

CREATING NEW MEMORIES: TOOLS AND STRATEGIES FOR THE NEWLY FOUNDED FRONTIER UNIVERSITY

Jānis Krēslinš

The claim that history is governed by geography, that history is geography set in motion – or that history, plain and simple, is geography – resounds ever more powerfully the more we reflect on the early modern world in Northeastern Europe.¹ Seemingly almost every development in this region during the early modern period can be explained by using geographical parameters. Geography is a wonderful tool – it allows us to leave the strict confines of specific and, in most cases, separate academic disciplines and to wade into a world characterized by the ebb and flow of convergences and disruptions. Instead of viewing this world in a set and rather inflexible manner, we can bring to the fore terms such as proximity, borrowing, accommodation, and kinship between various social and linguistic groups and political formations. Geography, in other words, allows us to reconfigure this world that we are accustomed to viewing in a set, rather inflexible manner.

Another maxim that underscores the significance of geography is “location is everything”. Though derived from the realm of real estate, it is of relevance for anyone who tries to come to terms with the world in the pre-electronic age. Location is also one of the key terms for geography. By defining and delineating location, we are able to draw maps, chart trends, and discern congruency and discrepancy. The geography that has been deemed important for the early history of the university in Tartu (Dorpat) has most frequently been confessional and political – viewing its development and discerning its constituent elements against the background of the struggle for hegemony that so poignantly has defined seventeenth-century history in this region.

¹ For an informative introduction to how the historiographic tradition and some of its most important and original interpreters, Johann Gottfried Herder, Friedrich Ratzel and Fernand Braudel, have viewed the close relation between history and geography, see Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004), esp. 43–67.

The geography to which I intend to draw our attention is quite different – it is a geography that is firmly grounded in completely other parameters, those of orality and literacy (or written culture) – a geography in which books and the written word are not just a reflection of shifts and changes in the way people communicated, structured their society, and searched for knowledge, but the most direct catalyst of all these changes. When we survey the topography of Northeastern Europe during the early modern period from this point of view, our notion of geography leads us to some very important, albeit surprising results. Suddenly, it is no longer clear that those institutions that we have regarded as agents of change were really as influential as we have imagined them to be and those processes which we have, at best, mentioned in passing or dismissed, as insignificant as they have been made out to be. How are we to evaluate early modern universities – are they dynamic catalysts of change or parts of networks divorced from the great social, political, cultural, religious, linguistic upheavals that characterized the early modern period in this region? The answer is by no means simple.

The juncture at which the university at Tartu came into being coincided with a significant transition phase in the region, not only because of a reconfigured political topography, but also because of a transition from a culture that was predominantly oral to one that in an increasing degree manifested itself in the written and printed word. To illustrate and understand the repercussions and ramifications of this change, I would like to direct our attention to the number 200. At the zenith of its influence, the loose confederation known to us as the Hanseatic League could look upon a network of over 200 member cities, which enabled an astounding level of communication and interaction. The transfer of knowledge and information was both effective and efficient – it was possible to move quickly from Antwerp to Novgorod, from Salzwedel to Bergen, from Stockholm deep into the hinterland of the early modern German lands on the rivers emptying into the Baltic Sea, without great difficulty. The networks were closely intertwined and communication rampant, in many ways more intensive than today, despite our proclivity to proclaim a gospel of the superiority of a contemporary borderless society and the fallacious belief that never before has communication been so unrestrained as today.² It

² An insightful presentation of the complexity of this network can be found in V. Hehn's short article "Was war die Hanse?", *Die Hanse: Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos*, ed. by J. Bracker, V. Hehn and R. Postel (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 1999), 14–23.

was a network that was not regulated by encompassing written guidelines, statutes, or ordinances.

Fewer than 100 years after the networks of the Hanseatic League had faded into the sunset, a new network consisting of over 200 members had come into being. The Jesuit educational network at the end of the sixteenth century encompassed more than 200 institutions of higher learning, stretching from Spain to the northern outpost in Tartu.³ If the Hanseatic League was a network primarily based on orality, the Jesuit network was one firmly based in the written word. The Lutheran universities on the continent were primarily *Landesuniversitäten* and lacked the pan-European dimension of the Jesuit network. They attracted students from abroad, but their interchangeability was limited by their role and their proto-nationalistic significance in the confessional struggles of the day.⁴ The Jesuit institutions were highly interchangeable. They possessed a common curriculum and, most importantly, a common understanding of how the written word should be structured and collected. The center of the university was the library. Bereaved of its library, the institution of learning ceased to exist in practicality.⁵ The library was also the major link of each particular member to the whole. Most importantly, the Jesuit educational model made an indelible impression on the lives and institutions outside the confessional fold. Protestant institutions of higher learning during the early modern period, their syllabi and their commitment to academic practice

³ John W. Donohue, *Jesuit education: an essay on the foundation of its idea* (New York, 1963), 63; Aldo D. Scaglione, *The liberal arts and the Jesuit college system* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: J. Benjamin's Pub. Co, 1986), 51–74; Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the counter-reformation in Scandinavia: Jesuit educational strategy 1553–1622* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 175–276; John W. O'Malley, *The first Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 206–215.

⁴ For a broad introduction, see Thomas Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur: lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 303–322; Thomas Kaufmann, *Frühneuzeitliche Konfessionskulturen*, 1, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, 207 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008); Thomas Kaufmann, *Universität und lutherische Konfessionalisierung: die Rostocker Theologieprofessoren und ihr Beitrag zur theologischen Bildung und kirchlichen Gestaltung im Herzogtum Mecklenburg zwischen 1550 und 1675* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verl.-haus, 1997), 52–59, 333–336; Herbert Langer, “Die pommerische Landesuniversität Greifswald und das Reichsinteresse (1630–1720)”, *Universitäten im östlichen Mitteleuropa: Zwischen Kirche, Staat, Nation*, ed. by Peter Wörster (München: Oldenbourg, 2008).

⁵ An example of this is the Jesuit collegium in Braunsberg, part of the Bishopric of Warmia. The library lost its collections when Braunsberg was occupied by Swedish troops. The rich materials were shipped to Sweden.

and social standards cannot be understood divorced from the integration processes initiated by the Jesuit educational reforms.

It might seem strange that this short survey of the early modern educational landscape has sidestepped the Lutheran Reformation and what can be described as Luther's house of learning.⁶ Without belittling the importance of the Reformation for the world of education, Luther's perhaps most important contribution to the transformation of the world of communication in early modern Europe was his perception of the word. Luther's perception of the word was not merely restricted to its quality as text. Other aspects of the word were also of vital importance. For Luther, the word was empowered by technical innovation. He claims in his *Tischreden* that the discovery of printing was not only invaluable, but the ultimate and most important gift of God.⁷ It is also by incorporating this technical aspect in the legacy of Luther that cultural development in Northern Europe during the early modern period most frequently has been perceived as a tale of technical innovation, the spread of literacy, and the art of writing. Printing, however, did not take hold in Northeastern Europe until the end of the sixteenth century, and written culture did not reach outside of the German cultural sphere in any really significant way until the seventeenth century.

In engaging and taking part in continental cultural and educational developments, it is of utmost importance to study the way in which the culture of communication was transformed by ideological and technical innovations. Nevertheless, one should also trace how networks interacted, and how the commanding Jesuit networks interacted and interconnected with their Protestant counterparts. Protestant universities not only closely followed the latest developments at the Jesuit institutions of learning, but also, when necessary, upgraded their curricula and introduced methodological innovations to attain the same level of excellence.⁸

It is in this world – characterized by an almost unrestrained transmission of cultural values and legacies – that the university in Tartu was founded. To understand the development of the university during its early stages, it is necessary to survey the cultural topography of the region at this time – to render lucid the nature of written culture, to explain how

⁶ This world is presented in Gerald Strauss's *Luther's house of learning: indoctrination of the young in the German reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

⁷ Martin Luther, *Tischreden*, WA 1 (1912), 52:1038.

⁸ On the introduction of metaphysics, a staple of Jesuit curriculums, to Protestant universities, see Max Wundt, *Die deutsche Schulmetaphysik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1939), 3–5.

it transformed communication patterns in the region, and finally to cast light upon how identities were constructed and developed.

Well into the seventeenth century, the greater part of Northeastern Europe was characterized by orality. Even in the cities – which formed their own and in many ways secluded worlds, but were also almost interchangeable with other urban centers – communication was primarily oral. With the help of semi-communication it was possible to access a surprisingly large world, one which stretched well beyond the confines of one's own mother tongue. The only precondition was that the participant be a physical part of the communication event. Contemporary sources relate how linguistically acrobatic the members of various social groups could be. This was a rather conservative and formulaic form of communication, characterized by repetition and agglomeration, without any significant ruptures of continuity. Each speech-act was new, each situation different, each conversation a confirmation of a community, commonality, and mutuality. On the one hand spontaneous, on the other with a concrete goal: that of sharing and preserving what was already known.⁹

Today we are of the firm conviction that the written and printed word is more permanent. At the same time, we know that it is not nearly as elastic as the spoken word. As part of a text, words become rather mechanical, lack emotive power, and do not encourage participation and exchange. They do not further integration or lead not to convergence, but to fragmentation.

With the rise of written culture, the early modern German lands – and this term is especially appropriate to describe this territory during the transformation of Northeastern Europe at this juncture – were split into two separate realities. There were communities that expressed their identity in written form, and others that did not need text to reaffirm identity. With this transformation, even the notion of “mother tongue” assumed a twofold character – a written and a spoken one. In the eastern territories of the region, even the linguistic topography reflected this split: one was either *deutsch* or *undeutsch*. That is, one expressed his or her identity in written form or possessed an identity that still required participation and engagement. Swedish was somewhere in between.¹⁰

As written culture gained an ever-stronger foothold in the region starting with the end of the sixteenth century and especially during the

⁹ Walter J. Ong, *The presence of the word: some prologomena for cultural and religious history* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 19–21, 40–47, 279–286.

¹⁰ For a linguistic topography of the region, see Janis Kreslins, “Linguistic landscapes in the Baltic”, *Journal of Scandinavian History*, 28:3–4 (2003), 165–174.

seventeenth century, the cultural topography of the region changed profoundly. First and foremost, the culture of semi-communication waned and the rise of printed culture created small, and at times mutually exclusive worlds. With the expansion of printed culture, new borders were constructed, rendering it ever more difficult to communicate across borders. Semi-communication had made it possible to transgress borders. Ironically, the academic world based in Latin, despite its geographic spread and its influence in many circles, was in many ways surprisingly isolated and narrow. It addressed a limited community, not the one at large. It created end nodes and points, but did not reach out any further. Secondly, written culture created fragmentation and deepened social stratification. Just as today, the most globalized citizens were not necessarily the most educated. Thirdly, the spread of culture with written texts enabled the reader to create a private world, but by doing so to also alienate him or herself from others. Strategies to counteract this tendency developed slowly, and only in the eighteenth century did they start transforming into societal processes.¹¹ Fourthly, the rise and spread of printed culture transformed the topography of identity in the region. That which previously had not been necessary at all was now a pre-requisite. Identity required a written foundation. The model for mother tongues was no longer direct and oral communication, but rather other languages that already had written traditions within their established theoretical models and constructs. These then had to be accommodated to the needs of the new written mother tongues.¹²

The rise and spread of written culture in the region coincided with profound changes in the way identities were constructed. Early modern identities were a peculiar blend of pan-European, regional, and local elements.¹³ National character and belonging, in the way we perceive these terms today, were often completely lacking. Secondly, personal and spatial components

¹¹ These identities are best described by the theory of cultural transfer. See Wolfgang Schmale, "Das Konzept 'Kulturtransfer' und das 16. Jahrhundert", *Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wolfgang Schmale, Wiener Schriften zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, 2 (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, Institut für Geschichte, Universität Wien, 2003), 41–57; Janis Kreslins, "Übersetzen um jeden Preis: Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im frühneuzeitlichen europäischen Nordosten", *Wissenstransfer und Innovation rund um das Mare Balticum*, ed. by Burghat Schmidt (Hamburg: DOBU, Wiss. Verl. Dokumentation & Buch, 2007), 35–41.

¹² Janis Kreslins, "Early modern textuality: a Baltic perspective", *Common roots of the Latvian and Estonian literary languages*, ed. by Kristiina Ross and Pēteris Vanags (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2008), 52–54.

¹³ Janis Kreslins, "Reading to see and feel: textuality and religious identity in early modern Europe", *Art and the church = Kunst und Kirche*, Estonian Academy of Arts, Proceedings, 18 (Tallinn, 2008), 184–186.

were configured in a way that does not correspond to our way of perceiving the world. These components could be transferred and exchanged horizontally, and seldom were they bound to one concrete location or authority. Every center was in many ways autonomous. Even Jesuit identity was in many ways very decentralized, despite its common denominators and interchangeability. Each center had its autonomy. Thirdly, identity was also greatly influenced by the contradictions inherent in the interplay between the urban areas and the wilderness. A city during this period gained its identity not by comparing itself to other cities, but by being the antithesis of all that the wilderness symbolized. Fourthly, this identity, in contrast to ours, had a very complicated relationship to language and how language could be used to shift identities. And finally, this identity was very closely bound to goods. With the help of goods, it was possible to construct new identities. Goods most often preceded ideas, not vice versa.

In the midst of this transition, the political fortune of Sweden took an unexpected and drastic turn. Almost overnight, a marginal political entity transformed itself into a regional power consisting of territories, intertwined by conquest but lacking a cohesive common denominator. Neither material culture, nor the political system, nor language could provide the foundation for a common identity. In some ways much more important than its military exploits, the new power was compelled to first find and then consolidate its identity. It is in this context that its educational policy must be seen.

This new identity had four distinctive features. First, lacking other distinctive, unifying identity-building traits and features, Sweden turned to religion. This was not a religion for which one went to war. This was not a religion that was the focus of confessional struggles. This was not a religion that would transform the new political entity from within.¹⁴ In the geographically wide-stretched, ethnically manifold, and culturally diverse territory, a New Israel was to be construed; one which not only looked back and found its legitimacy in history, but also had a clear vision of a future.¹⁵ The religion that Sweden chose was primarily a cultural marker, one used to underscore identity, not to define theological positions. This explains

¹⁴ Janis Kreslins, "Zur Schriftlichkeit: Suche nach Identität und die frühneuzeitliche schwedische Kirchen- und Bildungspolitik", *Mach dich auf und werde Licht: zu Leben und Werk Ernst Glucks (1654–1705)*, ed. by Christiane Schiller and Måla Grudule, *Fremdsprachen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 32–34.

¹⁵ One of its most prominent proponents was Haquin Spegel. See Nils Ekedahl, *Det svenska Israel: myt och retorik i Haquin Spegels predikokonst* (Uppsala: Kidlund, 1999), 220–223.

why Sweden, despite the existence of a state censor, could import Catholic devotional literature and decorate its buildings with Jesuit “devotion to the Sacred Heart” compositional designs.

Secondly, this identity was closely bound to written culture. It would not be situation-bound, not empathic, not participatory. Social discipline reinforced identity. Only through writing could a common, albeit multicultural and multilingual, cultural identity be constructed.

Thirdly, this identity did not need to be original. It was possible to borrow and assimilate already existing components in new vessels. History was explanatory; it did not legitimate anything. The search for the singular and unique was almost non-existent. Of much greater value was mastery of the art of accommodation and translation, not just linguistically but also culturally. Sweden’s identity was firmly established when a translation no longer was regarded as something foreign, but could be regarded as one’s own.

Fourthly, this identity underscored uniformity and equability. All that furthered a sense of collectivity and unified the vastly multifarious parts of Sweden during the age of imperial greatness was useful. It was most viable when the individual and his or her creativity were subordinated to an identity which we, today, would regard as almost cosmopolitan and globalized – in other words, an identity that went to great lengths to avoid defining its contents.

Against the background of the orality of the early modern world, the rise of written culture and its meaning for the development of individual and collective identities, and against the background of the various notions of geography and location, the early phase of the university at Tartu provides an interesting example of how an institution of learning could reconfigure existing traditions and search for new solutions. The university, despite its strong early modern character, was nonetheless unique in the way it sought to accommodate itself to the surrounding world, which, despite claims to the opposite, is not always the strength of universities.

We have claimed that location is everything. The deliberate choice of Tartu and not Riga made clear the intentions of the Swedish authorities. First, it was a direct indication that higher education and learning was not a realm unto its own, but closely related to the administrative tasks of the state. If the medieval and early modern university had been an independent and almost completely sovereign entity, this new university was closely incorporated into the networks of the secular administration and had as its explicit goal service to the state. It was deliberately established in a nascent administrative center. Neither was it to be confused with a Jesuit

institution of higher learning, subordinate to the charter and practice of the Order but outside of the reach of secular authorities.

Secondly, it had staking out territory as its explicit goal – on the one hand deliberately choosing the former Jesuit northernmost outpost for its site, choosing not proximity to a diocesan seat, caring little about the ecclesiastical topography of the region; and on the other hand, engaging the sparsely populated wilderness regions, using a Premonstratensian approach to configuring geography, by not gravitating to the populated regions.¹⁶ Thus the new university is to be viewed as a type of a monastery.

Thirdly, it turned its back on traditional academic culture, not developing a curriculum that had as its explicit goal the search for truth, with most subjects providing preparatory training for the core of education, namely metaphysics and theology. Tartu was in this regard unlike Uppsala, the foremost university during the age of Swedish imperial greatness, not to speak of other contemporary universities. By the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, Lutheran universities had incorporated that which in many ways could be regarded as Jesuit programs into their curriculums. As has been observed, this was probably the first and only time that almost all of Europe had a common curriculum.¹⁷ Tartu was going to be different. The model for the curriculum was one developed for the *Collegium regium et illustre*, a mixture of a university and an on-the-job training program founded in Stockholm in 1626, outside of the reach of ecclesiastical authorities and university officials in Uppsala. As has been observed, the curriculum at Tartu incorporated elements of Petrus Ramus's educational theories and was firmly grounded in a reading of Aristotle's *Organon* in which logic was not a method of inquiry, but a method of disputation consisting of invention and disposition. With an emphasis not on the "what", but on the "how", teaching more *ars*, less *scientia*! This was also a clear identity statement – the new university, though it recruited faculty broadly from renowned institutions of higher learning, was not going to be a "Jesuit university", but rather an Aristotelian university in the way that Uppsala was.¹⁸

¹⁶ Irene Crusius, "... ut nulla fere provincia sit in partibus Occidentis, ubi ejusdem religionis congregationes non inveniuntur..." Prämonstratenser als Forschungsaufgabe", *Studien zum Prämonstatenserorden*, ed. by Irene Crusius and Helmut Flachenecker (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 26–27.

¹⁷ Wundt, *Die deutsche Schulmetaphysik*, 3.

¹⁸ Erland Sellberg demonstrates this clearly in his review of the curriculum for ethics at Uppsala, see Erland Sellberg. "A conflict about ethics: the Ramist Laurentius Paulinus Gothus", *Reformation and Latin literature in Northern Europe*, ed. by Inger Ekrem,

Fourthly, identity was also a crucial issue as regards written culture. The leading authorities in Sweden at this point chose a very special course of action. A Jesuit institution of learning derived its identity to a high degree from its very special identification with the written word and the collections of books established there. A college or university was its library. By appropriating the collections of leading Jesuit colleges and universities as war booty, these institutions were bereaved of their identity. Without libraries these institutions did not exist. It would have been very simple for the Swedish authorities to transfer the Jesuit libraries from Riga and Braunsberg to Tartu, thus instantly creating a new university environment. This was not, however, the case. Rather the collections were incorporated into the holdings of the university library in Uppsala, a seat of learning which displayed a more Aristotelian character. The same is true for the vast collections that arrived during the middle of the seventeenth century and which came to form the core of Christina's learned library in Stockholm. The university in Tartu was not its library. This explains why, significant losses notwithstanding, the library that was later transferred via Pärnu (Pernau) to Stockholm was by no means overwhelming. The number of dissertations, however, preserved from the early years of the university is all the more impressive. In this regard, the university was very modern, with few books but a plethora of compendia. It incorporated written culture much in the way that many modern, web-based universities do.

Finally, it was a university created for its special surroundings, an environment in which there were not only remnants of an oral culture, but one which was permeated by oral culture. It should come therefore as no surprise that the statutes of the university specially mention languages that at that juncture for all practical purposes still lacked a written culture. This was highly unusual. It was envisioned that the university and the environment that it created would foster the development of written traditions – a university that would not recede into its ivory tower, but would reach out to its surroundings. The university was most innovative when it tore down boundary-markers of traditional academic culture and in close conjunction with local ecclesiastical and governmental authorities ran an unofficial language laboratory. This laboratory had as its primary task creating new and improved written idioms for the languages spoken in its nearest environment, languages which for all practical purposes still lacked written traditions or which needed a significant upgrade to take their place

beside those languages that used the written idiom to construct identities. These written idioms were also to form the basis for a common Swedish identity. One belonged to Sweden once one communicated on all levels in writing. It is in this way that the activity of Georg Stiernhielm, Georgius Mancelius, and Joachim Rossihnius (and indirectly even Heinrich Stahl) must be viewed.¹⁹

Having outlined the setting, let us turn to the practical implications and applications of the course outlined above. First, the new university was founded not to uphold an existing order, but rather to serve as a laboratory for social change. First and foremost, it was an institution that did not serve as a seismograph, which allowed one to chart and reflect societal development, but rather to instigate change.²⁰ The goal was by no means to uphold the notion that the university existed in a world of its own, loosely belonging to a configuration of other higher institutions. Without exaggerating, it could be postulated that the role of the university was not to create an outpost for the *civis academicus*, but to contribute to its dismantling. If the early modern university was a playing field on which the stature of the nobility was steadfastly undermined by an ever burgeoning class of citizens that can only be referred to with the German term *Bürgertum*, empowered by its educational aspirations and its financial and moral standing, the goal of the university at Tartu was to stimulate social mobility in a radical direction.²¹ This direction turned out to be so radical – and the prerequisites and the infrastructure for change so underdeveloped – that the goals of the university were doomed to fail from the very first moment.

Early modern *Bürgertum* was three-tiered. The highest level, consisting of teaching physicians (more theoreticians than practitioners), masters in the Latin school programs, and those with an education in law (which most often led to careers as judges), required rather traditional, theoretical university training. The middle tier of apothecaries, surgeons, printers, and

¹⁹ Kristi Viiding, “Das Porträt eines liv- und kurländischen orthodoxen Theologen (Georg Mancelius), anhand der ihm gewidmeten Geleit und Begrüßungsgedichte”, *Orthodoxie und poesie*, ed. by Udo Sträter (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2004); Janis Kreslins, *Dominus Narrabit in Scriptura Populorum: a study of early seventeenth-century Lutheran teaching on preaching and the Lettische lang-gewünschte postill of Georgius Mancelius* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992); A. Olsson, *Den svenska skaldekonstens fader och andre Stiernhielmsstudier*, Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskapsocieteten i Lund, 69 (Lund: Gleerup, 1974).

²⁰ Rainer A. Müller, *Universität und Adel, eine soziostrukturelle Studie zur Geschichte der bayerischen Landesuniversität Ingolstadt 1472–1648* (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1974), 12.

²¹ Reinhard Bendix, *Kings or people: power and the mandate to rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 386–387.

lawyers were more masters of their trade than theoreticians and needed a more practical education. The third group consisted of clerks, scribes, secretaries and language teachers on a lower level, and the academic proletariat. Indispensable, but often forgotten in surveys of educational history. It was this group that received special attention in the constitution of the new university. It was this group that was seen as the facilitator of societal development and transformation. It was this group that was seen as the backbone of the new societal order,²² which would pave the way for the transition from a barbaric to a more enlightened and civilized state of affairs. The university was founded not only to break down existing power structures, but it was intended to transform an entire region, to create a new identity, an identity based on the spoken word in written form, committed to text, regardless of the language in which this text was conceived. Its written quality was overriding. The university was the laboratory in which the written form of the word could be explored.

This was a different type of university and its goals far reaching. The architect of these proposed reforms was not a newcomer to the field of education. Johan Skytte had himself chosen an alternative approach to the classic peregrination, brought back new ideas to Sweden, and worked as a private tutor to the royal family and engaged himself in educational planning and administration as the dean of the university at Uppsala. The position itself did not always lend itself to an active role in educational policy development at the university, since Uppsala, just as most universities and institutions of higher learning at this time, did not tolerate meddling from the outside. But Skytte transformed the deanship to a position which was deeply involved with issues of management and control. This did not always please the university officials who were not accustomed to such stewardship. Skytte's views on education had been formed by his own academic background and his observations on how language played an important role in not only for individual identity and interpersonal relations, but even on a state level. A significant number of his proposed innovations were Ramistic in character, noteworthy for their emphasis on teaching language and style and its two-part logic, consisting of *inventio* and *dispositio*.

²² *Ratio studiorum ante decennium ad petitionem dd. directorum illustris: collegij Stokholmensis coscripta, nunc verò in gratiam juventutis edita*, A2v; see also Juhan Vasar, *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo allikaid = Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Tartu (Dorpat)* (Tartu, 1932).

In Skytte's world view, language played an important role in societal development. If Sweden was to become a power to be reckoned with, it had to have an educational system that reflected the language and culture of the society. To his great chagrin, his visitation during his tenure as dean revealed that hardly anyone at Uppsala spoke Swedish in the university environment.²³ For Skytte it was of supreme importance to find a balance between the use of an international idiom and that of one's own native language. He recognized that Latin was necessary for international negotiations and contacts; it was the language of academic discourse, closely bound to various disciplines and subject areas.²⁴ To transform society, however, this did not suffice. It was necessary to use the language of the indigenous population.²⁵ Language was not only an institutional or scholarly concern, it directly addressed the role educational endeavors would play in their most immediate environments. This conviction was not based merely in experience and it was not in any way original. Juan Luis Vives had already expressed that each language had its own peculiar aptitude, which is a function of its geographic and cultural link to the community of those who speak it.²⁶ It was with the help of language that social transformation could be set in motion, and it is through the vernacular that literacy could be spread. Vernacular was an essential tool for changing a society in nature and function. To achieve this one could borrow from other traditions, and use text books written by members of other confessions. As long as the subject matter itself was not theological, but principally linguistic or stylistic, sources could be used, even citing the author, which one maybe didn't expect at bastions of Lutheran learning.

Both the Uppsala and Tartu constitutions prescribe the use of the works of the Jesuit Jacob Pontanus, who argued against the vilification of vernacular.²⁷ Menius echoes these sentiments in his mission statement for the new university by advocating the use of the vernacular in instruction.²⁸ Only by following such a path would it be able to recruit and educate community leaders from the indigenous population, who best understand the

²³ Claes Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitets historia 1478–1654* (Uppsala: Schultz, 1877), 281.

²⁴ *Ratio studiorum*, B6r.

²⁵ This affirmed by J. Menius in his *Relatio von Inauguration der Universität zu Dörpat, geschehen den 15. Octobris, im Jahr 1632.*, A3r.

²⁶ "Est in unaquaque lingua sua loquendi proprietas", Juan Luis Vives, *In Pseudodialecticos*, ed. by Charles Fantazzi (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 48. See also Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer, *Scientiae et artes: die Vermittlung alten und neuen Wissens in Literatur, Kunst und Musik, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung*, 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 357.

²⁷ Mahlmann-Bauer, *Scientiae et artes*, 374

²⁸ Menius, *Relatio von Inauguration*, A3r

local conditions and inhabitants.²⁹ It is no coincidence that the constitutions of both Uppsala and Tartu reveal an almost alarming disinterest in clearly formulating curriculum in the fields of theology, medicine and law, despite the fact that the majority of disputations and dissertations defended at the universities belong to these areas of study. The core of education was not the search for truth, but could be posited in how one teaches language, how it was transformed into a goal in itself.

The goal of education was thus shifted from a search for truth and an analysis of the methods available to more probabilistic casuistry, a form of moral reasoning aimed at interpreting and solving the practical issues of everyday life. The subject of greatest interest was morals and not science. The student was called on to rely on probable arguments rather than truth. By learning those opinions which approach truth most nearly, it was possible to act morally correct. A moral compass could be found in Cicero and his views on rhetoric. As outlined in his *De officiis*, good style and social utility were closely bound. The goal of education is to teach style and demonstrate how good style can be imitated and applied to civic life. In civic life it is impossible to use absolute truths as guidelines. Rather rhetoric is socially necessary as an instrument, allowing one to navigate in the fields of civic responsibility.

According to its proponents, among them Skytte, this involved a shift to a new, more modern way of thinking. Skytte considered Aristotelian education, as it was practiced in his day, as overly scholastic and divorced from reality. Therefore the constitutions warn against delving too deeply into metaphysical exercises. During his tenure as dean, a rather bitter struggle erupted at Uppsala. The scholarly community reacted rather vociferously against his complaints about what was being taught at Uppsala, and the professors had been ambivalent to his call for a curriculum that hearkened to the needs of the state. Skytte would have agreed with the contention that “logicians employ more general and common rules, orators accommodate their orations to concrete places, times and persons”.³⁰ All reading had to be transformed into *loci communes*. The text in itself was not that important, but rather its application. The goal was to transfer any work into a textbook which could be used in any discipline.³¹

²⁹ Menius, *Relatio von Inauguration*, Biv.

³⁰ Robert A. Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: the influence of the liberal arts on the adoption of moral probabilism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 104.

³¹ Anthony T. Grafton, “Textbooks and the disciplines”, *Scholarly knowledge: textbooks in early modern Europe* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2008), 27–28. See also Ann Moss, *Printed*

To achieve this one had to master rhetoric, the most important of all subjects. Rhetoric was the language of everyday life, and the one most suited for teaching. Rhetoric taught eloquence and the ability to give a subject its proper expression.³² It was more than one subject among others. It was a way of life that never lost sight of practical considerations. Rhetoric could in some ways overshadow more traditional approaches, which centered on the teaching of logic. In the Tartu curriculum, logic had an almost subservient role, of importance not for argumentation, but in guaranteeing a proper connection in style and position of words and more straightforward explanations.³³ This is the type of logic that is outlined in the countless editions of Ramus's *Dialectica*. Therefore it should come as no surprise that Melanchthon's writings were missing in the curricula. Undoubtedly, he lacked the practical and applied orientation that was needed. The goal is to make the dialectical argument disappear in rhetorical form thus rendering a practice oriented theory of argumentation.

The consequences of the elevation of rhetoric were rather profound. This signaled a shift in the pedagogical approach. The learning process was regarded primarily as preceptorial and not eristic. As a result of this, the character of instruction at the university level changed. Instead of being a forum for open discussion and a search for truth, instruction at Tartu was intended to be more school-like. This is natural, if we remember that the new university was in some ways filling a vacuum. The secondary school at Tartu was still in many ways in its very first stages of development when the constitution of the university was conceived. In some ways the environment, despite the profound disruptions, hearkened back to the Jesuit institution of learning that these newly founded institutions of learning were supposedly replacing.

These new prescriptions altered the way in which the *loci* were used. Instead of being organizer files, they were transformed into tools for the student's imagination, enabling him to create a mental stage and envision each problem in its concrete, practical setting.³⁴ Here we can once again see the profound influence of the Jesuit pedagogical method. The mental stage, the compositional *loci*, was Ignation in character. They also altered

commonplace-books and the structuring of Renaissance thought (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 147–166, 197–207.

³² V. Wels, "Melanchthon's textbooks on dialectic and rhetoric as complementary parts of a theory of argumentation", *Scholarly knowledge: textbooks in early modern Europe* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2008), 155.

³³ Vasar, *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo allikaid*, 66.

³⁴ Mahlmann-Bauer, *Scientiae et artes*, 385.

the way in which dialogues were used. In an educational world that revolved around the dialogues – *epistola*, *oratio*, and *poema* – to which there are direct or indirect references in the constitution, we can observe a clear shift away from dialogizing, from an oral approach to a more written one, from open dialogue to closed books.³⁵ Perusing the dissertations which were produced at Tartu,³⁶ and this was the case also at other universities, we see how close they follow certain standard texts, how streamlined they are and how dogmatic they could be.³⁷ It comes as no surprise, therefore, that excerpting and transcribing³⁸ as well as imitation and paraphrasing evolved as skills that almost overshadowed more theoretical and analytic ones. This was an education that enabled one, with the help of textbooks and instruction, to learn how to use proper expressions at the right time, which provided “a guide to the proper conduct and measures of personal care and discipline required for social coexistence.”³⁹ The key to social existence was now going to be in written form, not uninhibited oral expression.

The spread of written culture radically transformed communication patterns in early modern Northern Europe, not in the least in the way in which memory was constructed. The Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* had adapted classical models and created a standard for how memory was to be taught. The Jesuit institutions of higher learning and the Protestant gymnasia and universities that followed in their stead created a culture which excelled in recalling the past. From these lessons, the *exempla* of the past, it was possible to understand the present. The approach used at Tartu turned the tables. By deliberately transforming an oral culture into a written one and deriving a common identity from it, it opened the way to a new memory that was future-oriented and surprisingly devoid of history.

JĀNIS KRĒSLINŠ (b. 1955) is Senior Academic Librarian for Research Affairs, National Library of Sweden.

³⁵ Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, method and the decay of dialogue* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1958).

³⁶ The largest collection of Tartu dissertations is in the holdings of the Kungliga biblioteket/National Library of Sweden, Diss. Fore detta sv. universitet.

³⁷ Bodo Guttmüller and Wolfgang G. Müller, *Dialog und Gesprächskultur in der Renaissance*, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 22 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 35–57.

³⁸ *Ratio studiorum*, B1v.

³⁹ Mahlmann-Bauer, *Scientiae et artes*, 347.

KOKKUVÕTE: *Uute mälestuste loomine: vahendid ja strateegiad vastloodud piiriäärse ülikooli tarvis*

Tartu Rootsiaegne ülikool rajati perioodil, mil Põhja-Euroopas ei muutunud ainult poliitiline topograafia, vaid toimus ka üleminek suuliselt pärimuselt kirjalikule ja trükitud kultuurile. Trükikunsti leviku ja kirjasõna tähtsuse tõusuga lahutati varauusaegsed saksa alad kahte erinevasse reaalsusse. Oli kogukondi, mis väljendusid kirjalikus vormis, ja teisi, mis ei vajanud teksti oma identiteedi kindlustamiseks.

Idaterritooriumitel peegeldas seda lõhet isegi lingvistiline topograafia – inimene oli kas sakslane või mittesakslane, ta kas omas kirjapandud identiteeti või mitte, rootslased asusid kusagil kahevahel. 17. sajandi alguses Põhja-Euroopasse jõudnud trükitud kultuur lõi uued piirid, mida oli senisest veelgi raskem kommunikatsiooniga ületada. Ladina keel oli hoolimata teaduse laialdastest sidemetest ja levikust üllatavalt isoleeritud. Kirjutatud kultuur soodustas killustatust ja ühiskondlikku kihistumist, võimaldades lugejal luua omaenese väike maailm ja kaugeneda nii ühiskonnast.

Rootsi riigi valitud religioon oli eelkõige kultuuriline tähis, mis rõhutas idenditeete, mitte teoloogilist positsiooni. Multikultuurne ja mittekeeleline identiteet konstrueeriti kirjakultuuri kaudu. See identiteet ei olnud tingimata originaalne, sest võimalik oli laenata ja assimileerida juba olemasolevaid komponente uutesse kandjatesse.

Tartu ülikooli tegevuse varajane faas esitab meile huvitava näite, kuidas õppeasutus võis muuta olemasolevaid traditsioone ja aidata uute lahenduste otsimisel. Teadlik valik otsutada ülikooli asukohavalikul Tartu, mitte aga näiteks Riia kasuks, andis selge arusaama Rootsi võimude kavatsustest, kelle jaoks ei olnud kõrgharidus eraldiseisev valdkond, vaid oli lähedalt seotud administratiivsete ülesannetega ja täitis riiklikult olulisi eesmärke. Ülikooli ülesandeks oli ka territooriumite hõlmamine – ühest küljest täitis seda eesmärki asukoht endise jesuiitlike õppeasutuste võrgustiku põhjapoolseima eelposti kohal ning mitte piiskopi asukoha läheduses, teisalt aga piirkonna hõreda asustuse ja “metsikuse” eiramine. Keerati selg traditsioonilisele akadeemilisele kultuurile: õppekava arendamise eesmärgiks polnud tõe otsimine, vaid eeskätt alushariduse andmine. Tartu oli selles osas erinev isegi Rootsi tolleaegsest esiülikoolist Uppsalas.

16. sajandi lõpul ja 17. sajandi algul toetusid Euroopa luterlikud ülikoolid paljuski jesuiitide õppekavadele. Seevastu Tartus võeti aluseks *Collegium regium et illustre* õppekava mudel, mis oli segu ülikooli ja kutseõppe programmidest, toetudes Petrus Ramuse haridusteooriale ja Aristotelese

Organonile kui väitlusmeetodile. Tartus oli vähe raamatuid, ent tugev kompetents ja disputatsioonikultuur, mis oli moodsa ülikooli tunnuseks. Ülikool loodi suulisest kultuurist läbi imbunud keskkonna tarvis. Statuutides mainitakse spetsiaalselt keeli, mis olid tarvilikud praktiliste eesmärkide jaoks, kuid millel veel polnud kirjaliku kultuuri olemust. Ülikool pidigi soodustama kirjaliku kultuuri arengut, luues uusi idioome oma lähiümbruse keelte jaoks. Kirjalikud idioomid said ühtse Rootsi identiteedi aluseks. Selles kontekstis tuleb vaadelda nii Georg Stiernhielmi, Georgius Mance-liuse, Joachim Rossihniuse kui ka Heinrich Stahli tegevust.

Hariduse siht nihkus tõeotsingult ja meetodite analüüsilt igapäeva-probleemide kasuistlikule tõlgendamisele ja lahendamisele. Keskseks teemaks oli moraal, mitte teadus. Moraalne kompass leiti Cicero teostes, kus hea stiil ja ühiskondlik kasu olid tihedalt seotud. Seetõttu oli tarvis jõuda meisterlikkuseni retoorikas. Loogikal oli siinkohal pigem teenindav roll.

Kirjakultuuri levik muutis radikaalselt kommunikatsioonimustreid ja mälu konstrueerimise viise varauusaegses Põhja-Euroopas. Jesuiitide *ratio studiorum* oli omaks võtnud klassikalised mudelid ja loonud mälu õpetamise standardid. Jesuiitlikud kõrgkoolid ja neid imiteerinud protestantlikud gümnaasiumid ning ülikoolid löid kultuuri, mis toetus oleviku mõistmisel mineviku näidetele. Tartu lähenemine oli põhimõtteliselt erinev: sihilikult suulist kultuuri kirjalikuks muundades ja sellest ühisidentiteeti tuletades avati tee uuele, tulevikku suunatud mälule, mis oli üllatavalt vaba ajaloost.