveness at work in biology is intrinsic to particular individuals; and second, 'historical

purposiveness' is expressed in terms of the destination of the species, whilst the organisation of its parts, human beings, is thought of in terms of the means for the realisation of this destination.[9]

Keeping this qualification in mind, the part–whole relationship between human beings (the parts) and the human species (the whole) can be broken down into three categories that parallel the part–whole relationship in organisms:

1. Formation: The parts create the whole through an agreement: in order to survive, human beings are forced 'to go beyond a lawless condition of savages and enter into a federation of nations'.[10]
2. Cultivation: The whole generates the progressive enlightenment of its parts, which amounts to a preservation of the parts by the whole: 'We [i.e. the parts] are *cultivated* in a high degree by art and science. We are *civilized*, perhaps to the point of being overburdened, by all sorts of social decorum and propriety [i.e. the whole].'[11]
3. Perpetuation: It is the idea of the whole (civil society) that is at the origin of the features and the organisation of its parts (the antagonism between freedoms): 'The human being [i.e. the parts] wills concord; but nature knows better what is good for his species [i.e. the whole]: it wills discord.'[12] The parts are organised according to the idea of the whole in order to guarantee its survival.

Hence, Kant's account of the emergence of civil society exhibits a part–whole relationship between human beings and the human species in which they reciprocally produce and determine each other. This relationship mirrors the part–whole relationship found in organisms, as shown in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1   The part–whole relationship in the human species

Level	Human Species	Organism
Individual (the parts produce the whole)	Formation	Generation
Parts (the whole preserves its parts)	Cultivation	Conservation
Whole (the whole organises its parts so that they bring about its survival)	Perpetuation	Reproduction

This suggests that the human species can be thought of by analogy with an organism insofar as its development exhibits an analogous pattern:

> Given x: a part of the human species,
> Given y: the human whole,
>   (1) x is a part of y
>   (2) x is a cause of y
>   (3) y determines x.

The problem arising from this peculiar part–whole relationship is to understand (3) – namely, what does it mean for the whole 'to determine the form and combination of all the parts'?[13] This difficulty is expressed by the fact that the part–whole relationship in human history can be formalised in two distinct fashions – mechanically and teleologically –, the two perspectives coming across as equally necessary. Let us now apply the twofold model of explanation developed in Kant's account of biology to his account of history, keeping in mind that we are concerned with the evolution of the whole.

First, since human actions 'are determined just as much as every other natural occurrence in accordance with universal laws of nature', the reciprocity of the cause and the effect in the relationship between human beings and the human species can be accounted for mechanically as follows:[14]

> [Mechanical/Real Model of Explanation]
>   Given a: a part of the human species,
>   Given b: the human whole,
>   b → a → b.

The first occurrence of 'b' should be thought of as the human species in its natural state, before the creation of civil society, its second occurrence being civil society as such. The mechanical model thus presents a picture of humankind that is structurally analogous to the definition of a natural purpose: the human whole is '*cause and effect of itself* (although in a twofold sense)', these different senses being on the one hand the human species, on the other hand civil society.[15] However, there is a difficulty intrinsic to this model: it seems to presuppose that 'the volitions of *all individuals*' be united into 'the will *of all*' in order to create 'a whole of civil society' ('a → b').[16] And yet,

> people in their *schemes* set out only from the parts and may well remain with them, and may be able to reach the whole, as something

> too great for them, in their ideas but not in their influence, especially
> since, with their mutually adverse schemes, they would hardly unite
> for it by their own free resolution.
>
> (*T.P.*, 307 [8:310])

We cannot reasonably presuppose that human beings consciously pursue a common goal through their actions insofar as 'each pursues its own aim in its own way and one often contrary to another.'[17]

The second, teleological, model is supposed to compensate for the insufficiency of the mechanical model. If the latter does not seem to be able to make sense of the confused course of human actions, the former provides 'an instructive prospect on a teleological order of things, to which merely physical consideration alone, without such a principle, would not lead us'.[18] The thread discovered through the analysis of the law of events is a regulative idea, its aim being to 'serve [...] for the explanation of such a confused play of things human'.[19] This thread, the idea of the full development of human natural predispositions, applied to the history of the species leads to a second, teleological model of historical explanation:

[Teleological/Ideal Model of Explanation]
    Given R: a representation,
    Given a: a part of the human species,
    Given b: the human whole,
        $R(b) \Rightarrow a \rightarrow b$.[20]

The teleological analysis of history reveals certain patterns necessary to our understanding of the 'big picture' – a level not attainable through mechanical explanations.

In Sections (ii) and (iii), I will suggest that the two models of historical explanation, which are formally identical to the two types of biological explanation put forward in Chapter 2, show the path of two different understandings of history: empirical history and philosophical history. I will examine them in turn.

(ii)   Empirical history: A mechanical account of human intentions

Insofar as it focuses on individuals and their intentions, the mechanical model of historical explanation amounts to the perspective of what I would like to call 'empirical history'. Of course, it may seem odd to label an account based on intentions 'mechanical'. However, as will become clear, it is the connection between human beings' intentions and their

actions on the one hand, and the evolution of the species on the other hand, that is mechanical in the sense identified in Chapter 2, by contrast with teleological connections. Moreover, mechanical accounts of history are empirical in the sense that they are based on the perspective of individuals' intentions, and make sense of their actions in light of their own purposes and the context surrounding their actions. They tell the story of empirical phenomena born of human beings' wills and actions. As Kant writes, history 'that is written merely *empirically*' 'concerns itself with the narration of these appearances [human actions]': it 'considers the play of the freedom of the human will *in the large*'.[21]

This empirical form of history can be understood through Walsh's concept of colligation, which he defines as history's distinctive methodological trait, and which explains a historical event by tracking its primary connections to other events within their shared context.[22] On the one hand, it posits the purposive actions of individuals as the links between events ('each pursues its own aim in its own way'); on the other hand, the context (natural as well as social) is understood as limiting or circumscribing their choices.[23] In this sense, empirical history defines historical events as involving agents' self-ascriptions, goals and the context surrounding agents' actions (both past, present and future). The interplay between human purposes and contexts makes room for an account in which 'men's aspirations and attempts are constantly thwarted both by circumstances and by their fellows.'[24]

Empirical history thus defined encounters three types of difficulty: epistemological, structural and methodological. The epistemological difficulty is that knowing a human act through its causes means knowing the intention at its origin. Yet, as already noted, these causes are 'deeply concealed' since human motivation is, for Kant, ultimately opaque – both to the agent and to the spectator.[25] This fact imposes strong epistemic limitations on the perspective of empirical history understood as the narrative of agents' behaviour and intentions. For, on the basis of what has been shown in Chapter 3, and contrary to what one may have thought, empirical explanations in history will have no epistemic advantage over teleological ones since they are both restricted to an interpretative, reflective status: strictly speaking, they will have an equal (albeit equal to none) claim to truth value.

The structural difficulty faced by empirical history is based on the fact that, as already mentioned, human beings follow different goals, lead their lives according to different principles and thus do not proceed according to a concerted plan: 'each pursues its own aim in its own way and one often contrary to another.'[26] Consequently, empirical

history is made of a multiplicity of biographies that cannot be easily articulated within a global perspective and integrated into a single narrative: 'no history of them [human beings] in conformity to a plan (as e.g. of bees or of beavers) appears to be possible.'[27] For on the one hand, 'we are dealing with beings that act freely, to whom, it is true, what they *ought* to do may be *dictated* in advance, but of whom it may not be *predicted* what they will do.'[28] On the other hand, since they are historical creatures whose natural capacities 'were to develop completely only in the species', contrary to non-human animals, their capacities cannot be exhibited entirely within the life cycle of one individual.[29] As a result, whilst bees and beavers exhibit regular patterns of behaviour that obey systematic natural laws so that individuals belonging to the same species follow similar behavioural steps, human beings do not seem to exhibit any pattern, which unquestionably limits the potential for knowledge of them.

Finally, the methodological difficulty is that empirical history seems to be limited to a chronological method that cannot provide a fully satisfactory form of knowledge. For in history, 'I enumerate one thing after another, be it as to space or to time. But in rational cognitions and sciences we always derive one thing from another.'[30] Of course, as Makkreel remarks, 'the relation of coordination that characterises historical cognition does not need to remain purely enumerative.'[31] For, if a discipline like history can be organised by an idea of the whole, it can be considered a proper science.

> In historical sciences one has two methods, the *chronological* and the *geographical*. The two can be combined with each other. The last is better than the first. In all cognitions that hang together one must first take into consideration the whole rather than its parts, and of the parts the large ones rather than the small ones, the higher division rather than the lower.
>
> (*Lectures on Logic*, 237 [24:292])

However, as I have argued, engrained in empirical history's 'mechanical model' is the idea that its enquiries should begin from the parts (individuals) rather than the whole (the human species), and that moreover, given the behaviour of the parts, it is unclear it will ever be able to reach the whole. Thus if history is to become rational, it cannot be in the form of empirical history but will have to adopt another method, one that begins with the consideration of history as a whole – what Kant calls 'philosophical history'.

[T]here is no other way out for the philosopher – who, regarding human beings and their play in the large, cannot at all presuppose any rational *aim of theirs* – than to try whether he can discover an *aim of nature* in this nonsensical course of things human; from which aim a history in accordance with a determinate plan of nature might nevertheless be possible even of creatures who do not behave in accordance with their own plan.

<div align="right">(Idea, 109 [8:18])</div>

(iii) Philosophical history: A teleological account of Nature's intentions

Kant's philosophical perspective on history aims at telling us something about the evolution of humanity by focusing on the whole rather than its parts. For, if we cannot make sense of history by following human beings' intentions, we can attempt to make sense of it by presupposing that they unconsciously follow a plan set for them by Nature – what Kant calls 'Nature's intention'.[32] Methodologically, it entails that we stop focusing on individuals and focus instead on the level of the big picture, that of the evolution of the human species: 'what meets the eye in individual subjects as confused and irregular yet in the whole species can be recognized as a steadily progressing though slow development of its original predispositions.'[33] Kant does not recommend that it replace empirical history but rather that it complement strictly empirical perspectives.

That with this idea of a world history, which in a certain way has a guiding thread *a priori*, I would want to displace the treatment of history proper, that is written merely *empirically* – this would be a misinterpretation of my aim; it is only a thought of that which a philosophical mind (which besides this would have to be very well versed in history) could attempt from another standpoint.

<div align="right">(Idea, 119–20 [8:30])</div>

Numerous commentators have criticised Kant's account of philosophical history on the basis that it contradicts, or at least that it is of no use for, what they believe to be the only legitimate form of historical enquiry, namely empirical history. For instance, William Walsh writes that Kant 'in his celebrated essay "Idea for a Universal History" spoke of "Nature" or "Providence" as pursuing a hidden plan in history, and argued that the main object of a philosophical treatment of the subject was

to uncover such a plan, thus making the writing of universal history possible. But if the proviso noted is correct, it must be agreed that no such plan could conceivably be of interest to *historians*.'[34] Robert Flint goes even further and claims that teleology is potentially disastrous to the study of history insofar as it invites historians to reason not from facts to final causes but from final causes to facts: 'the farsighted man must have perceived that there was a danger that a priori speculation would not consent to remain merely the servant of [...] empirical history, but might assert independence in which case the study of history would be more hindered than helped by it.'[35] As summed up by Wilkins, 'The fundamental problem posed by Kant's essay is the relationship between "nature's purpose" for man and the inquiries of historians. What exactly is the connection between the principle of teleology and the pursuits of ordinary historians? Is it possible to entertain such a principle without its affecting one's actual historical inquiries and interpretations?'[36]

In fact, Kant himself acknowledges the strangeness of this approach whilst underlining its usefulness for our understanding of the historical world:

> It is, to be sure, a strange and apparently an absurd stroke, to want to write a *history* in accordance with an idea of how the course of the world would have to go in if it were to conform to certain rational ends; it appears that with such an aim only a *novel* could be brought about. If, nevertheless, one may assume that nature does not proceed without a plan or final aim even in the play of human freedom, then this idea could become useful; and although we are too shortsighted to see through to the secret mechanism of its arrangement, this idea should still serve us as a guiding thread for exhibiting an otherwise planless *aggregate* of human actions, at least in the large, as a *system*.
>
> (*Idea*, 118 [8:29])

Despite its apparent strangeness, the idea of Nature's intentions is a heuristic device set up to organise historical data. Of course, there is no doubt that for Kant, the usefulness of teleological history is much broader than its usefulness for empirical enquiries into historical events – it importantly involves the ethical destination of the human species and the issue of moral progress, and I will turn to these issues in Section 2. However, the claim I support here is that Kant's teleological view of history should not be understood as being primarily grounded on moral considerations, but rather that it stems from epistemological considerations, considerations that are based on his conception of

teleology and its relation to mechanism as found in his philosophy of biology. To understand what Kant means by this heuristic use, it is crucial to refer back to his views of teleology in biology. For I believe that the function of teleology in history is in fact akin to its function in biology.

As shown in Chapter 2, the guiding principle at the basis of Kant's biological method, which is based on the principle of teleology in order to maximise the intelligibility of the world, is that 'everything in the world is good for something, […] nothing in it is in vain.'[37] Teleology thus has a crucial role to play in biology: it supplies the principles and maxims with which we can investigate empirical phenomena.

> [O]nce we have adopted such a guideline for studying nature and found it to be reliable we must also at least attempt to apply this maxim of the power of judgment to the whole of nature, since by means of it we have been able to discover many laws of nature which, given the limitation of our insights into the inner mechanisms of nature, would otherwise remain hidden from us.
>
> (*C.J.*, 269 [5:398])

On this basis, my claim is that similarly, teleology offers a methodological tool that allows historians to interpret data so as to lead to new explanations and further connections between events. In this sense, insofar as teleology is a heuristic tool (that is to say, reflective rather than constitutive), it is not intended to make any objective or scientific claim about the world – and this is so whether it is used in biology or history. Rather, it consists in thinking 'as if' history were following a plan, namely as if it were teleologically oriented by the idea of the destination of the species: we think reflectively of historical events as realising a purpose independent of human beings' intentions. And this importantly suggests that Kant's use of teleology in history does not face traditional criticisms directed at 'Whig' history.[38] For he does not claim that human history is directed towards a purpose, but rather that it looks as if history were directed towards a purpose, and that moreover, looking at history in this way is helpful for the historian.[39]

The use of teleology in history is thus akin to the one expounded in anthropology in Chapter 4. It provides a guiding thread that allows the historian to put some order in the apparently disordered and meaningless succession of human behaviour by distinguishing between the conscious motivations of human behaviour and their objective consequences for the society or the species. For it allows us to 'become aware

of a certain machinelike progression of nature according to ends which are not theirs (the peoples') but nature's own'.[40] This process, namely the realisation of Nature's purpose for the human species, takes place in spite of the intentions of individual historical agents, and the teleological outlook alone can spell it out. In this sense, teleology clarifies seemingly irrational or counter-productive events or behaviour by suggesting that they perform an unintentional function for the group, although this function might be quite remote from the conscious purpose of the behaviour. This method is, indeed, encouraged by the 'fundamental principle' of teleology as applied to history in the *Idea*:

> All natural predispositions of a creature are determined sometime to develop themselves completely and purposively. [...] An organ that is not to be used, an arrangement that does not attain to its end, is a contradiction in the teleological doctrine of nature.
>
> (*Idea*, 109 [8:18])

Just as the anthropologist, insofar as the historian believes that the reasons offered by the participants for their behaviour do not suffice to explain why they do what they do, from his perspective, the important question becomes 'what actually happened?' rather than 'how it is viewed by the participants?'

Wilkins provides a further illustration of how teleological approaches can be of assistance to historical enquiry. He supposes we want to study the Napoleonic wars. If confronted with the question 'what were they for?', an empirical historian would probably say that 'They were for nothing. All I know is that Napoleon, for example, wanted one day to conquer Spain, and that on another day he wanted to conquer Russia. I know that his desires and ambitions caused, or helped cause, a lot of wars, and that is all I know.' As Wilkins notes, for Kantian purposes, this man is very difficult to reason with. However, another historian, a Kantian historian, could reply: 'But could we not say that the Napoleonic Wars, by exhausting and disgusting Europeans, paved the way for one of the longest periods of peace in European history and provided, for a time at least, for a greater cooperation of European states? And could not we also say that Napoleon, influenced as he was to some extent by ideals of the Revolution, may have made war to make peace, to impose a just, stable, and uniform civil authority upon all Europe?' By focusing on the effects of the Napoleonic wars rather than on Napoleon's intentions, the Kantian historian provides a new interpretation of Napoleon's motives that can lead to further investigations of historical data.[41] Hence, contrary to Walsh's and Flint's readings, philosophical history is of use to

historians insofar as it provides them with a guiding thread to analyse historical data and have a grasp of the big picture.

As a result, philosophical history studies human beings as parts of a greater whole that develops through generations, namely the human species. By focusing on the destination of the species, it accounts for the function fulfilled by individuals through the elaboration of a historical narrative about the evolution of the human species. Empirical history, on the other hand, studies human beings' intentions, their actions and the consequences of their actions as the parts that form historical events and lead mechanically to the evolution of humankind. Just as in the case of biology, these two historical methods are equally necessary and offer different approaches to history. Figure 5.1 recapitulates the specific features of these approaches.[42]

Thus, the study of history leads to an antinomy that is formally identical to the antinomy of reflective judgement – it exhibits the same conflict between mechanical and teleological judgements. This conflict can be understood in terms of different conceptions of the part–whole relationship between human beings and the human species. On the one hand, mechanical explanations consider the parts as causing
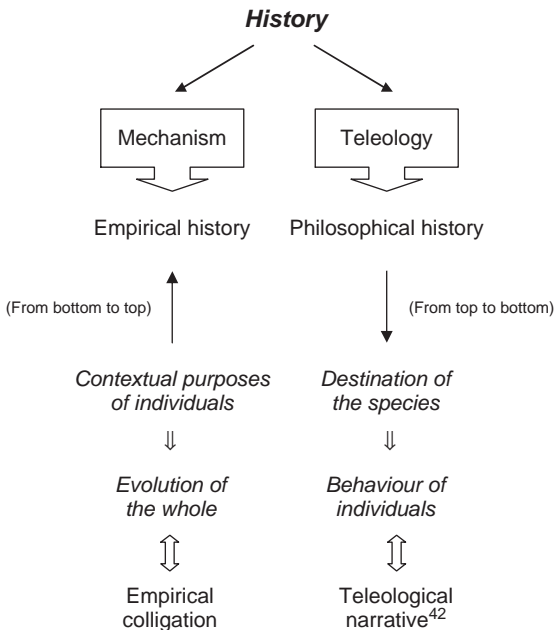
Figure 5.1 Two perspectives: Empirical vs. philosophical history

the evolution of the whole, or put slightly differently, individuals' intentions and motives as determining the historical evolution of humankind; thus, it puts forward an individualist picture of human history. On the other hand, teleological explanations consider the whole as causing the behaviour of its parts, or put slightly differently, the destination of the human species as determining human behaviour through natural predispositions; thus, it puts forward a functionalist picture of human history.[43]

Rather than concentrating on detailed analyses of historical events, which is the task of historians, Kant's works on history concentrate essentially on philosophical history. For

> the laudable circumspectness with which one now writes the history of one's time, naturally brings everyone to the scruple as to how our later posterity will begin to grasp the burden of history that we might leave behind for them after a few centuries. Without doubt they will prize the history of the oldest age [...] only from the viewpoint of what interests them, namely, what nations and governments have accomplished or harmed regarding a cosmopolitan aim.
>
> (*Idea*, 120 [8:30–1])

Kant's concern is that a detailed record of historical events is of no use unless it is analysed from the general perspective of the evolution of human societies: '*gigantic* erudition [...] is still is often *cyclopean*, that is to say, missing one eye: namely, the eye of true philosophy, by means of which reason suitably uses this mass of historical knowledge, the load of a hundred camels.'[44] The aim of Section 2 is precisely to focus on history through the eye of true philosophy, namely Kant's philosophical history.

2.   From the civilisation of society to the moralisation of the human being

As already suggested, philosophical history consists in applying teleological judgement to history, which presupposes a view of the human being as being in some sense the purpose of nature. This, for Kant, can be carried out in two different ways insofar as the human being can be thought of either as a final purpose or as an ultimate purpose of nature. Commentators have amply commented this distinction, but its implications for our understanding of history have been only partially drawn.[45] For, if it is usually referred to in discussions of human progress, I want

to suggest that it also plays a decisive role in the elaboration of two rival conceptions of philosophical history. To understand this point, let me briefly sketch the distinction.

According to Kant, the ultimate purpose of nature is the development of human natural dispositions through civilisation. It involves the ways in which human beings make use of nature, which include the capacity to make use of natural products for their ends as well as the ability to free their will from the determination of sensuous impulses.[46] The final purpose of nature, on the other hand, is the human being's moral progress. It presupposes a conception of the human being as having an intelligible power of acting (freedom), an unconditioned law (the moral law) and a moral object (the highest good):

> [O]nly in the human being, although in him only as a subject of morality, is unconditional legislation with regards to ends to be found, which therefore makes him alone capable of being a final end, to which the whole of nature is teleologically subordinated.
>
> (*C.J.*, 302–3 [5:435–6])

The human being alone has a final purpose within himself, and on this basis, nature can be thought of as being subordinated to this purpose by reference to the wisdom of a providence which, being itself unconditioned, made him the only natural being capable of freedom. And conversely, as a being capable of setting ends according to a law that is 'unconditioned and independent of natural conditions', the human being 'need not hold himself to be subjected by any influence from nature'.[47]

So depending on whether we consider human beings as the final or the ultimate purpose of nature, our understanding of their historical evolution takes the form of either a process of civilisation or a process of moralisation. I will successively follow the two perspectives and argue that the narratives they yield should ultimately be understood in pragmatic terms – namely, their use is to help further the realisation of human purposes in the world. To understand this claim, recall that in Chapter 4, Section 3 I have shown that human moral practice requires more than the mere command of the moral law and that it is one of the roles of anthropology to address human needs in this respect. This chapter will construe the issue of moral progress in a similar fashion by highlighting the ethical contributions of history. More precisely, I will argue that history's contribution to moral agency is twofold: first, it eliminates doubts occasioned by our experience of the human world by

providing empirical evidence that supports our hope in moral progress and gives us comfort. Second, it identifies the path to be followed in order to realise moral progress in the world in the form of the figure of the moral politician.

(i)   The teleological story of civilisation: A natural history of the human species

The first interpretation of the course of history relies on the claim that Nature's ultimate purpose is to develop human natural dispositions, which is the historical counterpart of natural anthropology as defined in Chapter 4, Section 2. There, I showed that Kant's anthropology puts forward a conception of man as a natural being whose dispositions can be understood teleologically in terms of Nature's intentions for the species ('what Nature makes of the human being'). Now I want to suggest that what I will call the teleological story of human civilisation is the historical form of the examination of Nature's ultimate purpose for the species.

According to the *Idea for a Universal History*, in endowing human beings with reason and freedom, Nature exempted itself from providing what they can provide by themselves: 'Nature has willed that the human being should produce everything that goes beyond the mechanical arrangement of his animal existence entirely out of himself, and participate in no other happiness or perfection than that which he has procured for himself free from instinct through his own reason.'[48] To compel him to develop his dispositions in this direction, Nature uses an indirect means: it stimulates two contradictory tendencies, one that brings him to unite in a society with other human beings, the other that brings him to assert his own desires and thus to dissolve the society he entered. These two tendencies lead to antagonism.

> The means nature employs in order to bring about the development of all their predispositions is their *antagonism* in society, [… that is to say] the *unsociable sociability* of human beings, i.e. their propensity to enter into society, which, however, is combined with a thoroughgoing resistance that constantly threatens to break up this society.
>
> (*Idea*, 111 [8:20])[49]

Unsociable sociability is the reason why human beings can neither renounce social life, which is the condition of their progress, nor accept the law-governed order in society, which would limit their self-interested aspirations. Through the obstacles they create for each other,

they are constrained to work and develop their talents.[50] Thus without unsociable sociability, they would remain beings who are and do not become, that is to say beings without a history.

> Without these qualities of unsociability from which the resistance arises [...], all talents would, in an arcadian pastoral life of perfect concord, contentment and mutual love, remain eternally hidden in their germs.
>
> (*Idea*, 111–12 [8:21])

Kant's works are populated with figures of ahistorical men: the Arcadian shepherd who does not develop his talents, the South Sea Islander who lets his talents rust, or the American who has no prospect.[51] What they all have in common is that insofar as they did not confront – or did not have to confront – the problem of antagonism, they neither cultivated nor civilised themselves, and thus they never entered the domain of history properly speaking.[52] In this sense, antagonism is a decisive driving force for the development of human natural dispositions in that it leads to culture and civilisation:

> Thanks be to nature, therefore, for the incompatibility, for the spiteful competitive vanity, for the insatiable desire to possess or even to dominate! For without them all the excellent natural predispositions in humanity would eternally slumber undeveloped.
>
> (*Idea*, 112 [8:21])

Internal discord is not the only means Nature uses to establish and secure civil order. For there are in fact two types of antagonistic driving forces behind the process of civilisation: one is internal to human nature and psychological (i.e. the antagonism between two principles, sociability and a tendency to isolation), the other is external and social. In the third *Critique*, Kant describes the latter in terms of class struggle:

> [T]he majority provides the necessities of life as it were mechanically, without requiring any special art for that, for the comfort and ease of others, who cultivate the less necessary elements of culture, science and art, and are maintained by the latter in a state of oppression, bitter work and little enjoyment, although much of the culture of the higher class gradually spreads to this class. But with the progress of this culture [...] calamities grow equally great on both sides, on

the one side because of violence imposed from without, on the other because of dissatisfaction from within.

(*C.J.*, 299 [5:432])[53]

The two types of antagonistic driving forces (internal and external) lead to the same result, namely the creation of a whole, civil society, in which the parts, human beings, coexist despite their antagonism and realise their natural predispositions: 'only in it can the highest aim of nature be attained, namely, the development of all the predispositions in humanity'.[54] Civil society disciplines antagonism through the emergence of a legal order: 'All culture and art that adorn humanity, and the most beautiful social order, are the fruits of unsociability, through which it is necessitated by itself to discipline itself, and so by an art extorted from it, to develop completely the germs of nature.'[55] The realisation of these natural dispositions is thus accomplished through a process of civilisation and legalisation of society that can be formulated in the following terms:

Natural history – The teleological story of civilisation

1. The purpose is the ultimate purpose of nature (the development of human natural dispositions).
2. Nature's means is human antagonism (unsociable sociability and war).
3. The effect thus produced consists in the creation of a law-governed order (civil society).

However, as already noted, a passage from the *Idea* seems to imply that, from humankind's unceasing labour, together with the development of culture and civilisation as well as the legalisation of society, results a progressive enlightenment of human beings that converts, little by little, their vague moral instincts into determined moral principles.

Thus happen the first true steps from crudity toward culture, which really consists in the social worth of the human being; thus all talents come bit by bit to be developed, taste is formed, and even, through progress in enlightenment, a beginning is made toward the foundation of a mode of thought which can with time transform the rude natural predisposition to make moral distinctions into determinate practical principles and hence transform a *pathologically* compelled agreement to form a society finally into a *moral* whole.

(*Idea*, 111 [8:21])[56]

Other passages from the *Idea* as well as the *Conjectural Beginning* point in a similar direction and suggest that the process of civilisation of society leads to a process of moralisation of the species. For instance, Kant describes the role of decency as the first hint of morality within the process of civilisation.

> *[P]ropriety* [*Sittsamkeit*], an inclination by good conduct to influence others to respect for us [...], as the genuine foundation of all true sociability, gave the first hint toward the formation of the human being as a moral creature. – A small beginning, which, however, is epoch-making, in that it gives an entirely new direction to the mode of thought – and is more important than the entire immeasurable series of extensions of culture that followed upon it.
>
> (*C.B.*, 166–7 [8:113])

A shift seems to transform the forced consent to social life into a moral will to form a moral whole. Yet, the very possibility of this transformation is put into question by a passage already quoted from the *Idea* where Kant stresses that the shift from civilisation to moralisation is impossible:

> We are *cultivated* in a high degree by art and science. We are *civilized*, perhaps to the point of being overburdened, by all sorts of social decorum and propriety. But very much is still lacking before we can be held to be already *moralized*. For the idea of morality still belongs to culture; but the use of this idea, which comes down only to a resemblance of morals in love of honor and in external propriety constitutes only being civilized. [...] But everything good that is not grafted onto a morally good disposition, is nothing but mere semblance and glittering misery.
>
> (*Idea*, 116 [8:26])

Thus, if the realisation of Nature's plan can lead to the civilisation of society, it looks as if it cannot lead to the moralisation of the species. So we are confronted with the problem already faced in the context of anthropology: in accordance with the principles spelt out in Chapter 1, freedom and moral agency being restricted to the domain of the intelligible, they cannot be influenced by anything empirical. If this is the case, how are we to understand the passages where Kant seems to argue that a shift from civilisation to moralisation takes place?

As expounded in Chapter 1, Kant's distinction between the culture of skill and the culture of discipline, the former being the condition of moral agency and the latter the condition of moral efficacy, could be helpful in understanding the shift from civilisation to moralisation. For, the former could correspond to the process of civilisation whilst the latter could correspond to the process of moralisation. Yet the problem is that as soon as one attempts to describe specifically the process of the cultivation of discipline, it becomes indistinguishable from that of the cultivation of skill. For if we go back to Kant's account of the culture of skill in the *Critique of the Power of Judgment*, it appears that it encompasses sciences and arts, social classes, social conflict, law, civil society and even war, and that it is in this sense much broader than its equivalent in the *Conjectural Beginning*.[57] In fact, in the latter work, all the factors I just listed are part of the conditions of moral efficacy rather than the conditions of moral agency.

This apparent inconsistency is due to the role assigned to culture in the third *Critique*: it encompasses both the conditions of moral agency and the conditions of moral efficacy – the reason being that culture is at once the result of the former and the means to the latter. Yet, it is not that the two problems are identical; it is rather that the solutions to these problems are so interconnected that it becomes difficult to distinguish between them. This is partly the result of the developmental nature of each process. On the one hand, the development of reason and freedom follows a variety of steps, as described in the *Conjectural Beginning*; on the other hand, culture and civilisation's advance requires, in turn, the use of reason and freedom. In this sense, the conditions of moral agency and the conditions of moral efficacy develop hand in hand. Furthermore, the latter are in some sense the expression of the former; for civilisation, political institutions and the laws of justice, for instance, are effects of the development of human reason. As a result, it seems that giving an account of the specific role of each facet of culture, whether of skill or of discipline, is an impossible task.

However, even if it is impossible from an empirical perspective, it remains that in principle the two issues should not be conflated. The actualisation of the conditions of moral agency takes place according to the process described in this section in terms of a teleological process of civilisation directed towards the development of human natural predispositions. By contrast, the conditions of moral efficacy, which involve amongst other things culture, political institutions and the laws of justice, although they cannot effect any change in moral character, have a decisive impact on the realisation of human moral choices.

Natural teleology[58]   Cultural teleology[59]

End: The development of natural dispositions

Means: Human antagonism   *End:* The realisation of the law of freedom

Effect: The realisation of law (as fact) ⟷ *Means:* The realisation of law (as norm)

Effect: Moral efficacy
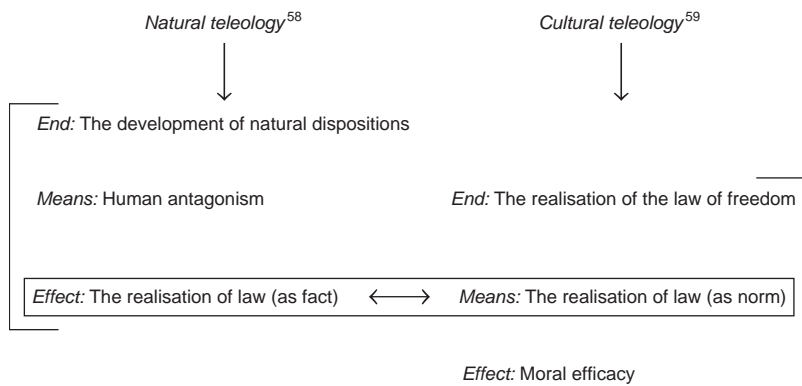
Figure 5.2 Natural vs. cultural teleology

The actualisation of these conditions takes place according to a process that can be formulated in the following terms:

Cultural history – The teleological story of cultivation[60]

(a) The purpose is human beings' independence from nature (namely, the culture of discipline).
(b) The means consists in the realisation of a legal order.
(c) The effect thus produced can be thought of as an infinite progress of moral efficacy.

Once again, the role of the law in this process is crucial: it is the means to the realisation (literally the 'making real' in the world) of morality. For, not only is antagonism kept under control, but more importantly, the legal order itself is oriented towards practical reason: it is the imperative that human beings give themselves and through which they become ends in themselves.[61] In this sense, the nature of the law is twofold: at once anchored to natural instincts, and opened up towards freedom and morality, as suggested in Figure 5.2. In a civil society where legal powers discipline natural inclinations, human beings become capable of resisting them, which eases the realisation of duty.

> Within each state it [human malevolence] is veiled by the coercion of civil laws, for the citizens' inclination to violence against one another is powerfully counteracted by a greater force, namely that of the government, and so not only does this give the whole a moral veneer

(*causae non causae*) but also, by its checking the outbreak of unlawful inclinations, the development of the moral predisposition to immediate respect for right is actually greatly facilitated […] thereby a great step is taken *toward* morality (though it is not yet a moral step), toward being attached to this concept of duty even for its own sake, without regard for any return.

(*P.P.*, 343fn [8:375–6])

So to go back to the tension we began with, Kant's claims about the 'rude natural predisposition to make moral distinctions' and 'propriety', which 'gave the first hint toward the formation of the human being as a moral creature', should now be understood as having to do with the conditions of moral agency, which do not entail anything about the actual moral status of agents.[62] Similarly, the remark about mere civilisation stresses the fact that although legalisation, civilisation and culture help human beings to be more morally efficacious, they are neither necessary nor sufficient for their moral improvement. For as suggested in the preceding quote, it is still not a moral step since a genuine moral step would be a matter of good will.

As a result, Kant can legitimately claim that civilisation and culture make moral agency possible and help moral efficacy; however, they do not guarantee the realisation of virtue, which ultimately depends upon moral character. In other words, if culture and civilisation are sufficient to account for the realisation of Nature's ultimate purpose (namely, the development of human natural predispositions, including the capacity for moral agency), they are not sufficient to account for the realisation of Nature's final purpose (namely, the advent of morality as a result of moral improvement).

(ii) The teleological story of moralisation: A moral history of the human species

From what has been shown, it follows that the advent of morality through the realisation of Nature's final purpose has to be generated from outside nature and somehow independently from the plan of Nature delineated in Section 2(i).

[M]orality and a causality subordinated to it according to ends is absolutely impossible by means of nature; for the principle of its determination for action is supersensible.

(*C.J.*, 303fn [5:436])[63]

The realisation of Nature's final purpose thus calls for an alternative account that 'presents the human species not as evil, but as a species of rational being that strives among obstacles to rise out of evil in constant progress toward the good'.[64] However, the difficulty faced by this account is that 'The problem of progress is not to be resolved directly through experience [...] For we are dealing with beings that act freely, to whom, it is true, what they *ought* to do may be *dictated* in advance, but of whom it may not be *predicted* what they will do.'[65] Any attempt at predicting the moral evolution of the human species on the basis of direct experience (whether past or present) has to be rejected, and we can never know whether humankind has ever, or will ever, progress. But far from threatening Kant's account of moral teleology, he stresses that this is not his point:

> I do not need to prove this presupposition [of the human race's progress toward what is better with respect to the moral end of its existence]; [...] For I rest my case on my innate duty, the duty of every member of the series of generations [...] so to influence posterity that it becomes always better (the possibility of this must, accordingly, also be assumed), and to do it in such a way that this duty may be legitimately handed down from one member [in the series of] generations to another.
>
> (*T.P.*, 306 [8:309])

Kant's claim about moral progress is not theoretical but practical. It is practical in two senses: first, with respect to its ground – it is based on a moral duty, an 'ought'; and second, with respect to its outcome – it promotes its own fulfilment: 'philosophy can also have its *chiliasm*; but one the bringing about of which is promoted by the very idea of it, though only from afar.'[66] For whilst we can never know, theoretically, whether humankind is morally progressing, we can know that its progress is neither impossible nor contradictory. And as long as the idea of the moral progress of the human species is not refutable from a theoretical perspective, it can be posited as a moral duty from a practical perspective. On this basis, we can practically adopt a teleological view of human history as leading to moral progress, which in turn furthers its own fulfilment and thereby provides additional, practical reasons for holding it.

> As long as these doubts cannot be made quite certain I cannot exchange the duty (as something *liquidum*) for the rule of prudence not to attempt the impracticable (as something *illiquidum*, since it is merely hypothetical); and however uncertain I may always be and

remain as to whether something better is to be hoped for the human race, this cannot infringe upon the maxim, and hence upon its presupposition, necessary for practical purposes, that it is practicable.

(*T.P.*, 306 [8:309])

This passage further elucidates the difference between natural and moral teleology in human history. As shown in Section 2(i), the former is based on a theoretical perspective that interprets the evolution of the human species from the perspective of the goal-directed development of human natural predispositions. But since it seems that there is no such data in the case of moral history, moral teleology can only be based on the fact of moral duty insofar as it commands the realisation of moral progress – which, Kant suggests, is 'a prospect that can be expected with moral *certainty* (sufficient certainty for the duty of working towards this end)'.[67] However, if Kant's argument goes from acknowledging our duty to realise moral progress to positing its actuality, then it is invalid. For as Kleingeld has convincingly argued, 'From the premises that (1) we ought to promote the moral improvement of the young and that (2) ought implies can, it does not follow that (3) the young will improve morally, let alone that (4) progress towards this goal has already been made.'[68] To put this objection slightly differently, a practical obligation cannot lead to a belief, even if it is a 'practical' belief.

However, Kant does not in fact put forward this invalid argument, for what is at stake here is not a belief but rather rational hope.[69] In this sense, the practical grounds of the teleological story of moral progress make it akin to a postulate of practical reason, which Kant defines as 'a *theoretical* proposition, though one not demonstrable as such, insofar as it is attached inseparably to an a priori unconditionally valid *practical* law', and on the basis of which we 'may hope for a further uninterrupted continuance of this progress [to the morally better]'.[70] The teleological story of moral progress functions in a similar fashion: it is posited as an object of rational hope on the basis that (1) its realisation is a command of duty, and (2) theoretical reason cannot prove its impossibility.[71]

But regardless of how compelling one finds this argument, I would like to suggest that this is not the end of Kant's story about moral progress. For, although there is indeed a crucial a priori foundation of our hope in moral progress, he does not limit his account to its a priori components. Just as argued in the case of anthropology, whilst a priori practical reason is sufficient to ground our duty to realise moral progress, philosophical history provides what is required in order to help further its realisation. As I will argue, the natural history of the human species provides theoretical justification for our hope in moral progress, which

entails that it can legitimately become a practical belief rather than mere rational hope.

Notwithstanding Kant's claim that a progressive view of human history cannot be grounded directly on evidence, the titles of Sections 5 and 6 of *An Old Question Raised Again* suggest that indirect evidence can somehow be gathered: 'Yet the prophetic history of the human race must be connected to some experience' and 'Concerning an occurrence in our time which demonstrates this moral tendency of the human race.'[72] Despite the absence of direct evidence in support of moral progress, we may nevertheless have some empirical grounds for regarding history as a teleological process towards the morally better and thus for believing that our moral ends will be realised eventually. More precisely, there are in fact two ways of finding indirect evidence in favour of a 'progressist' view of history. The first, which is developed in *An Old Question Raised Again*, consists in interpreting an event in the history of the human race as the historical sign of humankind's moral tendency. The second, expounded in *Theory and Practice*, consists in an inference from the state of humanity's civilisation to its moral status. These, I will argue, are sufficient to justify Kant's claim that we have 'experimental proofs of the superior morals of our age as compared with all previous ones' and that 'a good deal of evidence can be put forward to show that in our age, as compared with all previous ages, the human race as a whole has actually made considerable moral progress.'[73]

The event Kant interprets as the historical sign of humankind's moral tendency is the French revolution, and in particular the public response it occasioned.

> It is simply the mode of thinking of the spectators which reveals itself *publicly* in this game of great revolutions, and manifests such a universal yet disinterested sympathy for the players on one side against those on the other, even at the risk that this partiality could become very disadvantageous for them if discovered. Owing to its universality, this mode of thinking demonstrates a character of the human race at large and all at once; owing to its disinterestedness, a moral character of humanity, at least in its predisposition, a character which not only permits people to hope for progress toward the better, but is already itself progress insofar as its capacity is sufficient for the present.
>
> (*C.F.*, 301–2 [7:85])

The fact that the French revolution aroused in its spectators a universal disinterested sympathy makes it possible to interpret this response as

a sign of progress: 'this sympathy, therefore, can have no other cause than a moral predisposition in the human race.'[74] Kant's point is thus that the spectators' sympathy reveals the moral character of the human species, a universal moral tendency that gives further support not only to our hope in its moral progress, but more importantly to our belief in its actualisation.

The second way of finding indirect evidence in favour of a progressist view of history consists in drawing an inference from the state of humanity's civilisation to its moral status. Just as we have to infer the moral worth of a person from his external behaviour, we have to infer the moral status of a society from its external legal system.

> What profit will progress toward the better yield humanity? Not an ever-growing quantity of *morality* with regard to intention, but an increase of the products of *legality* in dutiful actions whatever their motives. That is, the profit (result) of the human being's striving toward the better can be assumed to reside alone in the good *deeds* of human beings, which will become better and better and more and more numerous; it resides alone in phenomena constituting the moral state of the human race. – For we have only *empirical* data (experiences) upon which we are founding this prediction, namely, the physical cause of our actions as these actually occur as phenomena; and not the moral cause.
>
> (*C.F.*, 307 [7:91])

Since, as argued in Section 2(i), the process of cultivation and legalisation of society is a crucial help to moral efficacy, we can infer from it the moral progress of its members – or put more accurately, the cultural and legal progress of society can be interpreted as the empirical sign of the moral progress of its members. As Kant writes, 'since the human race is constantly advancing with respect to culture (as its natural end) it is also to be conceived as progressing toward what is better with respect to the moral end of its existence.'[75]

Of course, this interpretative process should not be understood as offering anything close to the certainty of knowledge claims. Nevertheless, its epistemic status is akin to that of physiognomy as defined in Chapter 3 Section 1(iii); namely, it amounts to a process of reflective inference from appearance to moral worth that provides practically useful analogues of knowledge. What could be called 'historical physiognomy' supplements our hope in moral progress with indirect evidence that gives us comfort and encouragement. And far from being mere

psychological crutches that accompany what is in any case a moral command, they are essential insofar as they eliminate doubts occasioned by our experience of the history of the world. For just as Kant notes that experience could easily lead us to doubt the presence of virtue in the world, one can easily be led to doubt the moral disposition of the human species by looking at its history.

> [A]nyone who takes a look at human behavior not only in ancient history but also in recent history will often be tempted to take the part of *Timon* the misanthropist in his judgment; but far more often, and more to the point, that of *Momus*, and find foolishness rather than malice the most striking characteristic mark of our species.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 427 [7:331–2])

These doubts are a historical form of the doubts expressed in Kant's ethics, and in this sense they are caused by the same two factors: an epistemological fact about the nature of virtue and human motivation in general, and an anthropological fact about human nature. Combined with our experience of human history – a state that observation suffices to expose – these factors give rise to serious doubts about the practicability of moral progress. Yet the fact that history can be interpreted as displaying evidence in support of moral progress, however indirect, provides the encouragement human beings need in order to act so as to further its realisation.

> [O]f all the outlooks that the human being can have, the most comforting, if his present moral condition warrants it, is the prospect of continuing in this state and progressing even further toward the good.
>
> (*Anthropology*, 295 [7:186])[76]

A decisive reason for adopting a progressist view of human history is that human beings need more than duty and hope. Because of their psychological make up, they need comfort and encouragement. And history fulfils this need: it supports their hope in the moral progress of the species; or put slightly differently, it eliminates doubts occasioned by the experience of human history by providing indirect evidence in its favour. This is the first ethical contribution of history. In Section 2(iii), I turn to history's second contribution to moral agency: it identifies the path to be followed in order to realise moral progress in the world. To illustrate this role, I examine the figure of the moral politician.

(iii)   Pragmatic history: The moral politician vs. the political moralist

To recapitulate, I have argued so far that the first teleological story, the natural history of the human species, is told from a theoretical perspective. It is narrated from the perspective of what Kant calls 'Nature's intentions' in the sense that it has to do with the development of human natural predispositions ('what Nature makes of the human species'). It depicts a process of civilisation and legalisation of human society that takes place independently of the issue of morality. By contrast, the second teleological story, the moral history of the human species, is told from a practical perspective that involves moral progress ('what the human species ought to make of itself'). I have then suggested that these two teleological stories, whilst being distinct, are closely connected insofar as the teleological story about the progress of civilisation and legalisation provides indirect evidence for holding the teleological story about the progress of moralisation. I now want to further argue that they are in fact two necessary and complementary parts of what I will call 'pragmatic history', namely the knowledge of history that is necessary to further the realisation of human purposes in the world.

Kant considers the pragmatic uses of history primarily in the context of politics.[77] For, by contrast with pragmatic anthropology, which can be used by individuals for the realisation of their purposes, pragmatic history, insofar as it has to do with the evolution of the human species on a large scale, is useful first and foremost to politicians. However, just as pragmatic anthropology, pragmatic history can be applied either to prudential or to moral purposes, which gives rise to two types of politicians: the moral politician, who 'takes the principles of political prudence in such a way that they can coexist with morals', and the political moralist who 'frames a morals to suit the statesman's advantage'.[78] In other words, the former places moral purposes before prudential ones, whereas the latter places prudence before morality.

To realise their respective purposes, these two politicians use different conceptions of human nature and human history. The political moralist bases his political action on the natural history of the human species: he makes use of the knowledge of human beings 'as they are'.[79] As Kant writes, his task requires 'much knowledge of nature [...] in order to make use of its mechanism for the end proposed'.[80] As shown in Section 2(i), Nature's means to realise its purposes are unsociable sociability, self-interest, jealousy, competition, and so on. The political moralist uses these natural human inclinations as the basis for his policies and their

justification, dispensing with his duty to further moral progress, and thus only taking into account the natural history of the human species. On the basis of this knowledge, 'moralizing politicians, by glossing over political principles contrary to right on the pretext that human nature is not *capable* of what is good in accord with that idea, as reason prescribes it, *make* improvement *impossible* and perpetuate, as far as they can, violations of right'.[81] For them, morality is sheer theorising, and their cynical lack of hope in the human ability to progress opens the door to political '*machinations*' that prohibit any chance of future progress.[82] However, if the political moralists' use of natural history is undoubtedly possible, Kant suggests that it faces a crucial difficulty: past history cannot teach lessons, and political action should not be based on historical examples.

> Whether a people can better be kept obedient and also prosperous for a long period of time by severity or by the bait of vanity, whether by the supreme power of one individual or by several leaders united, perhaps even by an aristocracy of merit only or by the power of the people within it, is uncertain. History provides examples of the opposite [resulting] from all kinds of government.
>
> (*P.P.*, 344 [8:377])

We cannot predict with certainty the consequences of political or social measures since 'reason is not sufficiently enlightened to survey the series of predetermining causes that would allow it to predict confidently the happy or unhappy results of human actions in accordance with the mechanism of nature.'[83] These predictions are not possible, at least for the moment, for reason cannot foresee the consequences of political action. As a result, political decisions should not be made on the basis of their intended consequences, and political moralists and their modern heirs, social engineers, are misled: the knowledge they base their policies on is doubtful.

> For the solution of the first problem, namely that of political prudence, much knowledge of nature is required in order to make use of its mechanism for the end proposed, and yet all this is uncertain with respect to its result.
>
> (*P.P.*, 344 [8:377])[84]

By contrast, the moral politician, who has knowledge of '*the human being* and what can be made of him (for which a higher standpoint

of anthropological observation is required)', sets a moral goal for human evolution.[85] He grounds his political maxims on the historical world 'as it ought to be' as well as on the human being 'as he ought to be', and by doing so, he rightly pays 'homage to morals': 'all politics must bend its knee before right'.[86] This suggests that the natural and the moral stories of the human species cohere in the figure of the moral politician. For from his perspective, Nature's cunning is only the first preliminary step in the evolution of human history. Although Nature uses tools that lead mechanically to 'external' human progress (what I have called the progress of civilisation), in order to assume the credit for this progress, and further, to achieve genuine moral progress, the moral politician has to impose the use of his own tools, namely education, religion and a just government, all of which are moral means to moral ends.

The case of the 'despotizing moralist', which is an extreme version of the moral politician, can be helpful to understand why the two stories are in fact both necessary to the moral politician. The despotic moralist is precisely a politician who does not take into account the natural history of the human species and uses solely its moral history. This method, Kant suggests, is bound to fail in practice:

> [I]t may always be that despotizing moralists (erring in practice) offend in various ways against political prudence (by measures prematurely adopted or recommended); yet when they offend against nature experience must gradually bring them onto a better course.
>
> (*P.P.*, 341 [8:373])

Politicians, even moral ones, should not be opposed to Nature, but rather they should take it into account in order to maximise the chances of success for their policies. In other words, it is not that the moral politician should ignore the rules of political prudence, but rather that these rules should be subordinated to, and regulated by, political wisdom so as not to give rise to an 'intermediate, [...] pragmatically conditioned right (a cross between right and expediency)'.[87] As a result, the account of Nature's purposes for the species is useful for pragmatic accounts of the politicians' own purposes in the sense that understanding 'what Nature makes of human history' should inform the realm of 'what the human being can or should make of his history'. The moral politician crucially requires natural history, understood as consisting of insights into

Philosophical history

Moralisation

Civilisation

Final purpose of
the species

Ultimate purpose of
the species

Realisation of
moral ideal

Realisation of human
natural predispositions

*Moral politician
(political wisdom)*

*Political moralist
(political prudence)*
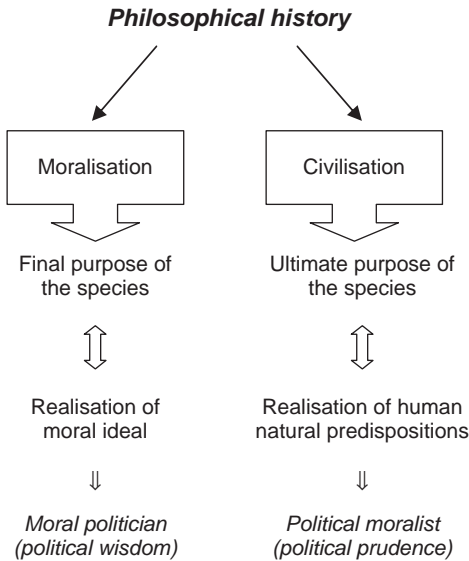
Figure 5.3 The two perspectives of philosophical history: Moralisation vs. civilisation

the human characteristics that are due to their natural composition, in order to help the realisation of 'what the human being ought to make of himself'. In this sense, Kant's philosophy of history, far from denying the human being a role in history through the cunning of Nature, helps the realisation of his moral and political task, that of the establishment of a peaceful and just civil society (see Figure 5.3).

Therefore, just as pragmatic anthropology, pragmatic history is a crucial part of human beings' 'map-making venture': it supplies a topographical sketch of the whole that is necessary for the parts to fulfil their purposes, and in particular the realisation of 'a society in which *freedom under external laws* can be encountered combined in the greatest possible degree, with irresistible power, i.e. a perfectly *just civil constitution*.'[88] Thus its role is not to clear doubts about what politicians should, or ought to, do – or put slightly differently, where they should, or ought to, be heading. For political prudence and political wisdom fulfil this role.[89] Whilst 'political wisdom [...] will make it a duty, given the present state of things, to evaluate reforms against the ideal of public right',

[a] practice that is based on empirical principles of human nature, one that does not consider it demeaning to draw instruction for its maxims from the way of the world, can alone hope to find a sure ground for its edifice of political prudence.

(*P.P.*, 340 [8:371])

In this sense, it is only once their destination has been identified (either prudentially or morally) that politicians can then benefit from a map that describes the path they should follow in order to reach it.[90] Pragmatic history supplies this map, which includes both the natural and the moral history of the human species.

The benefit of this interpretation of Kant's philosophy of history is that it sidesteps the traditional difficulties associated with his view of the relationship between ethics and politics. For emphasising the pragmatic dimension of history brings to light the figure of the moral politician as the pivot where ethics and politics (or moral and natural history) cohere and unite. So the difficulties traditionally associated with the relationship between politics and ethics, which have often been presented as a version of the mysterious relationship between the empirical and the intelligible, may in fact be avoided by the adoption of a pragmatic perspective on political action.[91] In this sense, the strategy employed here is once again in line with what has been suggested in the context of anthropology. Namely, Kant's account of the moral politician offers a pragmatic, forward-looking answer to what has been presented as a metaphysical problem: the task left for humanity to achieve is the realisation of a peaceful and just society.[92] Since solving the problem of a just civil constitution amounts to 'bringing politics into agreement with morals', the moral politician can legitimately endeavour to realise a rightful political order.[93] For the gradual moral progress of humankind, and thus Nature's final purpose, will come about from the realisation of this rightful political order, or at least from the 'unending process of approximation to it' – as summarised in the following teleological story:

Pragmatic history – The teleological story of the moral politician

1. The purpose is the agreement between politics and morals (namely, the submission of nature to the law of freedom).
2. The means consists in the realisation of a rightful political order.

3. The effect thus produced can be thought of as an infinite process of moral progress of humanity.

As Kant writes,

> the moral principle in the human being never dies out, and reason, which is capable pragmatically of carrying out rightful ideas in accordance with that principle, grows steadily with advancing culture, but so too does the guilt for those transgressions.
>
> (*P.P.*, 346 [8:380])

To sum up, I hope to have shown that there is a fundamental historical dimension to Kant's ethics – or put slightly differently, that history makes a fundamental contribution to the realisation of moral agency, and in particular moral progress, in the world. For, if a priori practical reason commands that I ought to realise moral progress, this command rests on a complex network that supports it:

(1) I can realise moral progress because I ought to: a priori practical reason commands that it can be the case since it ought to be the case.
(2) It is not contradictory to believe that there can be moral progress in the world: a priori theoretical reason confirms that there is not reason to believe that it cannot be the case. Thus, I can have rational hope that moral progress is possible.
(3) I judge reflectively that history provides evidence that some moral progress has been accomplished: reflective judgement constructs interpretations that support the belief in moral progress.
(4) I identify the helps and hindrances to the realisation of moral progress in the world through pragmatic history.

In this sense, just as Chapter 4, Section 3 has shown that individual moral agency requires more than the mere understanding of the moral law and that it is the role of pragmatic anthropology to address human needs in this respect, I have construed the issue of moral progress in a similar fashion by highlighting the ethical contributions of history. On this interpretation, history's contribution to moral agency is twofold: first, it eliminates doubts occasioned by our experience of the human world by providing evidence that supports our belief in moral progress. Second, it identifies the path to be followed in order to realise moral

progress in the world in the form of the figure of the moral politician. As a result, there is no tension between claims (1) to (4). In fact these claims support and strengthen each other by showing that far from limiting his account of moral agency to its a priori components, Kant makes provision for what is required in order to help the realisation of moral progress in the world.

Epilogue: A Pragmatic Counterpart to the Transcendental Project?

This book set out to offer an original Kantian picture of the human sciences that advocates, first, a twofold methodology for the study of human beings (intentionalist and functionalist) modelled on the biological sciences, and second a pragmatic project directed towards human cultivation, civilisation and moralisation. In other words, the human sciences, far from merely presenting theoretical observations about human beings, play the crucial role of providing them with a map to orientate themselves in the world.

Instead of recapitulating the arguments that led me to this conclusion, I want to end this study by taking a step back in order to reflect on the role of the human sciences within the Kantian system. Far from being outside the critical system or mere addenda to it, I would like to suggest that the human sciences can be interpreted as the necessary pragmatic counterpart to the transcendental project. In this sense, paying attention to Kant's works on the human sciences entails a crucial re-interpretation of the transcendental project itself. For it suggests that Kant's transcendental project does not, and cannot, stand on its own – it requires its pragmatic counterpart to be complete.[1]

What this book has shown is that for Kant, human agency requires certain interpretations of both the human and the natural world to support its framework, and it is the human sciences that provide these interpretations. It is in this sense that I have defined the human sciences as 'pragmatic': they are constituted in order to support the actualisation of human agency; they are necessary in order for human beings to understand that, and more importantly how, their purposes can be realised in the world.

More precisely, my interpretation of the role of the human sciences can be summarised as follows: first, they provide knowledge of how to improve human cognition; second, they provide knowledge of how to help the realisation of morality; third, they show that our hope is supported by worldly evidence; and finally, they provide knowledge of how to realise our purposes in the world. In this sense, just as transcendental philosophy provides answers to a set of four questions, as stated at the very beginning of the book, the human sciences provide answers

to another set of questions that mirror the transcendental questions, as shown in Table E.1:

Table E.1   Orientation in thinking vs. orientation in acting

Transcendental philosophy: Orientation in thinking	*Pragmatic human sciences: Orientation in acting*
What can I know? (metaphysics)	How can I know the world? (helps and hindrances to human cognition)
What ought I to do? (morals)	How can I act morally in the world? (helps and hindrances to human morality)
What may I hope? (religion)	How can my hope be sustained? (helps and hindrances to human hope)
What is the human being? (transcendental philosophy)	How can I realise my humanity? (helps and hindrances to human purposes)

The human sciences are thus the pragmatic counterpart of the transcendental project. Whilst the method of the latter is transcendental and a priori, the former is pragmatic and reflective; whilst the latter studies human faculties, the former studies human actions in the world (what I have called human *praxis*) as well as the world in which these actions take place; and whilst the latter sets out to orient human beings in thinking, the former sets out to orient human beings in acting.

Let me spell out the distinction between what Kant calls 'orientation in thinking' and what I want to call 'orientation in acting'. Orientation in thinking as defined by Kant in 'What Does It Mean to Orient Oneself in Thinking?' is concerned with reason's need to orient itself 'in that immeasurable space of the supersensible'.[2] Although this orientation is traditionally read in terms of reason's need for rational faith, I want to suggest that it can also be read more broadly in terms of reason's need for transcendental philosophy, that is to say for a complete assessment of human faculties and their a priori framework. In this sense, transcendental philosophy can be understood as addressing our need to orient ourselves in thinking, both theoretically and practically. However, if transcendental philosophy is the response to our disorientation in thinking, my claim is that the human sciences are the response to our disorientation in acting. For as I have argued, they provide the interpretations of the world that are necessary for human purposes to be realised in that world, as suggested by Table E.2.

Table E.2   Transcendental vs. pragmatic contribution

Transcendental contribution	A priori moral command (practical perspective)
	Theoretical possibility (theoretical perspective)
Pragmatic contribution	Reflective interpretation of the data (theoretical perspective)
	Identification of the helps and hindrances (practical perspective)

It is in this sense that the human sciences are map-making ventures: they supply a topographical sketch of the world that is necessary for human beings to act and fulfil their purposes in it. The benefit of this reading is that, by distinguishing between two essential dimensions of Kant's system, the transcendental and the pragmatic, the former is preserved from any 'empirical contamination' by the latter.[3] And correlatively, I have tried to show that the former is in fact strengthened by the latter insofar as it reveals Kant's commitment to, and care for, the human need for worldly orientation and guidance.[4] There is thus a pragmatic and empirical Kant who has been mostly overlooked; yet this book shows that he is not only as essential as, but more importantly necessary to, the transcendental Kant.

Notes

Preface

1. Of course in German Kant scholarship, Erdmann, Arnold, Adickes and Menzer, for instance, were already working on Kant's *Anthropology* in the late nineteenth– early twentieth century (see Zammito (2002): 293–302 and Wilson (1991)). Moreover, some may argue that Kant's works have had a crucial influence on the development of the human sciences, in particular in the context of continental philosophy (see Dilthey, Gadamer, Windelband, Weber or Rickert). However, this influence has been essentially negative, for Kant's project is repeatedly presented as the one that ought to be supplemented, overcome, and even defeated (see Adams (1998)). Frederick Van de Pitte's *Kant as Philosophical Anthropologist* (1971) offered the first study of Kant's anthropological project in English. However, it is quite marginal *vis-à-vis* Kant studies and the analyses actually dedicated to Kant's *Anthropology* are very sparse. Whilst studies of Kant's philosophy of history started to appear in the 1980s with Yirmiahu Yovel's *Kant and the Philosophy of History*, the first substantial works on Kant's *Anthropology* date from 2003 with Patrick Frierson's *Freedom and Anthropology in Kant's Moral Philosophy* and Brian Jacobs and Patrick Kain's *Essays on Kant's Anthropology*. The recent works of Pauline Kleingeld, Robert Louden, Rudolf Makkreel, G. Felicitas Munzel, Holly Wilson, Allen Wood, and to some extent Paul Guyer and John Zammito can be read as going in the same direction and focusing on these neglected aspects of Kant's philosophy. See Kleingeld (1995), Louden (2006, 2003, 2002, 2000), Makkreel (2001d, 1995, 1990), Munzel (2001, 1999), Wilson (2006, 1997, 1991), Wood (2003, 1999, 1998, 1991), Guyer (2000, 1993) and Zammito (2002).
2. In many recent cases, commentators have been tackling Kant's anthropology or his history with the intention of vindicating what has been called the 'empirical part of ethics' or 'impure ethics' (see, for instance, Louden (2000) and Frierson (2003)). Prior to these attempts, these texts had been used to make Kantian ethics more plausible by paying attention to dimensions that had been traditionally overlooked (see, for instance, Herman (1993) and Sherman (1997)).
3. I opt for the term 'human sciences' because it covers domains that go beyond the scope of the 'social' sciences – it is a middle term between the moral sciences as they were elaborated in the eighteenth century and the social sciences as constituted today. Without specifically emphasising the social dimension of this knowledge of human beings, the human sciences simply refer to the knowledge of human beings both in their social and their natural dimensions.
4. If this is the case, one may wonder why I choose to call them human *sciences* whilst arguing they are not in fact 'sciences' either in the Kantian sense or the common sense of the word. I do so for a number of reasons, but the most relevant one in this context is that, as I will argue in Chapter 2, Kant's philosophy of biology should be interpreted as offering an alternative

to the scientific model of the natural sciences, thereby providing the disciplines that study human beings with a new scientific paradigm – one that does not essentially aim at truth, or at least one whose purpose is not primarily to aim at truth but rather to aim at what I will call 'understanding'.

5. The organisation of the chapters of this book reflects this methodology. Both Chapter 4 on anthropology and Chapter 5 on history begin with the issue of their epistemic model, tools and status before turning to the issue of their use or purpose.

6. Although Kant does not actually use the term 'biology' (the concept was first used to refer to a single coherent discipline in the nineteenth century), the application of this concept to 'pre-biological' theories of life, and to Kant's theory in particular, is now acknowledged as unproblematic (see, for instance, Zumbach (1984) and Zuckert (2007)). For, although Kant's model of biological science is indeed very different from what we now call biology, there is no doubt that they are equally concerned with the origin and the functioning of organisms (as shown by Lenoir (1982)).

7. In this sense, this part of my project can be seen as the counterpart of Rudolf Makkreel's hermeneutical interpretation of Kant (Makkreel (1990)).

1   Freedom and the Human Sciences

1. For instance, Walsh writes that Kant's defence of freedom is 'desperately weak', Mackie that it 'completely fails', Bennett that it is 'worthless', Walker 'a hopeless failure', Williams 'a shattering failure' and so on; all quoted in Ward (1991): 385.

2. Note that the tensions between Kant's *Anthropology* and his account of freedom extend to the field of the human sciences in general.

3. Jacobs and Kain (2003): 5. See also 'While it may be surprising to readers familiar with his "empirical determinism," in the context of his pragmatic anthropology, Kant employs conceptions of the human practical capacities that presuppose spontaneity. In the anthropology lectures, arguments about the presence and exact nature of this spontaneity are generally avoided, but at numerous points it is clearly presupposed […] the lectures seem content to leave the details of spontaneity (or a justification for the lack of details) to be settled in ethical and metaphysical contexts' (Kain (2003): 235–6). Mary Gregor asks the following question: 'Now if empirical knowledge of men can yield only a general description of men's tendencies to behave in certain ways, how can pragmatic anthropology study man as a free agent and determine what he should make of himself?' (Gregor (1974): xvii).

4. Wood (1999): 206.

5. Louden (2000): 19.

6. *C.B.*, 165 [8:111].

7. Fackenheim (1956): 388–9.

8. Gregor (1974): xxiii. Here, Gregor refers to the passage of the *Metaphysics of Morals* that considers the duty to develop one's natural perfection for a pragmatic purpose: 'as a being capable of ends (of making objects his ends), he must owe the use of his powers not merely to natural instinct but rather to the freedom by which he determines their scope' (*M.M.*, 565 [6:444]).

9. *C.P.R.*, 675 [A802/B830].
10. Ibid.
11. *C.P.R.*, 676 [A803/B831].
12. *C.P.R.*, 533 [A534/B562].
13. *C.P.R.*, 676 [A803/B831], *C.J.*, 299 [5:432], *C.B.*, 166 [8:112], *M.M.*, 565 [6:444], *Idea*, 110 [8:19], *Anthropology*, 231 [7:119].
14. *Anthropology*, 231 [7:119].
15. All quoted from *C.P.R.*, 675 [A802/B830].
16. *C.Pr.R.*, 154 [5:20].
17. *M.M.*, 372 [6:217].
18. Louden (2000): 41. More precisely, he argues that culture and civilisation as preparatory steps for morality encompass political and legal institutions, art, sciences and trade, education and even war (respectively in Louden (2000): 169, 109, 160, 53, 143). For instance, he writes: 'human morality does presuppose a sufficiently developed, interconnected web of cultural institutions as a necessary condition for its own presence'; 'a physical, tangible, political structure in human life [...] helps prepare the way for morality'; 'political and legal progress are both necessary presuppositions for this deeper moral progress, as are cultural and scientific advances, growth in foreign trade' (Louden (2000): 21, 149, 160). In other words, Louden holds that for Kant, culture, education, law, politics and religion are necessary preparatory steps for moralisation – necessary but not sufficient insofar as the freedom of the will to decide whether to be morally good or not remains.
19. *C.B.*, 165–7 [8:111–14].
20. *C.J.*, 299 [5:431].
21. *C.J.*, 299 [5:431–2].
22. *C.J.*, 299 [5:432].
23. *C.J.*, 299–300 [5:432–3]. See Yovel (1980): 182–5 for a detailed account of this distinction.
24. *C.J.*, 81 [5:195].
25. This is what Frierson calls 'the asymmetry between nature and freedom': 'Even if the empirical self is also phenomenally determined according to natural causation, nothing empirical determines the fundamental nature – in particular, the moral status – of the free self' (Frierson (2003): 23).
26. *Religion*, 89 [6:44] and 92 [6:48]. There is no doubt that talking about an intelligible or transcendental choice is problematic. A number of commentators have tried to salvage Kant's account in this respect (for instance, Allison (1990): 47–53 and Wood (1984): 89–93). However, these difficulties are irrelevant to my argument, for whether one would rather talk about a timeless choice, a moral revolution, or simply one's moral character, it remains that for Kant, nothing empirical can affect it.
27. *Idea*, 116 [8:26].
28. As Louden writes in the context of education, 'Kant does believe that efficacious moral education is education that somehow cuts through the surface causal network [i.e. from the empirical to the intelligible] in order to affect the grounding of character' (Louden (2000): 59). For a critical discussion of Louden's account and its implications for the relationship between freedom and moral anthropology, see Cohen (2009).

29. Another route is the one suggested by Frierson in *Freedom and Anthropology in Kant's Moral Philosophy*. He argues that although no empirical influence can cut through the surface causal network to effect a change in one's moral status, one can effect changes in future choices through empirical influences. Although his argument, which draws heavily on Kant's *Religion* and the concepts of radical evil and good will, is ingenious and elaborate, one could argue that by taking the form of an intransitive connection from freedom to nature – from the moral self to its phenomenal expression – it leaves untouched the issue of the role of empirical factors in the moral change of agents. As Louden writes, 'Frierson has protected the asymmetry in Kant's conception of freedom, but deprived Kant of a rationale for Enlightenment reforms' (Louden (2005): 518).

30. Note that my aim here is not to defend the two-standpoint interpretation as such but rather to determine whether it offers a way out of the dilemma spelt out in the preceding section. Thus, I will only introduce the elements that are relevant to the problem discussed here. For detailed discussions of the two-standpoint interpretation, see O'Neill (1989): 51–77 and Korsgaard (1996): 171ff.

31. The two standpoints presuppose each other insofar as 'The causal understanding at which theoretical reasoning aims is premised upon the supposition that the knowers who seek it can act freely; the actions that agents perform assume a causally ordered and knowable world that provides the arena for action' (O'Neill (1989): 68). Onora O'Neill often illustrates this claim by referring to Escher's 'Drawing Hands' (1948). Pursuing the analogy, the 'practical hand' draws the 'theoretical hand' (insofar as the deliberating agent views human actions as caused by free choices) and the 'theoretical hand' draws the 'practical hand' (insofar as it considers human behaviour as naturalistically determined – however incomplete or limited these explanations appear from the practical perspective).

32. Patrick Frierson formulates this difficulty in the following way: 'a different kind of problem arises when one seeks to make *use* of empirical claims about causes of human action from a *practical* standpoint. The sorts of theoretical claims that have the potential to raise a serious theory-in-deliberation problem are theoretical claims about causal influences on choices, where those theoretical claims are made use of *as causal claims* and the choices are considered *as free choices* in a practical context' (Frierson (unpublished manuscript): 23).

33. Note that the difficulty located at the level of the human sciences differs from the one highlighted by Dana Nelkin (Nelkin (2000): 570–1), which has been convincingly addressed by Frierson (Frierson (unpublished manuscript): 12).

34. Thus, we can describe naturalistic causes 'as if' they determined free agents despite the fact that, under the idea of freedom, we have to assume that they do not. This is suggested by Kant's own use, in particular in *Groundwork*, 89 [4:441], of the analogy with nature: choosing immorally is likened to choosing to be determined by nature. For when I choose immorally, I act as if nature had chosen for me, as if nature caused my choice – although from a practical standpoint, I have to presuppose that I acted heteronomously under the idea of freedom (i.e. I could always have chosen otherwise). As

Jens Timmermann comments, 'when we act immorally we let such natural regularities determine our behaviour. (As we are free, we could of course have chosen to let the moral law determine our actions instead.)' (Timmermann (2007): 115–16; see also Allison (1990): 39–40).

35. In this sense, freedom cannot be known in the way that we 'know' natural events or objects. Kant provides arguments for the claim that freedom and its relationship with natural causation is incomprehensible, and that moreover, we do not in fact need to comprehend it. For instance, 'reason would overstep all its bounds if it took it upon itself to *explain how* pure reason can be practical, which would be the same task as to explain *how freedom is possible*. [. . .] where determination by laws of nature ceases, there all *explanation* ceases as well' (*Groundwork*, 104–5 [4:459–60]). Similarly, 'it is impossible for us to explain, in other words, *how pure reason can be practical*, and all the pains and labor of seeking an explanation of it are lost. It is just the same as if I tried to fathom how freedom itself as the causality of a will is possible. For then I leave the philosophical ground of explanation behind and I have no other.' (*Groundwork*, 107 [4:461–2]; see also *C.P.R.*, 532ff. [A532/B560ff.].). Thus, the idea of freedom only offers a guiding idea rather than a competing understanding of action. It is never meant to be on a par with naturalistic explanations.

36. As Kant writes, human beings 'can never, even by the most strenuous self-examination, get entirely behind [their] covert incentives' (*Groundwork*, 61 [4:407]).

37. For instance, I cannot know whether the shopkeeper is acting from duty when he gives the right change to his customers (*Groundwork*, 53 [4:397]).

38. To put it slightly differently, anthropology operates at the level of action rather than at the level of deliberation or intention. For its prescriptions are aimed at what the human being should do, how he should act, what empirical form his intentions should take, in the world in which his choices have their effects. I will develop this distinction in Chapter 4.

39. See, for instance, *Anthropology*, 385–9 [7:286–91]. In this passage, Kant's analysis of temperaments adopts such a theoretical standpoint – it accounts for behaviours as mere effects of temperament rather than freedom.

2　The Model of Biological Science

1. Two commentators have made similar claims. Allen Wood writes that 'Insofar as Kant has a conception of its method at all, he thinks of anthropology as following the looser method of biology, based on regulative principles of teleological judgment' (Wood (1999): 182). Karl Fink also suggests that 'it was in this transition [from the physical to the human sciences, namely to biology and psychology] that Kant articulated a unified theory of anthropology, a theory which he formulated as a teleology of organic forms, one in which he located a method unique to the human sciences' (Fink (1995): 172). What these commentators have not explored, however, is that not only does this connection operate at many levels (i.e. not merely methodologically), it also has crucial implications for the relationship between the human sciences and Kant's ethics.

2. *C.J.*, 243 [5:371].
3. *C.J.*, 246 [5:374].
4. Ibid. For instance, the watchmaker has first thought of a whole watch, then put its parts together.
5. *C.J.*, 247 [5:375].
6. *C.J.*, 245 [5:373].
7. *C.J.*, 243 [5:370–1].
8. *C.J.*, 247 [5:376]. Although the concept of purposive causality and the concept of natural causality both have objective reality, the concept of 'natural purpose' cannot be derived directly from experience, which entails that 'it cannot be treated dogmatically for the determining power of judgment' (*C.J.*, 267 [5:396]). The role of this concept is to guide our investigations of organisms 'in accordance with a remote analogy with our own causality in accordance with ends' (*C.J.*, 247 [5:375]). We use our concept of practical purposiveness (i.e. the realisation of something according to a plan) analogically and apply it reflectively to nature: 'The purposiveness of nature is thus a special *a priori* concept that has its origin strictly in the reflecting power of judgment. [...] This concept is also entirely distinct from that of practical purposiveness (of human art as well as of morals), although it is certainly conceived of in terms of an analogy with that' (*C.J.*, 68 [5:181]). For a detailed analysis of this claim, see Neiman (1994): 81ff. Crucially, it is not only that organisms and free beings share a number of features (and in particular self-producing and self-organising ones), but more importantly that we can only think of organisms by analogy with our own free purposiveness.
9. *C.J.*, 245 [5:373].
10. *C.J.*, 244 [5:372–3].
11. *C.J.*, 245 [5:373].
12. There would be a mechanical causality ($\rightarrow$) between a and b, and a teleological causality ($\Rightarrow$) between R (b) and a.
13. *C.J.*, 246 [5:374].
14. Ibid.
15. *C.J.*, 277 [5:408].
16. Reflective judgements are judgements in which the particular alone is given and the universal has to be found. It is contrasted with determinant judgements in which the universal is given and the particular is subsumed under it: 'If the universal (the rule, the principle, the law) is given, then the power of judgment, which subsumes the particular under it (even when, as a transcendental power of judgment, it provides the conditions *a priori* in accordance with which alone anything can be subsumed under that universal), is *determining*. If, however, only the particular is given, for which the universal is to be found, then the power of judgment is merely *reflecting*' (*C.J.*, 66–7 [5:179]). For an account of Kant's 'discovery' of reflective judgement, see Zammito (1992): Chapter 7. For an account of reflective judgement in connection to natural purposiveness, see Makkreel (1992) and Zanetti (1994).
17. *C.J.*, 282 [5:413].
18. Ibid. For a discussion of this issue, see Cohen (2004).
19. *C.J.*, 280 [5:411]. This is the reason why Kant refutes all the philosophical systems that account for the phenomenon of organic purposiveness in a dogmatic, unreflective fashion (see *C.J.*, 261–6 [5:390–5]). For an account of

Kant's refutation of the idealism and the realism of purposiveness, see Meld Shell (1996): 245–6, Zumbach (1984): Chapter 3 and Mc Laughlin (1990): 158–61. What is important for my analysis is that these models 'absolutely cannot justify any objective assertion' (*C.J.*, 266 [5:395]).

20. *C.J.*, 268 [5:397].
21. *C.J.*, 277 [5:408].
22. *C.J.*, 286 [5:417].
23. *On the Use*, 196 [8:160].
24. Sloan (2002): 252.
25. For detailed accounts of these theories, see Gasking (1967), Roe (1981), Jardine (1991), Sloan (1979, 2002) and Zammito (1992, 2003). For an account of the origin of the word 'epigenesis', see Zammito (2003): 86–7, Sloan (2002): 233 and Zöller (1988): 81.
26. It is in this sense unique, since as Sloan notes, most forms of preformationist theories were opposed to the thesis of epigenesis (Sloan (2002): 233).
27. For a treatment of these issues, see Lenoir (1982), Sloan (2002), Zammito (2002) and Lagier (2004).
28. Interestingly, this is also the case in Kant's account of human history. In *Conjectural Beginning*, Kant refuses to engage in speculations about the early stages of human history. His refusal is based on the fact that these supposedly scientific conjectures are illegitimate. Thus, he makes the methodological decision to begin his account with the human being 'in his *fully formed state*', for '[u]nless one is to enthuse in conjectures, the beginning must be made from that which is capable of no derivation by human reason from previous natural causes' (*C.B.*, 164 [8:110]).
29. Kant's relationship with Blumenbach has been the subject of numerous divergent interpretations (see for instance Lenoir (1982), Sloan (2002): Section 3 and Zammito (2003)). The object of this section is not to discuss the details of these debates, but rather to focus on the specific features of Kant's position on the question of organic generation.
30. Blumenbach (1791): 13, quoted in Zammito (2003): 95. As Richards writes, 'This was why [Kant] found Blumenbach's principle of the *Bildungstrieb* so attractive – because he interpreted the biologist to be saying that ultimately only organized matter could produce organized matter', against theories which assert a radical spontaneity of matter (Richards (2000): 29). As Zammito confirms, 'When we ask after the specific point for which Kant actually invoked Blumenbach, it was to dismiss what in the *Critique of Judgment* he could call a "daring adventure of reason", namely the transformation of the great chain of being from a taxonomy to a phylogeny which had been raised by Forster' (Zammito (2003): 93–4).
31. *C.J.*, 292 [5:424]. The notion of natural production, which plays a crucial role in Kant's account of generation, can be better understood through the distinction between 'educt' and 'product': '*[P]restabilism* [...] considers each organic being generated from its own kind as either the *educt* or the *product* of the latter. The system of generatings as mere educts is called that of *individual preformation* or the *theory of evolution*; the system of generatings as products is called the system of *epigenesis*' (*C.J.*, 291 [5:422–3]). As Zammito notes, 'in an educt all the relevant material pre-exists, and only its aggregation is

shuffled, whereas in a product, altogether new things emerge, presumably by immanent processes' (Zammito (2003): 91).

32. *C.J.*, 286 [5:417]. See also the title of §80: 'On the necessary subordination of the principle of mechanism to the teleological principle in the explanation of a thing as a natural end.' A letter Kant wrote to Blumenbach confirms this point: 'I have found much instruction in your writings [Blumenbach's], but the latest of them has a close relationship to the ideas that preoccupy me: the union of two principles that people have believed to be irreconcilable, namely the physical-mechanistic and the merely teleological way of explaining organized nature. Factual confirmation is exactly what this union of the two principles needs' (*Correspondence*, 354 [11:185]). For a discussion of the epistemic status of the *Bildungstrieb* for Blumenbach and Kant, see the conflicting interpretations of Lenoir (1980): 84–5, Jardine (1991): 26–7, and Richards (2000): Section 2.4. For a discussion of Blumenbach's theory of the *Bildungstrieb*, see McLaughlin (1982).

33. *C.J.*, 291 [5:423].

34. Sloan, and, following him, Zammito, importantly remark that Kant's resort to natural predispositions makes his theory diverge radically from Blumenbach's version of epigenesis (Sloan (2002): 246–7 and Zammito (2003): 93). In this sense, as Zammito writes, Kant believed that 'epigenesis implied preformation: at the origin, there had to be some inexplicable (transcendent) endowment, and with it, in his view, some determinate restriction in species variation. Thereafter, the organized principles within the natural world could proceed on adaptive lines. This made *epigenesis* over into Kant's variant of *preformation*' (Zammito (2003): 88).

35. *C.J.*, 289 [5:420]. See also 'according to experience, all generation that we know is *generatio homonyma* and not merely *univoca*, in contrast to generation from unorganized matter [i.e. *generatio equivoca*], and produces a product that is in its organization itself homogeneous with that which has generated it' (*C.J.*, 288fn [5:419–20]). This should be contrasted to Herder who sees organic forms in continuity with the inorganic. For accounts of Herder's position *vis-à-vis* Kant, see Beiser (1987): 150–8, Jardine (1991): 33–5 and Zammito (2002).

36. As Zammito notes, 'the crucial issue, linked with epigenesis, was to account for the variation within a unitary human species. Preformationism had virtually no answer to offer. Epigenesis did' (Zammito (1998): 8).

37. Lord Kames held a narrow definition of humanity according to which the differences between cultures are so great that human groups around the world can reasonably be regarded as separate species. For details on Kames, see Bernasconi (2001): 19–20 and Sebastiani (2003).

38. In fact, Walter Scheidt has argued that Kant produced 'the first theory of race which really merits that name' (Scheidt (1950): 372). More recently, Robert Bernasconi writes that Kant was the first one 'who gave the concept [of race] sufficient definition for subsequent users to believe that they were addressing something whose scientific status could at least be debated' (Bernasconi (2001): 11). Kant wrote two essays solely on the question of the human races, *Of the Different Races of Human Beings* [1775] and *Determination of the Concept of a Human Race* [1785], whilst *On the Use of Teleological Principles in Philosophy* [1788] is also partly dedicated to this issue. Although these texts were

written in the context of Kant's ongoing debates with Herder, Forster and Blumenbach, it falls outside the scope of this chapter to discuss them. For a treatment of these debates, see Bindman (2002): 155–89.

39. *Of the Different Races*, 84 [2:429]. This rule should be understood in the context of Buffon's attack on Linnaean taxonomy. For a detailed account of the controversy between Buffon and Linnaeus, see Sloan (1976). For an account of Buffon's natural history within a Kantian perspective, see Sloan (1979): 125–34, Bernasconi (2001): 21–4 and Zammito (2002): 234–6, 302–7.

40. As Sloan writes, 'Kant accepted the Buffonian meaning of "race", but went beyond him by attributing these permanent lineages to the possession of *Keime und Anlagen*, a notion not found in Buffon's writings' (Sloan (2002): 239). Buffon, for his part, explains the diversity of human types as mechanically produced by changes in response to environmental conditions (Buffon (1954): 378). See Sloan (2002): 239 and Bernasconi (2001): 21.

41. *Determination*, 151 [8:97].

42. *Of the Different Races*, 90 [2:435]. As Lovejoy remarks, Kant is 'a vigorous opponent of the supposition that acquired characters can be inherited, and an unqualified partisan of the doctrine of the continuity and unmodifiability of the germ-plasm' (Lovejoy (1968): 183).

43. *Determination*, 153 [8:99].

44. '[B]*londes* and *brunettes* are not different *races* of whites, because a blond man can have entirely blond children with a brunette woman, even though each of these subspecies is preserved throughout extended generations in all transplantings. For this reason, they are *strains* of whites' (*Of the Different Races*, 86 [2:430]). See also 'Among us whites there are many hereditary qualities that do not belong to the character of the species, and through which families, even peoples are distinguished from one another. But not a single one of these is inherited *unfailingly*' (*Determination*, 148 [8:94]).

45. As Kant writes, 'I think one is only compelled to assume *four* races of the human species in order to be able to derive from these all the easily distinguishable and self-perpetuating differences. They are 1) the race of the *whites*, 2) the *Negro race*, 3) the *Hunnish* (Mongolian or Kalmuckian) race, 4) the Hindu or *Hundustani* race' (*Of the Different Races*, 87 [2:432]). For an account of the incongruity between Kant's two definitions of the four races, see Zammito (2006): 41–3.

46. This appears most clearly in Kant's speculations about the physical basis of blackness, where he appeals to iron particles in 1777 and to phlogiston in 1785: 'Nowadays one attributes with good reason the various colors of the plants to the iron that is precipitated by different fluids. Since all animal blood contains iron, nothing prevents us from ascribing the different color of these human races to the same cause. This way, for example, the saline acidic or the phosphoric acidic or the volatile alkaline in the evacuating vessels of the skin would precipitate the iron particles in the reticulum as red or black or yellow. In the whites, however, this iron that is dissolved in the fluids would not be precipitated at all and thereby would indicate at once the perfect mixture of the fluids and the strength of this human sort ahead of the others' (*Of the Different Races*, 94 [2:440]). 'Now with respect to the peculiarity of a race, this purposive character can be demonstrated nowhere so clearly as in the *Negro race*; yet the example taken from the latter alone also entitles

us at least to conjecture the same of the remaining ones, according to the analogy. For one knows now that the human blood becomes black (as can be seen at the underside of a blood cake) merely by being overloaded with phlogiston. Now already the strong odor of the Negroes, which cannot be helped through any cleanliness, gives cause for conjecturing that their skin removes much *phlogiston* from the blood and that nature must have organized this skin so that the blood could *dephlogistize itself* in them through the skin in a far greater measure than happens in us, where that is for the most part the task of the lungs' (*Determination*, 156 [8:103]).

47. See also 'Chance or the universal mechanical laws could not produce such agreements [between racial characteristics and their natural environment]. Therefore we must consider such occasional unfoldings as *preformed*' (*Of the Different Races*, 89–90 [2:435]).

48. *Idea*, 108 [8:17]. Far from being limited to the realm of biological races, Chapter 4 will show that Kant extends these predispositions to a number of domains, including gender, temperaments and nations. In the meantime, it is sufficient to note that *Keime* and *Anlagen* are purposive and Kant defines them in terms of Nature's intentions for the human species.

49. For similar accounts of this distinction, see Zumbach (1984): 119-sq, Makkreel (1992): 60–3 and Renaut (1997): 509. Makkreel also draws connections between this implicit Kantian distinction and the one later elaborated by Dilthey (Makkreel (2001b, 2003)).

50. Of course, as I will show in Chapter 3, this is further complicated by the opacity of human motivation. However, this is irrelevant to the fact that, contrary to non-human organisms, human beings do act on the basis of the representation of purposes. This is confirmed by the fact that our very concept of teleology as applied to organisms originates from an analogy with our own intentional causality: '[T]eleological judging is rightly drawn into our research into nature, at least problematically, but only in order to bring it under principles of observation and research in *analogy* with causality according to ends [...] we represent the possibility of the object in accordance with the analogy of such causality (like the kind we encounter in ourselves)' (*C.J.*, 234 [5:360]). On the status of teleology by analogy with our own experience of free causation, see Neiman (1994): 81–8.

3   What Is the Human Being?

1. *Anthropology*, 416 [7:321].

2. Of course, I do not mean to argue that alienology solves the problem of our lack of acquaintance with other rational creatures; it is certainly not a substitute for the empirical knowledge we lack. But it is an alternative that Kant is undoubtedly willing to explore amongst others (for instance, the comparison with potential rational beings on earth (*Anthropology*, 417 [7:322]), perfect humanity (*Anthropology*, 416 [7:321]) or even bees and beavers (*Idea*, 109 [8:17])). This will allow me to conclude that, contrary to Wood who holds that 'Kant even thinks it is *impossible* to define what is peculiar to

the human species', Kant's works do offer a definition of the distinctive features of humankind (Wood (1999): 198). What is true, however, is that Kant cannot do so by comparing what we think to be our distinctive features with that of other types of rational beings.

3. In fact, I believe that Kant's anthropological use of aliens parallels the transcendental use he makes of beings endowed with different cognitive apparatuses (see, for instance, *C.P.R.*, 248 [B135], 253 [B145], 331 [A230/B283]).

4. See Clark (2001) for an inventory of some of the aliens that populate the *Anthropology*.

5. I opt for the word 'praxis' for a number of reasons. First, I cannot use the word 'practical' since, within a Kantian context, it should be reserved for the realm of freedom and morality. Second, the words 'action', 'acting' or 'agency' would exclude things such as language. Third, the word 'doing' would leave out the conceptual realm. By contrast, the word 'praxis' is sufficiently broad to include all the forms of the active relationship between man and the world.

6. *Idea*, 110 [8:19]. See also 'It is of the greatest importance that children learn to work. The human being is the only animal which must work' (*Lectures on Pedagogy*, 460 [9:471]).

7. *Idea*, 110 [8:20].

8. Ibid. As Clark remarks, 'as a treatise devoted to the task of analysing what "man" actively makes of himself, it [the *Anthropology*] could only be felt as a harsh rebuke to the aristocrats whom he had attacked less than two years before as the "men" who passively "had a living", and who are therefore perversely unwilling to make anything of themselves' (Clark (2001): 230).

9. *On a Recently Prominent Tone of Superiority in Philosophy*, 431 [8:390].

10. *Idea*, 110 [8:19].

11. *Anthropology*, 417 [7:322]. As is now well known, Kant's conception of the use of others for one's own purposes is not incompatible with moral duty as such. Rather, it is thought to emphasise the social dimension of prudence (i.e. the importance of social dynamics and social norms). See, for instance, Kain (2003): 246–8 and Frierson (2003): 53–6.

12. Of course, they may possess other kinds of prudential ability, but they certainly lack the ability to deceive.

13. *Anthropology*, 428 [7:332].

14. *Anthropology*, 400 [7:304].

15. *Anthropology*, 400 [7:304] and 402 [7:305]. Kant adds that precisely because of their 'twofold nature' (both intentionally deceitful and unintentionally loquacious), 'in anthropology the characteristic features of the female sex, more than those of the male sex, are a topic of study for the philosopher' (*Anthropology*, 400 [7:303]).

16. Of course, as shown in Chapter 2, they are human in the sense that they belong to the human species. However, Kant can nevertheless maintain that they are not truly human in the sense that they do not realise the full potential of which the human being is capable. For, whilst supporting a monogenetic theory of the human races, he holds an epigenetic view of the development of human natural predispositions that allows for some categories of human beings not developing some of these predispositions. In the particular case of Americans, they do not develop any of them.

17. For 'Americans and negroes cannot govern themselves. Thus are good only as slaves' (*L.A.*, [25.2:878]).
18. As Mark Larrimore notes, 'Kant discount[s] the very *capacity* of the (non-white) races for autonomy' (Larrimore (1999): 124). As Emmanuel Eze confirms, Kant 'provide[s] the psychological-moral account for the differ-ences on the basis of a presumed rational ability or inability to "elevate" (or educate) oneself into humanity from, one might add, the rather humble "gift" or "talent" originally offered or denied by mother nature to various races' (Eze (1995): 214–15). As Larrimore further remarks, these views appear only in fragments from Kant's personal notes (*Reflexion* 1520 [15:875–9]) and student notes (*Menschenkunde*), which suggests that firstly, Kant did not publicly air these claims, and secondly, he could be merely working out pos-sible implications of the position he publicly defended (Larrimore (1999): 114). For analyses of the implications of these passages, see Eze (1995), Lar-rimore (1999) and Lagier (2004): 179–84. For Kant's 'public' views on races, see Chapter 2, Section (iii).
19. Rousseau (1973): 86. As a result, 'we never know with whom we have to deal' (Rousseau (1973): 6).
20. *Anthropology*, 427 [7:332].
21. *Anthropology*, 428 [7:332]. This is akin to Rousseau's point: wit, beauty, strength or skill, merit or talent 'being the only qualities capable of com-manding respect, it soon became necessary to possess or to affect them. It now became the interest of men to appear what they really were not' (Rousseau (1973): 86). For Rousseau's criticism of politeness as a source of evil and a social veil on vice, see Rousseau (1973): 6.
22. See also 'Every human being has his secrets and dare not confide blindly in others, partly because of a base cast of mind in most human beings to use them to one's disadvantage and partly because many people are indis-creet or incapable of judging and distinguishing what may or may not be repeated' (*M.M.*, 587 [6:472]) and *L.A.*, [25:677–8]. As Wood writes, human beings 'must constantly protect themselves from each other by concealing their faults, and they can prudently advance their interests only by pretend-ing to merits they do not have; as a result, minimal prudence requires that we distrust others, and behave towards them in ways which will inspire their distrust' (Wood (1991): 334).
23. For a detailed account of Rousseau's ideal of transparency, see Starobinski (1988).
24. Rousseau (1995): 11–13.
25. See Cohen (1999).
26. As O'Neill remarks, 'for them moral relations would be quite different (pre-sumably they would have almost no prospect of deliberately deceiving one another)' (O'Neill (1989): 74).
27. *Anthropology*, 428 [7:332]. For instance, 'experience nevertheless also shows that in him [the human being] there is a tendency to actively desire what is unlawful, even though he knows that it is unlaw-ful; that is, a tendency to *evil*, which stirs as inevitably and as soon as he begins to make use of his freedom, and which can there-fore be considered innate. Thus, according to his *sensible* character the human being must also be judged as evil (by nature)' (*Anthropology*, 420 [7:324]).

28. *Anthropology*, 263 [7:151].
29. See, for instance, 'To be *truthful* (honest) in all declarations is therefore a sacred command of reason prescribing unconditionally, one not to be restricted by any conveniences' (*On a Supposed Right to Lie from Philanthropy*, 613 [8:427]).
30. For a good analysis of this distinction, see Frierson (2005): Section III. On the basis of *L.A.* [25:502–3], he argues that since the illusion does not depend on making another believe in falsehood, it is not morally wrong.
31. See also 'No matter how insignificant these laws of refined humanity may seem, especially if one compares them to pure moral laws, nevertheless, anything that promotes sociability, even if it consists only in pleasing maxims or manners, is a garment that dresses virtue to advantage' (*Anthropology*, 381 [7:282]). For an analysis of Kant's views on dinner parties and their social and moral dimensions, see Cohen (2008b).
32. *Anthropology*, 263 [7:151].
33. This is supported by the distinction between sincerity, candour and naïvety: 'Candor in the manners by which one shows oneself externally (which gives rise to no such suspicion) is called *natural* behavior […] it pleases as a result of simple *veracity* in expression. But where at the same time open-heartedness peeks through speech from *simple-mindedness*, that is, from the lack of an art of dissimulation that has already become the rule, then it is called *naiveté*' (*Anthropology*, 244 [7:132]). Someone who is candid has a natural, good-hearted temperament that causes him always to tell the truth; but this truth telling is amoral since based on his nature rather than moral deliberation. The naïve volunteers all the truth: 'The plain manner of expressing oneself, as a result of innocence and simple-mindedness (ignorance in the art of pretence), as evidenced in an adolescent girl who is approached or a peasant unfamiliar with urban manners' is the sign of 'inexperience in the *art of pretence*' (*Anthropology*, 244 [7:133]). The naïve is thus amorally truthful, but this truthfulness differs from that of the candid because it is grounded on his simple-mindedness and his general ignorance of the art of pretence rather than his good nature. Finally, candour and naïvety differ from sincerity since the latter alone is properly moral – it is a moral attitude that prescribes always to tell the truth whilst not always revealing all of the truth. By contrast, alien sincerity is amoral since their telling of the whole truth stems from their natural constitution. However, I have chosen to call them 'sincere' rather than 'candid' because candour conveys an impression of natural good-heartedness that, as already shown, these aliens lack insofar as they are not as pure as angels.
34. *Anthropology*, 428 [7:332].
35. *M.M.*, 588 [6:474] and *Anthropology*, 428 [7:332].
36. *Groundwork*, 61 [4:407]. The issue of introspection and its relationship to psychology has been examined at length in the literature, and it falls beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss it (see, for instance, Hatfield (1998), Sturm (2001) and Makkreel (2001d)). This section is strictly limited to the possibility of third-personal knowledge of others' interior and the epistemic implications of human opacity.
37. The role of self-deception should also be noted: 'we like to flatter ourselves by falsely attributing to ourselves a nobler motive' (*Groundwork*, 61 [4:407]).

38. In this context, the transparency comprises merely that they reveal to others what they know about themselves rather than radical transparent (self-)knowledge. Thus, some degree of interpretation is required if alienologists are interested in the latter rather than the former. David Clark interestingly sees Kant's sincere aliens as uncanny precursors of what Henri Lefebvre calls the 'cyberanthrope', the (negative) ideal of man that is the dream of the human sciences: as transparent to themselves as they are to each other (Clark (2001): 218).

39. There are of course other dimensions to anthropology for Kant. For instance, it includes empirical psychology. As Wood remarks, Kant refers to empirical psychology as the part of anthropology that deals with inner sense (Wood (1999): 197). This section is only concerned with the part of anthropology that deals with outer sense.

40. In this context, I use 'character' in a broad sense – it encompasses both the way of sensing (what Kant usually calls temperament) and the way of thinking (i.e. the 'property of the will by which the subject binds himself to definite practical principles that he has prescribed to himself irrevocably by his own reason' (*Anthropology*, 389–90 [7:292])). In this sense, we are discussing 'the art of judging a human being's way of sensing [temperament] or way of thinking [character] according to his visible form' (*Anthropology*, 393 [7:295]).

41. *Anthropology*, 396 [7:299].

42. *Anthropology*, 396–7 [7:299–300].

43. As Makkreel notes, characterisation goes 'beyond description by pointing to more than what is directly given' (Makkreel (2001d): 197). See also, Munzel (1999): 236–50 and Jacobs (2003): 121–3.

44. Ryle (1971): Chapter 37. Although Ryle's example bears a striking resemblance to Kant's remark on cross-eyed people, there is a strong disanalogy between them. In Ryle's, the wink is voluntary and meaningful and the twitch is not, whilst in Kant's, both cross-eyed looks are involuntary, but one is meaningless (the short-sighted) and the other meaningful (the liar). This disanalogy does not go against my use of Ryle's argument however, since my aim is simply to show that for Kant, anthropology is made of 'thick' rather than 'thin' descriptions.

45. See, for instance, Kant's distinction between different types of signs (*Anthropology*, 300 [7:192]). Voluntary, artificial signs, which call for thick descriptions, can be divided into two main groups: social signs and communicative signs. Kant identifies six types of social signs: (1) '[G]esticulation' relates to the fact that certain 'movements' acquire a social meaning. For instance, certain gestures signify something within some societies, and either nothing or something else within other societies. In this sense, society makes certain 'movements' become 'actions' by providing them with a meaning. (2) '[S]igns for the purpose of communication (ciphers)' relate to social codes and rules. (3) '[C]oats of arms' relate to the identification of certain social groups within society. (4) '[U]niforms and livery' relate to the social function of certain professions. (5) '[B]adges of honor' relate to the acknowledgement of the positive value of certain men relative to their contribution to society. (6) '[B]randing' relate to the acknowledgement of the negative value of certain men relative to their nuisance to society.

These voluntary signs are grounded on the idea of social function. They all pick on a certain quality or movement and give it a meaning and a value, either positive or negative, relative to the function it plays within society.

46. *Anthropology*, 393–4 [7:295–7]. The most famous proponent of physiognomy in Kant's time is Johann Caspar Lavater. He is actually mentioned twice in the *Anthropology* (*Anthropology*, 394 [7:297] and 398 [7:301]). For an account of the reception and the influence of Lavater's works, see Shookman (1993). For a historical study of physiognomy, see Gray (2004) and Courtine and Haroche (1994), especially Chapter 3.

47. *Anthropology*, 394 [7:296].

48. *Anthropology*, 301 [7:193].

49. Introspection would certainly offer better prospects insofar as it provides an access to one's own intentions that could potentially be as good as that which alienologists would generally possess. But it would have no direct impact on one's anthropological insight into others' intentions.

50. *Anthropology*, 233 [7:121–2] and 394 [7:296]. Contrast this with Zammito's claim that 'Kant did not propose to *discover* human nature through a consideration of human variety' (Zammito (2002): 299). As I will show, Kant is very much aware of, and interested in, human variety. In fact, this aspect of Kant's account has been widely criticised for licensing various kinds of stereotyping and prejudice (see, for instance, Louden (2000): 82 and Eze (1995)). The aim of my argument is not to defend him against these charges, but merely to expose his thoughts on this issue.

51. *Anthropology*, 408 [7:312]. In this respect, Kant's anthropological characterisation can be understood as the anthropological counterpart of Schutz's phenomenological 'typification'. In his *Phenomenology of the Social World*, Schutz is concerned with the way we build up typifications of other people by classifying them into types from which typical courses of action can be expected (see Schutz (1972), in particular Sections 37–39). This, he believes, gives us common-sense knowledge about the social world which guides us in our everyday actions: we know things about human beings in general, and what typically distinguishes them from cows, monkeys and trees, just as we know certain facts about particular types of human beings – men, women, blacks, melancholics, Germans – which enable us to distinguish them from each other.

52. '[O]ne should never reproach a face with *ugliness* if in its features it does not betray the expression of a mind corrupted by vice or by a natural but unfortunate propensity to vice' (*Anthropology*, 395 [7:298]). 'Whether a hump on the nose indicates a satirist – whether the peculiarity of the shape of the Chinese face, of which it is said that the lower jaw projects slightly beyond the upper, is an indication of their stubbornness – or whether the forehead of the Americans, overgrown with hair on both sides, is a sign of innate feeble-mindedness, and so forth, these are conjectures that permit only an uncertain interpretation'; and 'Generally, people who have never left their country make an object of ridicule of the unfamiliar faces of strangers' (*Anthropology*, 396 [7:299]).

53. There is no doubt that a number of these claims are not based on interpretation but rather on straightforward observation (for instance, the fact that

the phlegmatic has a tendency to inactivity). It is clear, however, that some of them can only be grounded on interpretation (for instance, the fact that the sanguine is full of expectation).

54. See *Anthropology*, 386–7 [7:288–9]. I will examine the prudential uses of anthropological knowledge in more detail in Chapter 4.

55. This section is only concerned with the epistemic contribution of anthropological characterisation to moral assessment. I will turn to its usefulness for moral deliberation, in Chapter 4.

56. *Anthropology*, 386–7 [7:288–9].

57. *Groundwork*, 54 [4:398–9].

58. *Anthropology*, 232 [7:120]

59. *Anthropology*, 256 [7:143].

60. *Anthropology*, 254–5 [7:142].

61. *Anthropology*, 255 [7:143]. In this regard, Kant's theory is akin to contemporary simulation theories insofar as they share the belief that the behaviour of an object under particular circumstances can be simulated by the behaviour of another object of the same kind under similar circumstances. The picture of mental simulation that is the closest to Kant's is, I believe, that according to which the simulator observes the operation of a piece of their own mental machinery and then draws an inference about the operation of the mental machinery in the other person.

62. As Joseph de Maistre remarks, 'There is no *human being* in the world. In my lifetime, I have seen Frenchmen, Italians, Russians, etc; I even know, thanks to Montesquieu, *that one can be Persian*: but as regards the *human being*, I declare that I have never met him in my life' (de Maistre (1791): 88).

63. *Anthropology*, 232 [7:120]. Cf. also *L.A.*, [25:734].

64. *Anthropology*, 233 [7:121].

65. *Anthropology*, 232 [7:120]. Kant's comment on travel books is particularly amusing. He complements it with a footnote which remarks that 'A large city such as Königsberg on the river Pregel, [...] can well be taken as an appropriate place for broadening one's knowledge of human beings as well as of the world, where this knowledge can be acquired without even travelling' (*Anthropology*, 232fn [7:120–1]). As is well known, Kant never left Königsberg and all his knowledge of the world is based on intense reading (travel reports, history and so on). Kant's sedentarism has been the object of much criticism, in particular from Georg Forster who saw Kant as an armchair traveller (Forster (1985): 234). Up to Forster's time and long thereafter, ethnography was written by sedentary scholars using, not always discriminately, the reports of travellers who neither were qualified nor cared to generalise their observations. For a critical analysis of Kant's anthropological sources, see Eze (1995): 228–32.

66. *Anthropology*, 232 [7:120].

67. Cf. also *C.P.R.*, 137 [B3] and 308–9 [A196/B241].

68. See also 'Appearances may well offer cases from which a rule is possible in accordance with which something usually happens, but never a rule in accordance with which the succession is *necessary*; [...] The strict universality of the rule is therefore not any property of empirical rules, which cannot acquire anything more through induction than comparative universality, i.e., widespread usefulness' (*C.P.R.*, 223 [A91/B124]).

69. *C.J.*, 98 [5:213].
70. *Letter to Hertz (1773)*, [10:138].
71. For instance, Blumenbach writes that 'on the first discovery of the Ethiopians, or the beardless inhabitants of America, it was much easier to pronounce them different species than to inquire into the structure of the human body' (Blumenbach (1776): 98).
72. It should be noted that despite his strong empiricist methodological framework, Georg Forster himself eventually came to believe that a strictly empiricist approach to the study of humankind inevitably failed to supply a unified concept of humanity (Strack (1997): 308).
73. Contrast with Ferry who claims that 'the issue (fundamental for ethics) of the diversity or the unity of the human species is not, for Kant, a scientific one' (Ferry (1985): 559). Kant was well aware of the scientific theories available to him. As shown in Chapter 2, he defends his support for epigenesis and monogenesis by referring to the scientific theories of Buffon and Girtanner for the latter and Blumenbach for the former.
74. *L.A.*, [25:1437]. One could think of the sort of experiments imagined by Marivaux in *La dispute* and *L'île aux esclaves*.
75. *M.M.*, 582 [6:466].
76. Clark (2001): 223.
77. One cannot help but think of Rousseau's *Confessions*.
78. *Anthropology*, 232–3 [7:121]. See also 'when the incentives are active, he does not observe himself, and when he does not observe himself, the incentives are at rest' (*Anthropology*, 233 [7:121]).
79. *Anthropology*, 233 [7:121]. To this list can be added travel and travel reports, which were mentioned in the preceding section.
80. *L.A.*, [25:472].
81. See *L.A.*, [25:858]. Kant could even have added that it is precisely because fiction sometimes exaggerates that it highlights features of human nature that might not be noticeable in reality, as in Molière's comedies, for instance.
82. *Lectures on Physical Geography*, [9:411].
83. *Anthropology*, 416 [7:321]. See also *C.P.R.*, 331 [A230/B283].
84. *Anthropology*, 416 [7:321].
85. Although Kant's response does identify what is distinctively human, it can only do so from a terrestrial vantage point. For as pointed out in the previous passage, Kant cannot offer a definition of the distinctive features of humankind by comparing them with that of other types of rational beings. In this sense, although the three gifts identified in this passage do allow us to distinguish the human from the beast, they do not define the human *simpliciter*.
86. For a detailed account of these fallacies, see the section on the 'Paralogisms of Pure Reason' in *C.P.R.,* 411–58 [A341–405/B399–432].
87. '"I", as a thinking being, already signifies the object of a psychology that could be called the rational doctrine of the soul' (*C.P.R.*, 412 [A342/B400]).
88. *Anthropology*, 232 [7:120]. As Eze writes, 'Kant may be an "essentialist," but what he essentializes is not a specific *what of* man,' but – albeit, a specific – *what for* [...] this "man", the "true" nature of "man," for Kant does not consist in what one *is* but in what one *ought to become*. What is essential here is the *end* of "man" (Eze (1995): 226). See also Cassirer who writes that 'Kant

looks for constancy not in what man *is* but in what he should be' (Cassirer (1945): 20).

89. *Anthropology*, 231 [7:119].

4 Pragmatic Anthropology

1. *Anthropology*, 231 [7:119].
2. Frierson (2003): 80.
3. Wood (1999): 203–5 and (2003): 40–2.
4. Louden (2000): 69–70.
5. This approach is inspired by Thomas Sturm's conclusion that 'In Kant's view, sciences can be defined and consequently differentiated from one another in terms of (i) their method of inquiry and justification; (ii) their specific objects, that is, their subject matter; (iii) and by their aim' (Sturm (2000): 127).
6. Although its discourse is essentially made of natural descriptions, physical geography should not be mistaken for the discipline of natural history. For, natural history identifies the inner relations amongst the various species according to their reconstructed biological history and their ability to propagate, whilst a description of nature (physiography) describes the physical diversity of nature and organises it according to similarities (see *On the Use*, 54 [8:163] and *C.J.*, 315 [5:428]). It seems plausible to understand Kant's *Lectures on Physical Geography* as belonging to physiography rather than physiogony.
7. As May remarks, 'The notion of the "*Oberflache*" [surface of the earth] must be taken very seriously in Kant's work on geography, because he generally sticks quite close to this idea as setting the bounds for geography' (May (1970): 85). For instance, the study of the causes of earthquakes and volcanoes, which originate within the interior of the earth, is not the task of the geographer but of the physicist. The geographer is concerned only with the effects or results, on the earth's surface, of what happens under its surface.
8. *Lectures on Physical Geography*, [9:311, 377].
9. Contrast this with Eze who writes that 'while anthropology studies humans or human reality as they are available to the *internal* sense, geography studies the same phenomena as they are presented or available to the *external* sense' (Eze (1995): 203). Similarly, May writes that the distinction between outer and inner sense 'is of crucial importance for [Kant's] separation of anthropology from geography, since the world as the object of outer sense is nature, and hence the concern of geography, whereas the world as the object of inner sense is man conceived as soul or self, and is the concern of anthropology' (May (1970): 108). Contrary to these claims, I believe that the internal/external, or inner/outer, criterion is not the most suitable to the context of the human sciences. For as already suggested in Chapter 3, anthropology does not consist solely of an investigation of inner sense: if it does begin with introspection, and if the knowledge acquired through inner experience is 'more important than correct judgment of others', this is insufficient, and some data has to be gathered from outer sense (*Anthropology*, 255 [7:143]).
10. *Lectures on Physical Geography*, [2:443].

11. A potential objection against this claim is that early versions of Kant's *Lectures on Physical Geography* encompassed discussions of human culture and even morality, which would entail that geography does not treat human beings merely as 'things' (*Lectures on Geography*, [2:312–13]). However, as has been shown in the recent literature on the development of Kant's lectures, 'Kant separated out from the *Physical Geography* course much of what he calls "moral geography", that is that which concerns the "customs and characters" of different people' (Elden (2009): 19). In this sense, my interpretation of Kant's various projects is in line with the more developed stage of his thoughts on the topic.

12. See Platner (2000). For an account of Platner's views, see Zammito (2002): 250–3. Zammito notes that in the lecture course for 1772–73 [25:ɪ:9], Kant criticised physiological approaches to anthropology targeting Charles Bonnet instead of Ernst Platner (Zammito (2002): 469). For a historical description of the various 'medical' or 'physiological' studies of human beings contemporary with Kant, with a particular emphasis on the works of Johann Metzger and Platner, see Lestition (1985): 681–725.

13. *Correspondence*, 141 [10:145].

14. *Anthropology*, 319 [7:214]. See also *Anthropology*, 385 [7:287].

15. *Anthropology*, 231 [7:119] and *L.E.*, 42 [27:244]. See also *L.A.*, [25:733].

16. *L.E.*, 42 [27:244].

17. *C.P.R.*, 675 [A802/B830].

18. *Anthropology*, 231 [7:119].

19. Here, one can think of D'Alembert who writes that 'one does not know a country simply by owning a map of it; one must undertake the journey oneself' (D'Alembert (1770): I.99). As Makkreel writes, 'whereas Kant's theoretical subject of understanding adopts a kind of view from nowhere on nature, the subject of anthropological reflection is situated amidst the world as the sphere of action' (Makkreel (2003): 159).

20. *On the Use*, 197 [8:161]. See also 'To *discover* something (that lies hidden either in ourselves or elsewhere) in many cases often requires a special talent of knowing how to search well: a natural gift for *judging in advance* (*iudicii praevii*) where the truth may indeed be found; for tracking things and using the slightest grounds of relationship to discover or invent that which is sought' (*Anthropology*, 328 [7:223]).

21. See also 'Without such a plan […] all acquired knowledge can yield nothing more than fragmentary groping around and no science' (*Anthropology*, 232 [7:120]). Contrary to Georg Forster, the empirical traveller referred to in this passage who 'finds it awkward to establish a *principle* in advance which is supposed to guide the investigator of nature even *in searching* and observing', Kant maintains that teleology provides a reliable method for empirical observation (*On the Use*, 196 [8:161]). Forster condemns the teleological method as a 'rigid and prescriptive grid for travellers and anatomists in their search for data' (Strack (1997): 300).

22. This principle is based on the model of an organised being understood as a natural purpose: 'An organized product of nature is that in which everything is an end and reciprocally a means as well' (*C.J.*, 247–8 [5:376]). For as shown in Chapter 2, organisms are the beings 'which thus first provide

objective reality for the concept of an *end* that is not a practical end but an end of *nature*' (*C.J.*, 247 [5:375–6]).

23. For a detailed analysis of this claim, see Neiman (1994): 81–9.
24. See for instance *Anthropology*, 372–6 [7:272–5].
25. Kant's *Lectures on Physical Geography*, part of which developed into his *Lectures on Anthropology*, were popular lectures attended by and partly intended for the general public (see *Anthropology*, 233* [7:122]). For a presentation of Kant's *Lectures on Anthropology* and their reception, see Wilson (2006): 7–26, Lestition (1985): 752–66 and Brandt and Stark (1997): vii–cli. On the genesis of Kant's *Lectures on Anthropology*, see Zammito (2002): 293–302 and Wilson (1991).
26. *Anthropology*, 233 [7:122].
27. *Correspondence*, 141 [10:145].
28. *Anthropology*, 231 [7:119].
29. *Groundwork*, 69 [4:416–17]; see also *M.M.*, 565–6 [6:444–6].
30. For instance, with regards to skill: 'repeated experiences produce an aptitude for it [empirical foresight]' (*Anthropology*, 294 [7:186]); with regards to prudence: 'The most thorough and easiest means of soothing all pains is the thought […] that life as such, with regard to our enjoyment of it, which depends on fortunate circumstances, has no intrinsic value of its own at all, and that life has value only as regards the use it is put, and the ends to which it is directed' (*Anthropology*, 342 [7:239]); and with regards to morality: 'It is only the illusion of good *in ourselves* that must be wiped out without exemption, and the veil by which self-love conceals our moral defects must be torn away' (*Anthropology*, 264–5 [7:153]).
31. See, for instance, Frierson (2003), Louden (2006) and Schmidt (2007).
32. *Groundwork*, 44 [4:389].
33. *M.M.*, 372 [6:217].
34. Schmidt (2005): 72–3. On this basis, I believe that talking about moral anthropology in terms of the 'application' of Kant's ethics is very unhelpful. For instance, the title of Louden's paper 'Applying Kant's Ethics: The Role of Anthropology' is misleading, for it blurs the boundary between the pure principles of practical reason and their application on the one hand (which includes pure ethics and the metaphysics of morals), and the moral use of anthropology on the other hand. As Louden himself notes, moral anthropology has to do with making morality efficacious in human life (Louden (2006): 355–7). Thus the idea of 'applying ethics' is, in this context, more appropriate to the project of the *Metaphysics of Morals*.
35. Brandt (2003): 92.
36. Stark (2003): 21.
37. This claim will be further developed in Section 3, which is dedicated to the ethical contributions of anthropology.
38. *Idea*, 109 [8:18]. This is the reason why Kant repeatedly claims that human beings should be studied at the level of the species rather than – or at least as well as – at the level of the individual. To this effect, Simone Goyard-Fabre refers to *Reflexion 1450*, *1451*, *1453*, and *1467* where Kant claims that he is more concerned with the human species than with individual human beings (Goyard-Fabre (1997): 85).

39. *Anthropology*, 424 [7:329]. For instance, as suggested in the case of gender, 'One can only come to the characterization of this sex if one uses as one's principle not what we *make* our end, but what *nature's end* was in establishing womankind; and since this end itself, by means of the foolishness of human beings, must still be wisdom according to nature's purpose, these conjectural ends can also serve to indicate the principle for characterizing woman – a principle which does not depend on our choice but on a higher purpose for the human race' (*Anthropology*, 402 [7:305]).

40. Of course, one could also think of Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. I choose to focus on 'latent functions' instead because it allows me to draw a direct connection between Kant's account and functionalism.

41. Merton (1957): 51.

42. *Idea*, 117–18 [8:28].

43. *C.J.*, 300 [5:433].

44. *Idea*, 114 [8:24–5]. See also 'Thus at the stage of culture where humankind still stands, war is an indispensable means of bringing culture still further; and only after a (God knows when) completed culture, would an everlasting peace be salutary, and thereby alone be possible for us' (*C.B.*, 173–4 [8:121]) and 'civil or foreign war in our species, as great an evil as it may be, is yet at the same time the incentive to pass from the crude state of nature to the *civil* state' (*Anthropology*, 425 [7:330]).

45. *Anthropology*, 425 [7:330]. We must 'examine the condition that nature has prepared for the persons acting on its great stage, which finally makes its assurance of peace necessary [...] Its preparatory arrangement consists in the following: that it 1) has taken care that people should be able to live in all regions of the earth; 2) by *war* it has driven them everywhere, even into the most inhospitable regions, in order to populate these; 3) by war it has compelled them to enter into more or less lawful relations' (*P.P.*, 332–3 [8:362–3]).

46. *Idea*, 108 [8:17].

47. *Religion*, 81fn [6:34].

48. This is described by Merton in the following terms: 'The more deep-seated the mutual distrust is, the more does the argument of the other appear so palpably implausible, even absurd, that one no longer inquires into substance or logical structure to assess its truth claims. Instead, one confronts the other's argument with an entirely different question: how does it happen to be advanced at all? Thought thus becomes all together functionalised, interpreted only in terms of the presumed social or economic or psychological sources and functions' (Merton (1973): 100).

49. *Anthropology*, 239 [7:127]. This should, of course, be related to practical freedom as defined in Chapter 1.

50. Kant dedicates a short passage of the *Anthropology* to the predisposition to animality, in which he does not mention sociability but rather focuses on the sexual impulse to maintain the species. The reason could be that this point is developed a few pages later, when he focuses on the characteristics of the human species. There, he restates the claim that 'The human being was not meant to belong to a herd, like cattle, but to a hive, like

the bee. – *Necessity* to be a member of some civil society or other' (*Anthropology*, 425 [7:330]).

51. *Religion*, 75 [6:26]. In this respect, I disagree with Brett when he writes that Kant's 'recognition of the variety of human experience was never brought under any such regulative principles as might be furnished by evolutionary and biological standpoints' (Brett (1962): 542).

52. *Anthropology*, 422 [7:327]. An example of the persistence of animal pre-dispositions can be found in the following passage: 'The human being's self-will is always ready to break out in aversion toward his neighbour, and he always presses his claim to unconditional freedom; freedom not merely to be independent of others, but even to be master over other beings who by nature are equal to him' (*Anthropology*, 422 [7:327]).

53. As Wood writes, 'What is most striking about Kant's actual writings about history and anthropology is their systematic attempt to comprehend the distinctively human in terms of a conception of the human race as a natural species, using the same biological principles that govern the study of other organisms' (Wood (1998): 20).

54. The fifth characteristic identifies the distinctive feature of the human species as a whole (see the passages on the three levels of praxis in Chapter 3).

55. Contrast this with Wood's claim that Kant 'regards gender, national and racial differences as matters of *character* – that is, as the results of free agency in taking over differences in physiological endowment or a geographically conditioned mode of life. They are never seen as mere consequences of a biological determinism [...] This also indicates that Kant regards under the heading "effects of freedom" a good deal that would not be considered "voluntary" in the legal or moral sense' (Wood (2001): 473).

56. *Anthropology*, 231 [7:119]. This section will focus specifically on Kant's account of temperaments, genders and nations. For my analysis of race, see Chapter 2, Section 3 and Chapter 3, Section 1(i). One point should be noted here, however. If races are included in pragmatic anthropology (no matter how succinctly), it entails that there is pragmatic knowledge to be gained from it. Although Kant has not actually spelt out what this knowledge is, it can be inferred that first, human beings should not mix within families, and second, they should not mix between races. However, mixing varieties is encouraged (see *Anthropology*, 415–16 [7:320–1] and *On the Use*, 202 [8:166–7]).

57. '[T]erms referring to the *constitution of the blood* do not serve to indicate the *cause* of the phenomena observed in a sensibly affected human being – whether according to the pathology of humors or of nerves: they serve only to classify these phenomena according to observed effects' (*Anthropology*, 385 [7:287]).

58. *Anthropology*, 386–8 [7:288–90].

59. *Anthropology*, 390 [7:292].

60. *Anthropology*, 384 [7:285–6].

61. *Anthropology*, 386 [7:288].

62. *Anthropology*, 387–8 [7:289–90]. For a detailed account of Kant's concept of temperament, in particular relative to the historical tradition of the temperaments, see Larrimore (2001). Larrimore interestingly remarks that as

Kant moves from an ethics based on feeling to an ethics based on rational autonomy, his theory of temperaments also changes. For instance, in *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime*, Kant celebrates the melancholic as the virtuous temperament *par excellence*, whilst in the *Anthropology* he commends the phlegmatic as the temperament that can serve as a substitute for wisdom (Larrimore (2001): 259).

63. See Williams (1981).
64. *Anthropology*, 386–7 [7:288].
65. For a detailed study of the notion of character, see Munzel (1999).
66. *Anthropology*, 402 [7:305]. Kant does not consider the possibility of their social conditioning: 'culture does not introduce these feminine qualities, it only allows them to develop and become recognizable under favourable conditions' (*Anthropology*, 400 [7:303]). As Robin May Schott argues, Kant 'asserts that women's character, in contrast to men's, is wholly defined by natural needs. Women's lack of self-determination, in his view, is intrinsic to their nature' (Schott (1996): 474).
67. *Anthropology*, 402 [7:305–6].
68. *Anthropology*, 402 [7:306].
69. *Anthropology*, 404 [7:308].
70. *Anthropology*, 405–6 [7:308–9].
71. Ibid. Nations thus differ from people defined as 'the *number* of human beings united in a region, insofar as they constitute a *whole*' (*Anthropology*, 407 [7:311]).
72. *Anthropology*, 414–15 [7:319]. In this sense, by defining national characters in terms of natural predispositions, Kant goes against the tradition, found in Montesquieu amongst others, according to which they are determined by the climate and the environment. Note also that in his discussion of national characters, Kant's usage of the notion of 'character' differs radically from the one spelt out in the context of his discussion of persons. For the former, national character, is a product of nature, whilst the latter, the character of a person, is a product of freedom.
73. For instance, 'Russian and European Turkey, both largely of Asiatic ancestry, would lie outside Frankestan [the name given by the Turks to Christian Europe]: the first is of *Slavic*, the other of *Arabic* origin, both are descended from two ancestral peoples who once extended their domination over a larger part of Europe than any other people' (*Anthropology*, 408fn [7:312–13]).
74. *Anthropology*, 408 [7:312].
75. *Anthropology*, 409–10 [7:314].
76. *Anthropology*, 407 [7:312].
77. *Anthropology*, 408 [7:312].
78. *Anthropology*, 409–12 [7:313–16]. Kant also discusses the characters of the Italians and the Germans, and mentions Russians, Poles, Turks, Greeks and Armenians.
79. See *Anthropology*, 409 [7:313], 410 [7:315] and 412 [7:317].
80. *Anthropology*, 406 [7:310].
81. For races, see: 'The human being was destined for all climates and for every soil' (*Of the Different Races*, 90 [2:435]). See also *On the Use*, 202 [8:166–7] and *Anthropology*, 415 [7:320]. For a slightly different view, see Larrimore (1999): 116–23. And for sexual characteristics, see: 'the provision of nature

put more art into the organization of the female part than of the male; for it furnished the man with greater power than the woman in order to bring both into the most intimate *physical* union, which, insofar as they are nevertheless also *rational* beings, it orders to the end most important to it, the preservation of the species. And moreover, in this quality of theirs (as rational animals), it provided them with social inclinations in order to make their sexual companionship persist in a domestic union' (*Anthropology*, 399 [7:303]).

82. Larrimore (2001): 273.

83. See *Anthropology*, 385 [7:287].

84. The notion of unsociable sociability will be examined in Chapter 5, Section 2(i).

85. *Idea*, 115 [8:25–6]. See also 'only in it [i.e. a civil society universally administering right] can the highest aim of nature be attained, namely, the development of all the predispositions in humanity' (*Idea*, 112 [8:22]).

86. Kant also writes that Nature 'makes use of two means to prevent peoples from intermingling and to separate them: differences of *language* and of *religion*, which do bring with them the propensity to mutual hatred and pretexts for war but yet, with increasing culture and the gradual approach of human beings to greater agreement regarding in principles, leads to understanding in a peace that is produced and secured' (*P.P.*, 336 [8:367]).

87. *Groundwork*, 62 [4:408].

88. *Groundwork*, 58 [4:404].

89. See *C.P.R.*, 678 [A807–8/B835–6], *C.Pr.R.*, 254–8 [5:142–8] and *C.J.*, 334–6 [5:470–2]. In this respect, it suffices that nature's amenability to morality is not theoretically impossible. See for instance 'as long as these doubts cannot be made quite certain I cannot exchange the duty (as something *liquidum*) for the rule of prudence not to attempt the impracticable (as something *illiquidum*, since it is merely hypothetical)' (*T.P.*, 306 [8:309]). As O'Neill notes, this is not to say that we know how or how far the natural and the moral orders are coordinated, let alone that their full integration is possible; it is only to say that for the purpose of moral agency, we must take it that some degree of coordination is possible (O'Neill (1997): 282).

90. As exhibited by the literature, there is no doubt that first, these two claims are far from straight forward (see, for instance, Stern (2004)), and second, they are articulated within a complex web of other claims, which includes the Postulates of practical reason (see, for instance, Guyer (2000): Chapter 10). Unfortunately, due to space restrictions, I cannot get into the details of Kant's argument here. However, the essential point that needs emphasising for my present purpose is that Kant grounds moral obligation and the possibility of its realisation a priori.

91. *Religion*, 89 [6:44] and 92 [6:48].

92. *Idea*, 116 [8:26].

93. See also 'Impulses of nature, accordingly, involve *obstacles* within the human being's mind to his fulfilment of duty and (sometimes powerful) forces opposing it, which he must judge that he is capable of resisting and conquering by reason not at some time in the future but at once (the moment he thinks of duty): he must judge that he *can* do what the law tells him unconditionally that he *ought* to do' (*M.M.*, 513 [6:380]).

94. *Groundwork*, 61 [4:407]. And 'it is absolutely impossible by means of expe-
    rience to make out with complete certainty a single case in which the
    maxim of an action otherwise in conformity with duty rested simply on
    moral grounds and on the representation of one's duty' (*Groundwork*, 61–2
    [4:407]). See also *Religion*, 82–3 [6:36–7] and 105 [6:63].
95. *M.M.*, 593 [6:480].
96. Contrast with Brender's claim that 'At moments of impending disorien-
    tation, examples of virtue play an indispensable supplementary role in
    allowing agents to regain their bearings in practical thought' (Brender
    (2004): 165).
97. *Groundwork*, 101 [4:454] and *M.M.*, 593 [6:479]. See also *C.Pr.R.*, 202 [5:77].
    Of course, we can never know (in the strict sense of knowledge) whether
    an act that seems virtuous really is virtuous; that is to say, we can never
    be certain that the examples of virtue we rely on are genuine ones. How-
    ever, first, as suggested in Chapter 3, Section 1(iii), we can rely on reflective
    judgement to interpret the appearance of virtue (i.e. the exterior) as gen-
    uine virtue (i.e. the interior). Second, and more importantly, by relying on
    examples, 'it is not comparison with any other human being whatsoever (as
    he is), but with the *idea* (of humanity), as he ought to be, and so compari-
    son with the law, that must serve as the constant standard for the teacher's
    instruction' (*M.M.*, 593 [6:480]). So in this context, the role of examples
    is merely to reveal our capacity for freedom and autonomy, and the only
    thing that matters is whether it performs this function.
98. *Groundwork*, 63 [4:409]. In Chapter 5, Section 2(iii), I will show that sim-
    ilarly, a progressive view of human history provides comfort. As Munzel
    writes, examples 'serve as a source of encouragement that so to conduct
    one's life and to procure such character for oneself does indeed lie within
    the bounds of human possibility' (Munzel (1999): 292). The other role they
    play is that they educate the power of moral judgement: 'This is also the
    sole and great utility of examples: that they sharpen the power of judg-
    ment. [...] Thus examples are the leading-strings of the power of judgment'
    (*C.P.R.*, 269 [A134/B173]; see also *M.M.*, 595 [6:482–3] on casuistry). This
    role is the one that is usually acknowledged in Kantian literature, as in
    O'Neill (1989): 166–9.
99. Guyer (2006): 310–11. Of course, many other examples of this kind of
    empirical contribution to ethics could be found, in particular in education,
    politics and religion (see, for instance, Louden (2000) and Munzel (1999)).
    I will argue the case of history in Chapter 5.
100. Louden (2002): 6.
101. Frierson (2003): 56.
102. Zammito (2002): 301.
103. Note that here I focus on the practical (i.e. prescriptive) role of anthropol-
     ogy. Its epistemic role, in the context of moral assessment both of the self
     and others, has already been tackled in Chapter 3, Section 1(iii).
104. *M.M.*, 372 [6:217].
105. The empirical features of human nature that Kant presupposes in his elabo-
     ration of human duties in his metaphysics of morals have been thoroughly
     compiled by Schmidt (2005), so I rely on her discussion in this respect. To

give but one example, she interprets Kant's exposition of our duty to promote the happiness of other human beings as presupposing an empirical conception of human nature 'in which he attributes to human beings the capacity and disposition to engage in purposeful action in order to satisfy various desires arising from nature or culture; the capacity and disposition within each individual to include a particular set of these ends within his or her own distinctive conception of happiness and act toward this as an encompassing goal; a capacity to recognize the desires, unique projects, and the sources of empirical self-esteem in others; and finally the capacities to receive various types of harm or benefit, and also to inflict harm or to confer benefits upon others' (Schmidt (2005): 81).

106. Virtue is 'the strength of a human being's maxims in fulfilling his duty' (*M.M.*, 524 [6:394]).

107. *Groundwork*, 65 [4:412].

108. *Groundwork*, 65 [4:411–12].

109. *M.M.*, 372 [6:217]. Similarly in the *Critique of Practical Reason*, although he does not mention the project of a metaphysics of morals, he states that 'the special determination of duties as human duties, with a view to classifying them, is possible only after the subject of this determination (the human being) is cognized as he is really constituted' (*C.Pr.R.*, 143 [5:8]).

110. Wood (2002): 4.

111. *M.M.*, 372 [6:217]; my emphasis.

112. Note that in this passage, Kant focuses on the positive dimension of moral anthropology (the development, spreading and strengthening of moral principles). However, I will show that there is also a negative dimension to it, namely the taming of what opposes moral principles (inclinations, desires, passions, etc.).

113. To my knowledge, there is no systematic discussion of these duties as such in the literature apart from a section in Timmermann (2006). As Timmermann notes, Kant casually introduces an indirect duty for the first time in the *Groundwork*, 54 [4:399] (Timmermann (2006): 293). On my interpretation, Kant's apparent lack of interest in indirect duties in the *Metaphysics of Morals* should be explained by the fact that it is concerned with another project (the metaphysics of morals), whilst indirect duties properly belong to the domain of moral anthropology.

114. 'To assure one's own happiness is a duty (at least indirectly)' (*Groundwork*, 54 [4:399]). 'To seek prosperity for its own sake is not directly a duty, but indirectly it can well be a duty, that of warding off poverty insofar as this is a great temptation to vice. But then it is not my happiness but the preservation of my moral integrity that is my end and also my duty' (*M.M.*, 520 [6:388]).

115. 'The duty here is only to cultivate one's conscience, to sharpen one's attentiveness to the voice of the inner judge and to use every means to obtain a hearing for it (hence the duty is only indirect)' (*M.M.*, 530 [6:401]).

116. Regarding our capacity for sympathetic feelings, Kant writes that 'to use this as a means to promoting active and rational benevolence is still a particular, though only a conditional duty. [...] But while it is not in itself a duty to share the sufferings (as well the joys) of others, it is a duty to sympathise actively in their fate; and to this end it is therefore an indirect

duty to cultivate the compassionate natural (aesthetic) feelings in us, and to make use of them as so many means to sympathy based on moral principles and the feelings appropriate to them' (*M.M.*, 575 [6:456–7]). Thus, indirect duties are not duties that command *having* certain feelings since it would be impossible to act on such a command – just as it is not possible 'to love someone merely on command' (*C.Pr.R.*, 207 [5:83]). Rather, the duty is to cultivate the capacity for having a variety of feelings and to strengthen certain feelings one already has.

117. 'With regard to the animate but nonrational part of creation, violent and cruel treatment of animals is […] opposed to a human being's duty to himself, and he has a duty to refrain from this; for it dulls his shared feeling of their suffering and so weakens and gradually uproots a natural predisposition that is very serviceable to morality in one's relations with other people' (*M.M.*, 564 [6:443]).

118. 'A propensity to wanton destruction of what is *beautiful* in inanimate nature (*spiritus destructionis*) is opposed to a human being's duty to himself; for it weakens or uproots that feeling in him which, though not of itself moral, is still a disposition of sensibility that greatly promotes morality or at least prepares the way for it: the disposition, namely, to love something […] even apart from any intention to use it' (*M.M.*, 564 [6:443]). Of course, Kant has a lot more to say about this from the perspective of aesthetics. For instance, '[t]he beautiful prepares us to love something, even nature, without interest' (*C.J.*, 151 [5:267]). For an elaboration of this point, see Guyer (2006): 328–31.

119. As Kant writes, '*Considered in themselves*, natural inclinations are *good*, i.e. not reprehensible, and to want to extirpate them would not only be futile but harmful and blameworthy as well; we must rather only curb them, so that they will not wear each other out but will instead be harmonized into a whole called happiness' (*Religion*, 102 [6:58]).

120. *C.J.*, 299 [5:432].

121. *M.M.*, 513–14 [6:380–2].

122. See also '[T]wo things are required for inner freedom: being one's own *master* in a given case (*animus sui compos*), and *ruling* oneself (*imperium in semetipsum*), that is, subduing one's affects and *governing* one's passions' (*M.M.*, 535 [6:407]).

123. *M.M.*, 513 [6:380].

124. *M.M.*, 598 [6:485].

125. *Anthropology*, 367 [7:265–6]; see also *L.A.*, [25:622]. Kant's various *Lectures* in fact contain many examples of actions that help us strengthen the capacity for self-mastery, including reading books that serve for amusement (*L.E.*, 210 [27:456]) and playing card games (*L.A.*, [25:605]).

126. Note that the difference between Tables 4.5 and 4.6 is that the latter synthesises the various indirect duties spelt out in this section (including the ones I added to Kant's official list) on the basis of their function for each faculty.

127. *M.M.*, 523 [6:392–3].

128. As Kant notes, Nature uses various means to its realisation; for instance, 'Nature has thus put in us a propensity to make illusions, through which we can tame the unruly inclinations of our passions' (*L.A.*, [25:930]).

129. 'As far as the discipline of the inclinations is concerned, for which the natural predisposition in respect to our vocation as an animal species is quite

purposive but which make the development of humanity very difficult, nature still displays even in regard to this second requisite for culture a purposive effort at an education to make us receptive to higher ends than nature itself can afford' (*C.J.*, 300 [5:433]).

130. See the section 'On a human being's duty to himself to increase his *moral* perfection, that is, for a moral purpose only' (*M.M.*, 566 [6:446]).

131. '[C]onscience is not something that can be acquired, and we have no duty to provide ourselves with one; rather, every human being, as a moral being, *has* a conscience within him originally [...] an unavoidable fact' (*M.M.*, 529 [6:400]). It is a component of 'what is presupposed on the part of feeling by the mind's receptivity', and as such, it is a 'natural predisposition [...] of the mind [...], antecedent predispositions on the side of *feeling*' (*M.M.*, 528 [6:399]). It 'is not something that he himself (voluntarily) *makes*, but something incorporated in his being' (*M.M.*, 560 [6:438]).

132. See the section 'On the Human Being's Duty to Himself as His Own Innate Judge' (*M.M.*, 559 [6:437]).

133. 'Nature has already implanted in human beings receptivity to these feelings [shared sympathetic feelings]...[T]he *receptivity*, given by nature itself, to the feeling of joy and sadness in common with others [...] is *unfree* [...] the compassionate natural (aesthetic) feelings in us [...] is still one of the impulses that nature has implanted in us to do what the representation of duty alone might not accomplish' (*M.M.*, 575–6 [6:456–7]).

134. See the section entitled '*Sympathetic feeling is generally a duty*' (*M.M.*, 574–6 [6:456–8]).

135. It is a 'feeling in him which, thought not of itself moral, is still a disposition of sensibility [...] the disposition, namely, to love something [...] even apart from any intention to use it' (*M.M.*, 564 [6:443]).

136. See the section entitled '*On the duty of love in particular*' (*M.M.*, 569–71 [6:450–2]).

137. As Kant writes, 'the human being has a duty to cultivate the crude predispositions of his nature' (*M.M.*, 523 [6:392]). And to prevent any potential misunderstanding, note that claiming that we have a duty to strengthen our natural capacities in order to further the realisation of our moral purposes does not conflict with the claim that we have to think of ourselves as free from the determination of natural inclinations. For as suggested in Chapter 1, we can choose to use our inclinations for moral purposes, and by doing so, we express not only our freedom but also our moral commitments. To put the same point slightly differently, we have indirect duties to use certain means to cultivate the natural dispositions that maximise our moral efficacy, and we have a direct duty to realise the end these dispositions would achieve, but we ought to do so from duty rather than from these dispositions (for instance, by being *rationally* benevolent or *morally* sympathetic). For further discussions of this point, see Guyer (2000): Chapter 9 and Sherman (1997): 158ff.

138. *Groundwork*, 68 [4:415].

139. As Timmermann argues, ' "indirect" duty is not even a lesser kind of duty: it is not a species of duty at all. [...] Any of these actions [commanded by indirect duties] are *per se* morally neutral acts because they are not immediately made *necessary* by the moral law' (Timmermann (2006): 298–9).

140. However, this point alone is not sufficient to differentiate between indirect duties and rules of skills. For one could also say that by improving one's general skills, one is also improving oneself *qua* agent.

141. *Groundwork*, 70 [4:417]. As O'Neill comments, '[t]his amounts to saying that to will some end without willing whatever means are indispensable for that end, insofar as they are available, is, even when the end itself involves no conceptual inconsistency, to involve oneself in a volitional inconsistency. It is to embrace at least one specific intention that, far from being guided by the underlying intention or principle, is inconsistent with that intention or principle' (O'Neill (1989): 91).

142. See also 'Imperfect duties alone are, accordingly, *duties of virtue*. Fulfilment of them is *merit* (*meritum*) = + a: but failure to fulfil them is not in itself *culpability* (*demeritum*) = – a but rather mere *deficiency in moral worth* = o [...] It is only the strength of one's resolution, in the first case, that is properly called *virtue* (*virtus*); one's weakness, in the second case, is not so much *vice* (*vitium*) as rather mere *want of virtue*, lack of moral strength (*defectus moralis*)' (*M.M.*, 521 [6:390]).

143. See, for instance, the end of the passage I have already referred to: 'The depths of the human heart are unfathomable. [...] our cognition of ourselves can never adequately tell us whether [a sum of virtues] is complete or deficient' (*M.M.*, 567 [6:447]).

144. So in contrast with Timmermann, I believe that taking one's clothes off in order to save a drowning child is not a rule of skill of the same kind as taming one's inclinations or pursuing one's own happiness (Timmermann (2006): 299). The analogy between indirect duties and the various ways of rescuing someone is misleading because it overlooks the fact that the former are concerned with improving the self's capacities and thus its *moral* efficaciousness rather than its general efficaciousness (Timmermann (2006): 308).

145. *Anthropology*, 386 [7:288].

146. *Anthropology*, 386 [7:287–8].

147. Sullivan (1989): 165.

148. Note that I am not arguing that individual circumstances impose extra or additional duties on certain agents, but rather that they impose specific duties to particular types of agents.

149. *M.M.*, 371 [6:216].

150. '[Moral philosophy] no doubt still require[s] a judgment sharpened by experience, partly to distinguish in what cases they [laws a priori] are applicable and partly to provide them with access to the will of the human being and efficacy for his fulfilment of them' (*Groundwork*, 45 [4:389]).

151. *Anthropology*, 417 [7:321].

152. *Anthropology*, 275–84 [7:165–75] and 309–26 [7:202–21].

153. Respectively in *Anthropology*, 291–5 [7:182–6], 261–3 [7:149–51], 273–8 [7:162–6], 304–9 [7:197–202], 278–84 [7:167–74]; 332–3 [7:228–9]. For details on the improvement of the general cognitive faculty, see Schmidt (2004). See also Makkreel (2001c) on the use and misuse of imagination.

154. *Anthropology*, 366–76 [7:265–75], 355–66 [7:253–65] and *M.M.*, 535–6 [6:407–8].

155. Respectively in *Lectures on Pedagogy*, 473–85 [9:486–99], *P.P.*, 131fn [8:375], *Idea*, 111–12 [8:21] and *C.B.*, 165–7 [8:111–13] for political institutions, and

Anthropology, 39 [7:152–3] and *M.M.*, 588 [6:473–4] for politeness and social intercourse.

156. Respectively in *Anthropology*, 336–42 [7:233–9], 333–5 [7:230–3], 342–52 [7:239–49] and 352–3 [7:249–50]. I have discussed further examples of our use of anthropological knowledge for prudential purposes in Chapter 4, Section 2(i).

157. Kaulbach (1975): 70, 78–9, translated in Louden (2000): 226.

158. Kaulbach (1966): 61, translated in Louden (2000): 226. As Makkreel writes, anthropology 'is concerned to orient itself in its sphere of action [...] Kant's anthropology supplements our discursive scientific understanding of the successive parts of the world with a topological outline of the whole for pragmatic purposes' (Makkreel (2003): 159).

159. A similar difficulty can be found in Louden when he writes that 'without moral anthropology, we are travellers without a map who know neither our destination nor our means of reaching it' (Louden (2006): 362).

160. While Kant seems to discuss the vocation [*Bestimmung*] of the human species in his works on history and anthropology (see, for instance, *Anthropology*, 419–20 [7:324] and 428–9 [7:333]), this does not threaten my interpretation. For it remains that when he is concerned with our moral destination, it is essentially within the domain of pure ethics (as exemplified by his discussion of the kingdom of ends). And although this destination is given more content and specificity through history and anthropology, I would argue that it is only insofar as certain specifically human features (determined by the human sciences) allow us to do so. But in this respect, their role is akin to that of the application of pure ethics to *human* beings (i.e. the metaphysics of morals), as spelt out in Section 1(iii).

161. *L.A.*, [25:413]. For a very clear account of prudence and prudential ends in Kant's *Anthropology*, see Kain (2003).

162. I would like to thank Sasha Mudd for pointing this out. For Kant, the only source of moral worth lies in the performance of an action for the sake of fulfilling our moral duty alone. Thus, an action will not be morally good either because it is good in itself, or because it produces good consequences; rather, what will make an action morally good is the fact that it is motivated by our decision to act only because the moral law commands it.

163. By 'satellite navigation system' I mean the navigation tool that indicates the route one should follow once the chosen destination has been entered into the system.

164. *Groundwork*, 58 [4:404].

165. Although the metaphor of the 'satellite navigation system' considerably refines that of the map, for ease of expression, from now on, I will retain the use of 'map'.

5 Philosophical History

1. Louden (2000): 141.

2. Siep (1995): 356 and Kleingeld (1995): 36, translated in Louden (2000): 141. See also Despland (1973): 68–76 and Galston (1975): 214–24.

3. *C.J.*, 239–41 [5:367–9], 297–303 [5:429–36].

4. Allen Wood has also brought to light the connection between biology and history. He argues that 'Kant's philosophy is "naturalistic" in that he treats history as a branch of *biology*. […] Kant's philosophy of history is guided by a philosophical idea that understands the historical change as the development of the natural predispositions of the human race as a living species' (Wood (1999): 208). Whilst I agree with the idea of a crucial connection between history and biology, Wood might be overstating it, for Kant's philosophy of history is not strictly speaking naturalistic, or at least not merely naturalistic. As I will suggest, it is partly based on moral considerations.

5. This mirroring is possible since the antinomy expounded in the *Critique of the Power of Judgment* is called the antinomy of reflective judgement, which suggests that it is in fact intrinsic to the reflective use of judgement in general, and thus can be legitimately applied to history insofar as, just as biology, it operates with reflective judgement.

6. *C.J.*, 247–8 [5:376].

7. *C.J.*, 243 [5:370–1].

8. *Idea*, 109 [8:18].

9. This is not to deny that a biological perspective on the human being considered as an individual organism is also available. The distinction drawn here is merely intended to contrast historical and biological methods insofar as they operate at different levels.

10. *Idea*, 114 [8:24].

11. *Idea*, 116 [8:26].

12. *Idea*, 112 [8:21].

13. *C.J.*, 245 [5:373].

14. *Idea*, 108 [8:17].

15. *C.J.*, 243 [5:371]. This interpretation is also supported by the following quote: 'the little part of it [history] which humanity has traversed with respect to this aim allows one to determine the shape of its path and *the relation of the parts to the whole* only as uncertainly as the course taken by our sun together with the entire host of its satellites in the great system of fixed stars can be determined from all the observations of the heavens made hitherto' (*Idea*, 116–17 [8:27]; my emphasis).

16. *P.P.*, 339 [8:371].

17. *Idea*, 108 [8:17].

18. *C.J.*, 251 [5:379].

19. *Idea*, 119 [8:30].

20. There is a teleological causality ($\Rightarrow$) between 'R (b)' and 'a', and a mechanical causality ($\rightarrow$) between 'a' and 'b'.

21. *Idea*, 119 [8:30], 108 [8:17]. Paul Guyer has cast doubts on the concept of empirical history. He argues that 'Kant does not say enough in the first page and a half of his essay [the *Idea*] to prove that he is seriously concerned with the possibility of history as a scientific discipline'. According to this reading, the beginning of the *Idea* is a 'page and a half of generalities' in which 'Kant hardly suggests that he assumes that there is anything like a going practice of scientific history'. He goes on to say that 'even if Kant were attempting to ground a science of history, it seems as if his interest in such a history would itself be moral and political' (Guyer (2000): 373). Larry Krasnoff goes even further and claims that 'Kant insists that any history

should and even must be teleological' (Krasnoff (1994): 22). Contrary to these lines of interpretation, I will argue that Kant does acknowledge the existence of a theoretical, non-teleological part of history (what I have called empirical history), and that it should be taken seriously for epistemic reasons (based on the connections between biology and history) as well as practical ones (based on the connections between history and ethics).

22. Walsh defines it as 'the activity by which the historian groups different events together "under appropriate concepts"' (Walsh (1974): 133). It is interesting to note that his concept of colligation is based on the Kantian-inspired thinking of William Whewell (see Walsh (1951): 23, 62). The main difference between Walsh's and Kant's account is that colligation is, on my interpretation of Kant, specific to the empirical form of history.

23. *Idea*, 108 [8:17].

24. Walsh (1974): 130.

25. *Idea*, 108 [8:17].

26. Ibid.

27. *Idea*, 109 [8:17].

28. *C.F.*, 300 [4:83].

29. *Idea*, 109 [8:18]. This should be related to Rousseau's concept of *perfectibilité* and its role in the evolution of the human species, in particular in the *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. See for instance: 'This is the faculty of self-improvement, which, by the help of circumstances, gradually develops all the rest of our faculties, and is inherent in the species as in the individual; whereas a brute is, at the end of a few months, all he will ever be during his whole life, and his species, at the end of a thousand years, exactly what it was the first year of that thousand' (Rousseau (1973): 89).

30. *Lectures on Logic*, 236 [24:291]. In this context, history should be understood in a broad, methodological sense; it includes natural history, chronicle history and so on.

31. Makkreel (2001d): 186.

32. The synchronic form of the appeal to Nature's intentions for the human species has already been examined in the context of anthropology in Chapter 4, Section 2. The aim of this section is to focus on its diachronic dimension.

33. *Idea*, 108 [8:17]. As the court preacher Schulz reported in the *Gothaischen Gelehrten Zeitungen* (11 February 1784), one of Kant's 'favorites ideas' was that a 'philosophical historian' should undertake to write a 'history of humanity' showing how far men in different ages had approached or deviated from their 'ultimate goal', namely the achievement of 'the most perfect state-constitution' (Lestition (1985): 409–10). As Kant writes, 'No one has yet written a world history, which was at once a history of humanity, but only of the state of affairs and of the change in the kingdoms, which as a part is indeed major, but considered in the whole, is a trifle. All histories of wars amount to the same thing, in that they contain nothing more than the descriptions of battles. But whether a battle has been more or less won makes no difference in the whole. More attention should though be given thereby to humanity' (*L.A.*, [25:472]).

34. Walsh (1974): 131.

35. Flint (1874): 397.

36. Wilkins (1966): 176.
37. *C.J.*, 250 [5:379].
38. See, for instance, Herbert Butterfield who objects to 'the tendency of many historians to write on the side of Protestants and Whigs, to praise revolutions provided they have been successful, to emphasize certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present' (Butterfield (1931): 5).
39. Contrast this with Yovel: 'The *Idea* seems to commit a major dogmatic error. It ascribes to nature as such a hidden teleological plan, by which the totality of empirical history is to be explained and predicted; but this stands in open conflict with the *Critique of Pure Reason*, which admits only of mechanistic principles. […] It seems therefore that the *Idea* commits precisely the error that the *Critique* forbids. Can this difficulty be resolved? Within the context of the *Idea* itself, the answer, I think, must be No. […] the *Idea* is indeed a vestige of his 'dogmatic' thinking, chronologically but not systematically simultaneous with the beginning of the Critical period' (Yovel (1980): 154–5).
40. *Religion*, 81fn [6:34].
41. Wilkins (1966): 182–3.
42. I use the term 'narrative' to signify the fact that teleological judgements applied to history gives rise to what I have called 'stories'. As argued by Hayden White, history is the literary artefact that results from the historian's shaping and imposing of a narrative of the past (what he calls 'emplotment'). When historians place events in a particular order, they 'emplot' their sequence, they shape the historical narrative by invoking evidence and causality, blending them together to constitute an explanation. Thus White believes that historical situations are not inherently tragic or comic: 'All the historian needs to do to transform a tragic into a comic situation is to shift his point of view or change the scope of his perceptions' (White (1973): 85). And in *C.B.*, 168–9 [115–16], Kant suggests that depending on the standpoint, the same event can be narrated either from a tragic perspective (that of the human being) or from a comic perspective (that of nature). This also supports the claim that historical 'facts' are only events under description, and that they only become meaningful when we emplot them within a constructed narrative. Kant's concept of philosophical history is thus alike White's concept of historical narrative. The facts, once created out of the evidence, must be constituted again as part of a narrative structure, a structure written in anticipation of a 'preferred' outcome. And the choice between different types of outcome can be based on various criteria such as its plausibility (based on present or past signs), its pragmatic intent (based on what the historian wants the outcome to be), or its moral worth (based on a duty). I will develop this point further in the following section.
43. See Williams (1983): 19. The conflict could also be expressed as an opposition between two claims: (1) history is made up of haphazard and arbitrary events (empirical history) and (2) history is a patterned whole (philosophical history).
44. *Anthropology*, 331 [7:227].
45. See *C.J.*, 297–303 [5:429–36]. This is the reason why my account of this distinction is concise. For detailed analyses, see for instance Yovel (1980): 175ff. and Louden (2000): 141ff.

46. See *C.J.*, 297–9 [5:429–31].
47. *C.J.*, 302 [5:435]. For an analysis of Kant's account of Providence, see Kleingeld (2001).
48. *Idea*, 110 [8:19].
49. For a compelling account of the concept of unsociable sociability, see Wood (1991).
50. The role of obstacles is in this sense very similar to its role in Rousseau's theory of historical progress (see Cohen (1999)).
51. The South Sea Islander 'finds himself in comfortable circumstances and prefers to give himself up to pleasure than to trouble himself with enlarging and improving his fortunate natural predispositions. [. . .] [He] let[s] his talents rust and [is] concerned with devoting his life merely to idleness, amusement, procreation – in a word, to enjoyment' (*Groundwork*, 74–5 [4:423]). '"Insensitive" Americans with no prospects; even the people of Mexico and Peru cannot be cultivated' (*Reflexion 1520*, [15:877]). These a-historical men can be thought of as a sub-category of the aliens defined in Chapter 3, Section 1(i).
52. The function of the antagonism described here is akin to the function of war defined in Chapter 4, Section 2(ii). There, I showed that war is 'an unintentional effort of humans (aroused by unbridled passions)' which, for Kant, ultimately 'develop[s] to their highest degree all the talents that serve for culture' (*C.J.*, 300 [5:433]). War is a form of human unsociable sociability – an international form – that proceeds from the same predisposition of human nature and leads to the same process of civilisation of human societies: 'Even if a people were not constrained by internal discord to submit to the constraint of public laws, war would still force them from without to do so, inasmuch as by the natural arrangement discussed above each people would find itself in the neighborhood of another people pressing upon it' (*P.P.*, 335 [8:365]).
53. As Wood remarks, 'Anticipating the fundamental principles of Marxian historical materialism, Kant holds that the human history is the history of struggles between groups with antagonistic economic interests' (Wood (1991): 335). In *Conjectural Beginning* however, the antagonism is between different lifestyles, nomadism and agriculturalism: 'Now as long as the nomadic pastoral peoples, who recognize God alone as their lord, continued to swarm around the town dwellers and farmers who have a human being (supreme ruler) as their lord (*Genesis* 6:4) and as long as these sworn enemies of all landed property showed hostility toward the latter and were in turn hated by them, there was to be sure continual war between the two, at least unceasing danger of war' (*C.B.*, 172 [8:119–20]).
54. *Idea*, 112 [8:22].
55. *Idea*, 113 [8:22–3]. See also 'the purposeless condition of savages [held] back all natural predispositions in our species, but finally through ills into which this condition transported the species, necessitated them to go beyond this condition and enter into a civil constitution, in which all those germs could be developed' (*Idea*, 115 [8:25–6]).
56. The initial agreement is pathological because it is motivated by sensibility, and in particular self-interest, as opposed to practical reason: 'The negative

effect upon feeling (disagreeableness) is *pathological*, as is every influence on feeling and every feeling in general' (*C.Pr.R.*, 200 [5:75]).

57. See *C.J.*, 299–300 [5:432–3].

58. The concept of natural teleology corresponds to what I have called 'Natural history – The teleological story of civilisation'.

59. The concept of cultural teleology corresponds to what I have called 'Cultural history – The teleological story of cultivation'.

60. In this context, the term 'cultural' is used by reference to Kant's concept of the culture of discipline (*C.J.*, 299 [5:432]).

61. For a detailed analysis of the law in this context, see Tosel (1988): 26–36.

62. *Idea*, 111 [8:21] and *C.B.*, 166–7 [8:113]. In this sense, one could say that here, Kant distinguishes between legal ethics and virtue ethics, and shows that the former cannot influence the latter; that is, the end of morality [*Moralität*] is not achievable through mere legal order.

63. See also 'the final end cannot be an end that nature would be sufficient to produce in accordance with its idea, because it is unconditioned. For there is nothing in nature (as a sensible being) the determining ground of which, itself found in nature, is not always in turn conditioned' (*C.J.*, 302 [5:435]).

64. *Anthropology*, 428 [7:333].

65. *C.F.*, 300 [4:83]. Kant holds that there are in fact three possible ways of interpreting the course of human moral development, terrorism, eudaemonism and abderitism: 'The human race exists either in continual *retrogression* toward wickedness, or in perpetual *progression* toward improvement in its moral destination, or in eternal *stagnation* in its present stage of moral worth among creatures' (*C.F.*, 298 [4:81]).

66. *Idea*, 116 [8:27].

67. *Anthropology*, 424 [7:329].

68. Kleingeld (1999): 74. She solves this problem by referring to the *Critique of Practical Reason* and arguing that Kant's claim is further backed up by the assumption that Nature leads in the same direction in which morality commands us to go (Ibid., 75). This assumption is based on the fact that the conditions of possibility of the duty to realise moral progress are left sufficiently opened to allow for it. Whilst I think this reading is plausible, I believe that it is not sufficient to ground Kant's strongest claims about the actuality of moral progress. As she acknowledges, it only allows for a minimal reading: 'the "consolation" it brings to the moral agent provides a further motivation to adopt this model of history' (Ibid., 74). However, as will become clear, I support a strong reading.

69. In fact, many passages where Kant discusses moral progress use the terminology of hope rather than belief. For instance, 'It does not matter how many doubts may be raised against my hopes from history [...] however uncertain I may always be and remain as to whether something better is to be hoped for the human race [...] This hope for better times [...]' (*T.P.*, 306 [8:309]). '[T]here will be opened a consoling prospect into the future (which without a plan of nature one cannot hope for with any ground)' (*Idea*, 119 [8:30]). 'All politics must bend its knee before right, but in return it can hope to reach, though slowly, the level where it will shine unfailingly' (*P.P.*, 347 [8:380]). The relevance of the hope in moral progress for moral agents has been amply acknowledged in Kantian literature (see, for instance,

Galston (1975), Booth (1986), Yovel (1980), Axinn (1994) and O'Neill (1997)).

70. *C.Pr.R*, 238–9 [5:122–3].

71. As O'Neill has argued, 'In some of his political and historical writings Kant takes a this-worldly view of reasoned hope, in which neither God nor immortality is taken to be an indispensable corollary of our commitment to his views of our dual commitment to the natural and the moral orders. In place of the religious interpretation of the Postulates of Pure Practical Reason of the *Critique of Practical Reason*, he articulates the hopes we must have as hopes for an earthly future, for the possibility of progress in which nature and morality are coordinated not in another life but on this earth. If moral action is seen as a historical goal, reasoned hope may fasten not on God and immortality, but on history and progress' (O'Neill (1997): 287). Yovel also emphasises this point by showing the crucial relationship between the realisation of the highest good and Kant's account of history (Yovel (1980): 72–7).

72. *C.F.*, 301 [7:84–5]. See also *Idea*, 116–17 [8:27].

73. *The End of All Things*, 225 [8:332] and *T.P.*, 307 [8:310].

74. *C.F.*, 302 [7:85]. See also 'this condemning judgment [contempt for the character of the human species] reveals a moral predisposition in us' (*Anthropology*, 428 [7:333]). In this respect, Makkreel convincingly argues that 'we can see here the movement of reflective judgment from particular to universal, with the French revolution serving as a historical intimation of the universal confederation of republican states projected by the teleological idea of a cosmopolitan society. Such a reflective interpretation is authenticated by a universal moral tendency disclosed in the historical experience of the spectator participant' (Makkreel (1989–90): 180; see also Makkreel (1990): 148–53, (1995): 132, and (2001a): 79–80).

75. *T.P.*, 306 [8:308–9]. In this context, it is important to note that whilst the idea of a moral progress of humankind cannot be grounded directly on evidence, the idea of a legal progress can. This is expressed most clearly in the following passage from the *Idea*: '[I]f one starts from *Greek* history – as that through which every other older or contemporaneous history has been kept or at least accredited – if one follows their influence on the formation or malformation down to the present time its influence on the education or miseducation of the state body of the *Roman* nation which swallowed up the Greek state, and the latter's influence on the *barbarians* who in turn destroyed the former, down to the present time, and also adds to this *episodically* the political history of other nations, or the knowledge about them that has gradually reached us through these same enlightened nations – then one will discover a regular course of improvement of state constitutions in our part of the world (which will probably someday give laws to all the others)' (*Idea*, 118–19 [8:29]). Thus, it is on the basis of historical evidence that Kant discovers 'a guiding thread […] that can serve […] for the explanation of such a confused play of things human' and composes the first teleological story about the progress of civilisation and legalisation of the human species (*Idea*, 119 [8:30]).

76. See also 'there will be opened a consoling prospect into the future (which without a plan of nature one cannot hope for with any ground), in which the human species is represented in the remote distance as finally working

itself upward toward the condition in which all germs nature has placed in it can be fully developed and its vocation here on earth can be fulfilled. Such a *justification* of nature – or better, of *providence* – is no unimportant motive for choosing a particular viewpoint for considering the world' (*Idea*, 119 [8:30]).

77. Kant's only use of the notion of 'pragmatic history' appears in the *Groundwork*: 'A *history* is composed pragmatically when it makes us *prudent*, that is, instructs the world how it can look after its advantage better than, or at least as well as, the world of earlier times' (*Groundwork*, 69fn [4:417]). This passage seems to imply that the pragmatic use of history is restricted to prudential purposes. However, I will suggest that on the contrary, history can be used pragmatically for both prudential and moral purposes. In this context, 'pragmatic' is thus understood in a broad sense as having to do with the realisation of human purposes, just as in the case of pragmatic anthropology.

78. *P.P.*, 340 [8:372].

79. The political moralists 'make much of their knowledge of *human beings* (which is admittedly to be expected, since they have to do with so many)' (*P.P.*, 341 [8:374]).

80. *P.P.*, 344 [8:377].

81. *P.P.*, 341 [8:373].

82. Ibid. The maxims of the political moralist, which are based on the knowledge of human nature as it is, take forms such as '*Fac et excusa*' (act first, then justify), '*Si fecisti, nega*' (if you are the perpetrator, deny it) and '*Divide et impera*' (divide and conquer) (*P.P.*, 342 [8:374–5]).

83. *P.P.*, 339 [8:370].

84. As Williams writes, 'neither is the course of nature nor the progress of history adequately known to us for the unscrupulous politician to be certain of achieving his aim. [. . .] Past practice is no guide to the likely outcome in the present state of affairs. The politician [. . .] has to take a step in the dark, and his rewards will be uncertain' (Williams (1983): 45).

85. *P.P.*, 341 [8:374].

86. *P.P.*, 347 [8:380].

87. Ibid. See also 'Now the first principle, that of the political moralist (the problem of the right of a state, the right of nations, and cosmopolitan right), is a mere *technical problem* (*problema technicum*), whereas the second, as the principle of the *moral politician*, for whom it is a *moral problem* (*problema morale*), is far removed from the other in its procedure' (*P.P.*, 344 [8:377]).

88. Kaulbach (1975): 70, 78–9, translated in Louden (2000): 226, and *Idea*, 112 [8:22]. See also the claim that Kant's history provides 'a plan, a map of the whole, within which one is able to determine one's own position and can trace out for oneself the path by which one can reach one's chosen goals' (Kaulbach (1966): 61, translated in Louden (2000): 226).

89. In this sense, political prudence and political wisdom are the political counterparts of individual prudence and duty. For in the individual case, desires and inclinations provide the basis for prudential purposes, and reason clearly indicates one's moral destination, namely the realisation of the moral law.

90. Note that my reservations *vis-à-vis* the metaphor of the map, as spelt out in Chapter 4, Section 3(iii) in the context of pragmatic anthropology, also apply to the role of pragmatic history – namely, the map essentially plays the role of a satellite navigation system.

91. As is well known, a number of scholars have argued that Kant's ethics can stand in no direct relationship to the question of history. For, they suggest, Kant's philosophy of history cannot be about both politics and morality, the first having to do with the natural world (i.e. the world made of empirical actions), whilst the second belongs to the intelligible world (i.e. the world made of moral intentions). Commentators have generally suggested two ways of tackling this issue (as stated in Louden (2000): 144ff.): the first approach consists in (dis-)solving the problem by arguing that Kant's history is merely concerned with legal and political issues (for instance, Höffe (1994): 198, Frierson (2003): 151–61 and Kersting (1993): 84–5); the second approach emphasises the ethical part of Kant's history (for instance, Walsh (1951): 123, Fackenheim (1956): 394, Williams (1983): 19 and Guyer (2000): 372–407). This presentation, albeit sketchy, suggests that Kant's history has often been interpreted as having to 'choose' between politics and ethics, or, to put it slightly differently, between the empirical and the intelligible. Of course, one may object that the positions delineated here are in fact subtler than their presentation seems to indicate. But insofar as my suggestion consists in the rejection of the dilemma all together, its distinctiveness *vis-à-vis* these positions should be sufficient.

92. Kant finds it necessary to add in the sixth proposition: 'This problem is at the same time the most difficult and the latest to be solved by the human species' (*Idea*, 113 [8:22]).

93. *P.P.*, 343 [8:376].

Epilogue: A Pragmatic Counterpart to the Transcendental Project?

1. One could even go as far as arguing that if transcendental philosophy can be interpreted as a transcendental anthropology, the human sciences can be understood as their pragmatic counterpart in the form of a pragmatic anthropology (which would encompass all of the human sciences). This is partly supported by the following passage: 'Not the strength, but the one-eyed-ness makes the Cyclops here. It is also not enough, to know many other sciences, but the self-knowledge of understanding and reason. *Anthropologia transcendentalis*' (*Reflexion* 903 [15:395]). Of course, the concept of 'transcendental anthropology' only appears once in the whole Kantian corpus, and it is not used in Kant's published works. Moreover, the passage in question refers to 'the self-knowledge of understanding and reason', whilst this suggestion would amount to the claim that transcendental anthropology comprises the self-knowledge of all human faculties, including practical reason and judgement. Despite these reservations, a number of commentators have nevertheless explored this line of interpretation (Rescher (2000): Chapter 3 ('Kant's cognitive anthropomorphism'), Schmidt (2007): Section 2 and Van de Pitte (1972): 574 ('when taken as a system, the works of Kant constitute a fully developed philosophical anthropology'), Gerhardt (1987): 148 ('critical philosophy is at its core an anthropology'), Firla (1981)). I certainly find this route attractive albeit controversial, in particular insofar as it would allow a systematic co-ordination between transcendental and pragmatic anthropology (i.e.

the transcendental project as transcendental anthropology, and the human sciences as pragmatic anthropology). However, a lot more work would be needed in order to flesh out this picture. In any case, note that crucially, my interpretation of the human sciences as the pragmatic counterpart of the transcendental project does not rely on the claim that the latter is in fact a transcendental anthropology.

2. *W.O.T.*, 10 [8:137].
3. In this sense, my interpretation is not threatened by the objection that by reducing Kant's critical project to an anthropology, the fundamentally transcendental and a priori nature of its enquiries is lost. For instance, Zammito notes that 'if we go about reconciling Kant with anthropology, we must never forget the adamance of his opposition. Metaphysics in its critical form and, above all, the transcendental authority of the categorical imperative are the foundations and the constraints for any possible anthropology: without this a priori commitment to "pure" reason, Kant becomes unrecognizable' (Zammito (2002): 349; see also Brandt (1994a): 29, (1994b): 43 and Brandt and Stark (1997): xlvi–xlviii). This type of worry does not impinge on my interpretation, for I distinguish between two essential dimensions of Kant's system, the transcendental and the pragmatic.
4. As is well known, Kant is often described in less then flattering terms as an abstract, moralising, formalist and even inhumane philosopher. As the French poet Charles Péguy said, Kant has clean hands but he has no hands. What Péguy expresses is a very common criticism against what is often seen as Kant's lack of concern for some crucial dimensions of human life; in particular the empirical, contingent and messy features of worldly action. However, what this book has shown is that turning to Kant's works on the human sciences reveals an unexpected picture of Kant, a Kant that is witty, down to earth, extremely knowledgeable of anthropology, geography, travel reports and history; and most importantly, a Kant who is attentive to the diversity and complexity of the human world.

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