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**TARTU UNIVERSITY:
AN ICON OF ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE
NORTH**

FROM IMAGINATION TO ICONOLOGY

Iconology is one of the keywords of art history, and with its comprehensive methods, it has played a decisive role in the cultural studies of the 20th century. Based largely on the methods of structural linguistics, ‘talking pictures’ (*sprechende Bilder*),¹ beside the formal side of the artefacts, can describe the deeper spirit of the age, which in one way or another leads us to the ideas of Gottfried Herder about pictures being a medium similar to words. We can create entire series of images to project our feelings and thoughts onto external objects. ‘If it is represented to my imagination, then it is a fancy (*fantasma*), which nevertheless, borrows its laws from visible objects. In the first instance I am awake, in the second I am dreaming; and we see that man’s fancy continues to dream without interruption even while he is in a wakeful state. Hence it follows that our soul, like our language, allegorizes constantly.’²

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1 Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Sprechende Bilder, sichtbare Worte: das Bildverständnis in der frühen Neuzeit*. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Bd. 33 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 78.

2 Johann Gottfried Herder, ‘On Image, Poetry, and Fable’, *Selected Writings on Aesthetics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 359.

It is complicated (and perhaps impossible) to interpret poetry within the frameworks of objective analytical methods. *'Aufgeschaut! Hoch ist erbaut. Das Werk des Alten und Neuen. Ehrwürdier Thum, die bleibt dein Ruhm. Mag Gott dir Segen verleihen!'*³ These lines written by Johann Wilhelm Krause, the architect of the University of Tartu, on the occasion of the opening of the university, can elevate the listener. Still beside the poetic there is also the analytical. When writing about the university, it is useful to keep two different aspects in mind – that which provides us with intuitive perceptions and that which 'through imagination helps us to create abstract representations of space as absolute, *infinite res extensa*; a divine poetry which may be grasped in a single act of intuition because of its homogeneous isotropic character.⁴ It is art history that ultimately helps us interpret art, and helps us to select, conceptualise, divide art into themes and subthemes, and establish periods and styles within the rights of its own paradigms of science from iconology to semiotics – as developed largely in linguistic theory.⁵

Starting with Erwin Panofsky, the 'stratigraphic' analysis called the iconology of pictures has been the preferred method for researching the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The opportunities provided by the method have been used less frequently for the Age of Enlightenment and the corresponding Neoclassicism and Romanticism of the period, in which the symbolic meaning of artefacts and architectural edifices is as much connected to their metaphoric expression as the broader pictorial programme, thereby bringing us to the transformation of forms and back to the iconology. Similar to genetic ideograms, iconology reveals the hereditary patterns and of the structure of life, where the smallest chromosome can be called an aperiodic crystal.⁶ From one perspective, the work of art

3 Johann Wilhelm Krause, *Bau-Rede bey dem Richten des Daches des Kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu Dorpat. Entworfen von den Gesellen des ehrsamen und wohlhälllichen Zimmergewerkes Joh. Heinr. Stoebe, aus Merseburg. Christ. Fried. Heubel, aus Brandenburg. Christoph Bramann, aus Hannover. Wilh. Geist, aus Cassel. Joh. Grebnitz, aus Magdeburg. Öffentlich gesprochen von Johann Grebnitz aus Magdeburg. Den [21.] October 1804* (Dorpat: M. G. Grenzius, 1804). Actually the poem was written by Krause. See: Juhan Maiste, 'Enlightenment Temple Rising from the Ruins of the Medieval Cathedral', *Ars ecclesiastica. The Church as a Context for Visual Arts* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1996), 95 ff.

4 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 14.

5 Roman Frigg, Matthew C. Hunter, *Beyond Mimesis and Convention: Representation in Art and Science* (New York, Berlin: Springer Verlag, 2010), XXI.

6 Erwin Schrödinger, *What is Life?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 5.

can be understood as the production of the mind and individual genius, and from another, the reflection of the surrounding world, where the art work has to play its own role within the frames of the social and cultural paradigm – what at first glance seems to be a chaotic coincidence of empirical facts, and, in the opinion of Erwin Schrödinger, beside the intuitive mind, requires a precise ‘knowledge of physics.’⁷ Iconology is a tool with the help of which art history can solve the problems that stand next to scientific research. Through its objective methods, art history can only study objective reality – no more and no less. It is for the reader to charge whether these kinds of results can exhaustively satisfy what is required to understand the explosive reactions familiar to certain periods of culture, when we can distinguish the birth not only of new forms but also of ideas.

In Tartu we meet both the spontaneous impulses of metaphysical spirit and the rational mind. The subject of this article is the material corpus of the university – the body, which has its own circulatory and nervous system, which is legible in the current architectural ensemble of the university, as well as in the written evidence available in the archives. The university is a symbol, and a kind of barometer, of various geographies of culture, which provides an answer to many important questions related to the striving of peoples from different geographical areas for light, education, cosmopolitan culture, and finally their own identity. *Alma mater* in Tartu was founded as a result of many lucky coincidences, pointing out one of the main questions of this article – how could the distant periphery between East and West collect the energy to take such a big step and why did it occur.

‘How can one possibly explain the marvellous renaissance and expansion of the new university network that began in the early 1800s in Europe?’, is the question already asked by Walter Rüegg.⁸ Especially in the case of the country, where Gottfried Herder, once a pastor in Riga, complained that there are too few cities and almost no middle class who could study at a university.⁹ How could a city in the ‘middle of nowhere’ become the ‘new Athens’ on the Emajõgi River (in English:

7 Schrödinger, *What is Life?*, 73.

8 Walter Rüegg, ‘Themen, Probleme, Erkenntnisse’, *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, Bd. III, ed. by Walter Rüegg (München: Beck, 2004), 15.

9 Hubertus Neuschäffer, ‘Die baltischen Provinzen ohne Universität von 1721 bis 1802’, *Die Universitäten Dorpat/Tartu, Riga und Wilna/Vilnius 1579–1979*, ed. by Gert von Pistohlkors, Toivo U. Raun, Paul Kaegbein (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1987), 28.

Mother River) and the nucleus of local education and culture? What were the preconditions for the establishment of *alma mater* far away from the main roots of intellectual life? How could the dream of a few noble minded gentlemen (the actions of which can in many ways be compared to Thomas Jefferson's undertakings in Virginia) become the focus of the local Baltic culture. One source of inspiration was certainly memory. The university founded by Gustav II Adolf in Tartu in 1632 was kept in mind even long after it was closed during the Great Northern War. On the other hand, one also has to consider the broader picture – the specific historical situation after the French Revolution when universities in Europe were closed down rather than established. After the French Revolution and before the congress of Vienna the number of universities declined from 143 to 83.¹⁰

Somewhat paradoxically, one of the changes in European spiritual and art history during the Enlightenment occurred not in 'Old Europe' and the universities that had existed on the cultural map for centuries but far from the epicentre – in a land, between the West and East, which was known in the Middle Ages as Old Livonia. Already in 1632, during the military campaign in Saxony, King Gustav II Adolph of Sweden signed the founding document of the University of Tartu, only a few hours before his death in the Battle of Lützen. The new university and its members were to have the same privileges and tax exemptions as the Uppsala Academy. In 1642, the Academia Gustaviana acquired the space in one of the most elegant buildings in town – a house with a facade in the Dutch Mannerist style opposite St John's church. In 1699, before the Great Northern War the university relocated to Pärnu, where space was found in the old Teutonic castle. There were the plans to build an observatory, a botanical garden etc. During the war the university was closed. The dreams of its reopening still lived on during the whole 18th century. After the Great Northern War Estonia became part of the Russian Empire. Tartu is an example of the provinces rising to equal the metropolis, thereby changing chaos into order and making the particles that previously glimmered as individual atoms into a whole and merging them into an entity that today not only captures light, but also reflects it. The reasons for establishing the university included the empire's ever-increasing need for a university and the special status of the Baltic provinces as a window to the West. 'The university made the

10 Rüegg, 'Themen, Probleme, Erkenntnisse', 17.

obvious wish and evident need to provide the best sons of the land with a higher education a reality: to restore the university that had existed during two separate periods, but which, due to the wars, was able to operate only briefly on both occasions',¹¹ writes Gottlob Benjamin Jäsche, the university's first professor of philosophy.

The first plans for a university in Livonia were already prepared under orders from Catherine the Great.¹² However, the question asked by Herder, who visited Tartu in 1769, was still timely: 'What could I find here? Who could I meet?'¹³ Tartu did not have its own Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, Johann Hamann or Garlieb Merkel.¹⁴ The impetus for opening the university was the ukase signed by Emperor Paul I in 1798, which banned Russian subjects from enrolling in foreign universities. Tartu's competitor was Jelgava (Mitau), the capital of Courland, which, with its *Academia Petrina*, already had the traditions, the library and professors. However, it was decided to establish the university in Tartu. It was to have a main building, which, as a great academic building (*grosse akademische Gebäude*), was going to be built on the 'empty lot' next to St Mary's Church. The university building had to meet practical (*wesentliche*) as well as aesthetic (*ornamender*) requirements.¹⁵ In 1800, the council of the university proposed that the Italian architect Giacomo Quarenghi¹⁶ from St Petersburg be invited to design the university building, as he had previous connections to Courland and Estonia.¹⁷ However, an agreement could not be reached. In addition to the main building, the botanical garden was also supposed to be constructed in the first year, a manège and stables in the second year, and an observatory and

11 *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Feyerlichkeiten bey Gelegenheit der am 21sten und 22sten April 1802 geschehenen Eröffnung der neu angelegten Kayserlichen Universität zu Dorpat in Lievland*, ed. by Gottlieb Benjamin Jäsche (Dorpat: M. G. Grenzius, 1802), 3.

12 Woldemar von Bock, 'Die Historie von der Universität Dorpat und deren Geschichte', *Baltische Monatsschrift*, Bd. 9 (Riga, 1864), 186 ff.

13 Johann Gottfried Herder, *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769*. Pädagogische Schriften, Bd. 9/2, ed. by Rainer Wisbert, Klaus Pradel (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1997), 11.

14 Liina Lukas, 'IX. Internationales Symposium zur baltischen literarischen Kultur: Medien der Aufklärung. Aufklärung der Medien', *Baltic Journal of Art History*, 14 (2017), 160.

15 National Archives of Estonia [Rahvusarhiiv, RA, EAA].402.4.3, 24–26.

16 RA, EAA.402.4.3, 10.

17 Imants Lancmanis, *Elejas pils, katalogs: izstāde atvērta Rundāles pilī 1989. gada 8. septembrī* (Rundāle: Rundāles pils muzejs, 1992), 13 ff.

the astronomy building in the third year.¹⁸ Johann Ludwig Friedrich Gauger, a city councillor and owner of the university bookshop, was asked to present a plan for setting up the observatory in the spire of the cathedral, and the council immediately endorsed the idea.¹⁹

The *alma mater* awoke on the wave of the German Enlightenment,²⁰ playing an important role in its epilogue. In another sense, the university was born to correspond to the needs of *Licht und Recht*, or as the well-known naturalist and philosopher Alexander von Keyserling has said, Tartu had the same meaning for the Russian Empire, as Heidelberg for Germany.²¹ Everything that matured and had its culmination in the heart of the German speaking area was rapidly transformed into the special ideogram in its distant periphery, thereby providing value to the words of Immanuel Kant (one of whose death masks is still kept in the History Museum of Tartu University): 'Enlightenment is man's release from his self-incurred tutelage. *Sapere aude!*'²² Great ideas were followed in the province. 'Reason has won, and the century of justice has begun. The august feeling of human dignity has conquered everyone, it is experienced even by the coarsest of peoples in the most distant lands...', wrote Garlieb Merkel, a radically minded writer from Riga at the end of the philosophical century.²³

The university in Tartu was born at a very special moment. The Russian emperor had only turned 25 and sky above him still seemed to be cloudless. On 5 January 1802, the university's professors, employees and students gathered for the procession to St John's Church. Somewhat later, when the emperor visited Tartu, Rector Parrot gave a passionate speech: 'We vow to work diligently and loyally to disseminate useful education. To honour humanity of

18 RA, EAA.402.4.3, 35.

19 *Ibidem*, 48.

20 In the period from 1710 to 1800, 1,673 students from Estonia and Livonia and 1,161 students from Courland studied abroad, mainly in Göttingen, Halle, and Königsberg. (Arvo Tering, *Eesti-, liivi- ja kuramaalased Euroopa ülikoolides 1561–1798* (Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, 2008), 309 ff.)

21 Letter of Alexander von Keyserling to Karl Ernst von Baer in 1866. Helene von Taube, *Graf Alexander Keyserling. Ein Lebensbild aus seinen Briefen und Tagebüchern*, Bd. 1 (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1902), 490.

22 Immanuel Kant, *Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals: What is Enlightenment?* (Indianapolis, New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1959), 85.

23 Garlieb Helwig Merkel, *Die Letten vorzüglich in Liefland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Völker- und Menschenkunde* (Leipzig: Gräff, 1797), 2.

all classes and any form, without differentiating between the poor and the rich, the weak and the strong, unless it is to pay greater and more heartfelt attention to the poor and the weak.²⁴ Revolution in the Baltic countries meant the ‘revolution of the mind’, the broader background of which brings us to the ideas of cultural renewal and the distant glow of German *Sturm und Drang*.

A TEMPLE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

As a matter of fact, not all the universities of the time had their own buildings. Therefore, as we know, Russian visitors to Jena did not find any visible signs of a university ensemble. The reason for this was simple: the entire city served the needs of the university with the church bells announcing the beginning of classes.²⁵ By building a university in Tartu the new temple of Solomon arose. ‘*Per aspera ad astra*’, Krause exclaimed when climbing together with astronomers up to the Dome tower.²⁶ The university unites dreams and reality, poetry and architecture: all of them have an inner character and ability to elevate the soul. Tartu was a forerunner. The university was built a few decades earlier than the Universities of Helsinki, Moscow and Khasan. It also predates the university main houses and ensembles in Halle, Königsberg, Leipzig and Oslo, the building of which only began in the mid-19th century or even later.

Somewhat surprisingly, we can find a parallel to Old Livonia in the newly independent former British colonies in America, where education meant freedom and the new university campuses a chance for social advancement. According to Thomas Jefferson,

24 Georg Friedrich Parrot, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Feyerlichkeiten*, 43. The speech was held in the French language on the occasion of the visit by Alexander I to the University of Tartu on 22 May 1802. The text transmitted by the University Council on the same day is printed in the original language: Evgenii V. Petukhov, *Imperatorskii Yuryevskii, byvshii Derptskaa universitet za sto let ego sushchestvovaniya (1802–1902)*, t. 1 (Yuryev: K. Mattiesen, 1902), 112–113.

25 Trude Maurer, *Univeristet i ego Gorod: novaja perspektiva dlja issledovanija istorii rossiskih universitetov* (Moscow: Novoje Literaturnoje obozrenije, 2009), 16.

26 Johann Wilhelm Krause, *Das Bauwesen der Kaiserlichen Universität. Generalübersicht der allerhöchst verliehenen Summen zum Behuf des Bauwesens der Kaiserlichen Universität zu Dorpat. 29. Juli 1809–19. Juli 1818*. Manuscript. Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the University of Tartu Library [Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu käsikirjade ja haruldaste raamatute osakond, TÜR KHO], f. 9, nim. 1, s. 28.

‘the university brought together education, light and truth,’²⁷ and became the precondition for the birth of a new, college-architecture, which was not built between cloistered walls or in the centre of baroque gardens but in the midst of nature,²⁸ thereby leading to a new architectural phenomenon – the university in a park.

In many senses, the model of the contemporary university established in Tartu was borrowed from Göttingen, for which, as it was written ‘an endearingly lovely location was found, away from large cities, suitable for both enjoying a healthy lifestyle as well as long walks on the linden alleys lining the moats.’ In comparison to Göttingen, the university in Tartu turned the landscape even more. Before the first professors arrived, the city stood in ruins and desolation. ‘Tartu left a miserable impression. ... On the Dome hill stood the ruins of an old Cathedral, a barracks for 150 men and an ammunition depot, an age-old cellar serving as the regiment’s smithy. The moat and fortifications were in use as the town pasture, everyone dumped waste there and carried sand or good soil for their own use as he pleased. The area was a perfect example of what plunder, lack of guidance and senseless licence can lead to, particularly close to a town whose citizens, especially its ruling stratum, pretended to education and taste.’²⁹

It is amazing how quickly everything changed. Soon after the arrival of the first professors, the long discussions began for how to build the university. As there were no ready examples, much of its architectural image had to be invented. Already from the very beginning the leading idea was not to erect buildings separately but to build the whole ensemble. Even more, to create a new city reminiscent of the Garden of Eden and the academy of Plato in Athens, which Karl Morgenstern, the first professor of classical antiquity and the director of the university library had already dreamed of for years before arriving in Tartu. ‘My aim is to establish a university in the depths of a forest, under shady trees, where one can devote oneself to philosophy and teaching in a small garden.’³⁰

27 *Thomas Jefferson’s Academical Village: The Creation of an Architectural Masterpieces*, ed. by Richard Guy Wilson (Charlottesville, London: University Press of Virginia, 2009), VII.

28 Paul V. Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).

29 ‘Das erste Jahrzehnt der ehemaligen Universität Dorpat. Aus den Memoiren des Prof. Johann Wilhelm Krause’, *Baltische Monatschrift*, Bd. 53 (1902), 244.

30 Karl Morgenstern, *Entwurf von Platon’s Leben, nebst Bemerkungen über dessen schriftstellerischen und philosophischen Charakter* (Leipzig: Duck, 1797), 3 ff.

A philosophical park was designed to be laid out on Dome hill. Morgenstern received the task from the rector to visit the Halle and Weimar and Wörlitz Garden Realm (*Gartenreich*)³¹, where the efforts of Prince Frederick Franz I of Anhalt-Dessau had created an Elysium for Horace *Dulce utili* to become not only an imaginary Utopia – a temple of culture and enjoyment for wide social use. The idea was to unite nature, architecture and the whole surrounding environment. Tartu was turned into an English-style garden or then a garden town long before the modern principles of town planning found their place in the architectural theories of the 19th century.

THE FIRST PROFESSORS

The men who arrived in Tartu in 1802 in order to accept this innovative and responsible assignment were young and talented. Most of them joined the Masonic Church of Ephesus.³² The person who provided the conceptual lead was Karl Simon Morgenstern, who had studied and taught philosophy in the German universities of Magdeburg and Halle. Conversations with Morgenstern could bring the collocutor to a different world. 'Morgenstern, in his youth, recalled ... the figure of Jesus with his long flowing hair, as the latter was depicted by Leonardo, a pose he loved to assume from time to time.'³³ Morgenstern's guiding principle in life was Goethe's idea of 'gentle humanism' and his ideal was Winckelmann's yearning for the Classics, which manifested itself in his own writings through the universal sense of beauty (*Schönheitsgefühl*) and the philosophy of beauty (*Philosophie des Schönen*), which are animated by a sublime (*erhabene*) and omnipresent ideal of freedom.³⁴ Morgenstern's leading principles were 'aesthetic idealism' (*ästhetischer Idealismus*) and 'aesthetic realism' (*ästhetischer Realismus*), of which the former

31 Wilhelm Süß, *Karl Morgenstern (1770–1852). Ein Kulturhistorischer Versuch* (Dorpat: K. Mattiesen, 1929), 167.

32 *Briefwechsel zwischen Georg Friedrich Parrot und Karl Morgenstern 1802–1803*, ed. by Ingrid Loosme, Mare Rand (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, 1992), 24.

33 Süß, *Karl Morgenstern (1770–1852). Ein Kulturhistorischer Versuch*, 203.

34 Karl Morgenstern, *Johann Winkelmann. Eine Rede von D. Carl Morgenstern, ... ; nebst dessen Rede über den Einfluss des Studiums der griechischen und römischen Classiker auf harmonische Bildung zum Menschen. Mit Winkelmanns Portrait nach Mengs* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1805), 77 ff.

directs us to philosophy and the latter to history. A separate category was comprised of 'aesthetic scepticism' (*ästhetischer Skepticismus*; i.e. critical art theory) and the 'aesthetics of science' (*Ästhetik der Wissenschaft*).³⁵

Georg Friedrich Parrot, the first rector of the university, was in many ways the opposite of Morgenstern. He came from Germany's French-speaking area of Württemberg, had graduated from the University of Stuttgart, and during his youth, maintained a lively correspondence with members of the French Academy of Sciences in Paris and the lodge of *Les Neuf Sœurs* (The Nine Sisters).³⁶ In addition to his studies in theoretical physics, Parrot was also at home with practical issues, which meant dealing with engineering and agriculture, geometry and architecture. When Parrot arrived in Livonia in 1795, he became the secretary of the Livonian Beneficial and Economic Society, which was headed by the nobility, and this established his long-lasting contacts with the political and intellectual elite of Livonia.³⁷

The person who provided a suitable architectural form for the high ideas that were stirring at the university was Johann Wilhelm Krause (1757–1828), the university's first architect and professor of architecture. Krause's lifecycle differed from those of the other 'academicians'. Born in the triangle (*Dreieck*) bordered by Germany, Bohemia and Silesia, Krause had set out on a journey when he was still young. His first experience with art dates back to his days at the Zittau secondary school and Dresden, where the Classics, as they had been written about by Adam Oeser and Johann Joachim Winckelmann, became his spiritual guide. 'Fortunate is the man who finds the sources and drinks from them. In order to find these sources, one must travel to Athens; and from now on, Dresden will become the Athens of artists'³⁸. Krause wrote: 'A terrace with a long salon, the Elbe River at one's feet, a bridge, the new city, mountains,

35 Karl Morgenstern, *Grundriss einer Einleitung zur Ästhetik, mit Andeutungen zur Geschichte derselben* (Dorpat: J. C. Schünmann, 1815), 12–13.

36 Friedrich Bienemann, *Der Dorpater Professor Georg Friedrich Parrot und Kaiser Alexander I: zum Säkulargedächtnis der alma mater Dorpatensis* (Reval: F. Kluge, 1902), 30 ff.

37 *Oekonomische Encyklopaedie oder Allgemeines System der Staats-, Stadt-, Haus- und Landwirtschaft, in alphabetischer Ordnung, von Johann Georg Krünitz*, Th. 1 (Berlin: J. Pauli, 1782).

38 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst* (Dresden: Breitkopf, 1755), 4.

and military music characteristic of the era.' Further away, the Kreuzkirche, where the future university architect was enthused by Anton Raphael Mengs's altarpiece depicting the Ascension, which years later inspired him to recreate the same composition in his altarpiece for Tartu Cathedral. Krause spent hours and days in the library located in the attic of the Dresden Art Academy. The collections of antiquities, cabinets of silver, ivory and amber in the rooms of *Grünes Gewölbe* enriched his imagination.

In 1788, Krause had the opportunity to enter the Faculty of Theology at the University of Leipzig, although he never graduated. And due to a lack of money and an inquisitive desire to see distant lands in the least expensive way possible, as he wrote, Krause became a Hessian soldier fighting with the British forces in America. Krause was fascinated by the Manhattan skyline as well as the revolutionaries fighting for their independence: '... a bay teeming with all kinds of ships, and on the right, the beautiful country houses, villas, plantations, towns and grazing herds of Long Island; in the hazy distance, a magical vision of the land of the states, beyond that a blurred outline of an island and New York City. ... What would Wilhelm had given to serve the interests of this nation, to become a part of it even now and share with a few million people the exhilaration of their newly won freedom.'³⁹

By 1784, he was back in Amsterdam from where he started by ship to Livonia. Like many other young men, he headed east via Riga to find work and success in St Petersburg. But as a matter of fact, his final destination became Livonia, where he found work in the Latvian manors tutoring the young sons of the local aristocracy and building manor houses. When at the invitation of Count Vietinghoff, the owner of the Alūksne Manor, Krause finally arrived in the city on the Neva River he wrote: 'All the roads are 10 versts long. The banks of the Neva River are lined with granite.' On his walks, which lasted hours, he marvelled at the St Petersburg Academy of Arts (1765–1772), designed by Jean-Baptiste Vallin de la Mothe from the Blondel family of architects, and other buildings on the Vasilyevsky Island. Krause's attention was also captured by the Protestant St Catherine Church (1772–1776) which was built by the German-born Georg Friedrich Veldten (Yury Felten), and the

39 Johann Wilhelm Krause, *Wilhelms Erinnerungen*, Bd. VI (1778–1781), 101. Manuscript in the Library of Tartu University, f. 9.

Kamennostrovsky Palace (1768–1781). The ascetically laconic Ivan Starov served as a source of inspiration for Krause's later designs for the main building University of Tartu. He also noted the works of Quarenghi, especially his most recent buildings – the Hermitage Theatre with its interiors reminiscent of Palladio's *Teatro Olimpico* – and the severe-looking building of the Academy of Sciences (1783–1787) – perhaps the most obvious inspiration for the university's main building.

In 1796, Krause undertook a trip through Berlin and the picturesque shores of the Rhine Valley to Switzerland, where he met up with his dear friend Carl Grass, one of the most famous poets and artists of the Enlightenment from Livonia. Together they drew, hiked around the Walensee and in the Glarus Valley, about which Grass wrote the following lines filled with romance in a book dedicated to Ludwig Hess: 'For an artist that wants to learn about this heavenly nature, this valley reveals breath-taking vistas. Frothy waterfalls cascade vertically. The eye grasps numerous little houses that are gathered into small villages. ...what a joy it is to walk through the living, crystal clear water.'⁴⁰ Trying to fix the nature and style of Krause we have to take into consideration at least two sides of his character – the rational and the sentimental, both familiar in the Enlightenment, and which in symbiosis had an impact on the new university ensemble and its surroundings. In Tartu, both aspects of the Enlightenment have their space and place – the objective calculation and the subjective poetic spirit of the mind.

KRAUSE'S READING TABLE – 'PAPIERARCHITEKTUR'

Looking from the distance afforded by the present day, we have to admit Krause was a dilettante, but primarily in the context of the 18th century, when the *Bauakademie* in Berlin had not yet been founded and the profession of an architect was acquired in the course of a practical apprenticeship. At the same time, the architect of Tartu University was an intellectual with the broad erudition of his contemporary aesthetic programme. The architect's written legacy comprises hundreds of architectural drawings, which copied

⁴⁰ Carl Grass, *Sechs radirte Naturprospecte*, ein Nachlass von Ludwig Hess (Zürich: [s.n.], 1800), 8.

the most outstanding examples of the architectural edifices of his day.⁴¹ Krause's architectural handwriting reveals, on the one hand, his contact with the architectural theory of the day, which the architect assimilated and adapted, and on the other hand, the explosive energy that made this small provincial city unique.

When he arrived in Tartu in 1803, Krause was 45 years old, mature enough, but still not too old to find a solution for an assignment that had yet to be resolved in many other European universities. When Krause started there were no fixed rules for how to build a university. One of the first who tried to solve the problem of the academy was Leonhard Christoph Sturm, whose rules and examples for the *Ritterakademie* played an important role in the development of the new university idea. Following the traditions of the 17th century, Sturm tried to pack all the necessary elements for study under the same roof. At the centre of the academy we can find a circular rondel surrounded by offices for physics and chemistry, laboratories and guest rooms, a library and a large semi-circular auditorium (*Magnum auditorium Solerne*).⁴² The task of the architect was to create a temple of Solomon, which would serve the needs of an enlightened man.

From another perspective, the university had to consider practical needs. 'The university (academy) must ensure that young princes, counts, *Freiherrs* and noblemen could live in a manner that befits their status, speak in their chosen language, engage in science and physical exercises. ... That is why suitable apartments must be provided, with a bedroom and a room for servants in addition to the living room. In addition to auditoriums, the premises of the academy must also include stables, where the horses of knights as well as the school are

41 Krause's legacy has been published in five catalogues that deal with his work: *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828, kataloog 1: kunstnikust arhitektiks*, ed. by Juhan Maiste, Hilka Hiip, Kadi Polli, Mariann Raisma (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 1999); *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828, kataloog 2: arhitektina Liiivimaal = Als Architekt in Livland*, ed. by Juhan Maiste, Kadi Polli, Mariann Raisma (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2002); *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828, kataloog 3: linnaehitajana Tartus = Als Stadtbauer in Tartu*, ed. by Juhan Maiste, Anu Ormisson-Lahe (Tartu, Tallinn: Tartu Ülikool, Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2011); *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828, kataloog 4: ülikool Emajõe Ateenas = Die Universität im Embach-Athen*, ed. by Juhan Maiste, Anu Ormisson-Lahe (Tartu; Tallinn: Tartu Ülikool, Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2016); Juhan Maiste, Anu Ormisson-Lahe, Mariann Raisma, *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828, kataloog 5: Tartu Ülikooli ansambel valgustusajastul = The University of Tartu Ensemble in the Age of Enlightenment* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 2017).

42 Leonhard Christoph Sturm, *Leonhard Christoph Sturms Vollständige Anweisung, Allerhand Oeffentliche Zucht- und Liebes-Gebäude, Als hohe und niedrige Schulen, Ritter-Academien, Waysen-Häuser, Spitäle vor Alte und Krancke, und endlich besonders also genannte Zucht-Häuser und Gefängnisse wohl anzugeben* (Augsburg: J. Wolff, 1720).

kept; also, dance halls, fencing rooms. ... Obviously, the curriculum must include all kinds of sciences, from arithmetic and geometry to civilian and military architecture, organising fireworks and mechanics. Princely rooms must be divided into sections, as can be seen in Wolffenbüttel.⁴³

The 18th century saw the wellspring of the new ideas. At the Prussian Academy of Sciences, first an observatory was built (1709), followed by an anatomy theatre (1717), botanical gardens (1718), and the institute of medicine and surgery (1723). The new universities were freely built in the city and in natural surroundings. In Johann Heinrich Zedler's universal lexicon (*Grosses Universal Lexicon*, 1732), the author looks back on the Platonic Academy, where 'city residents were free to wander among the epitaphs and tombstones, altars dedicated to Cupid, Hercules and Mercurius and other angels. Behind the building, there was a garden with fountains and walkways'. When it comes to modern places of learning, Zedler mentions the academy of painting and sculpture in Paris, the music academy, the academy of architecture founded by monsieur Colbert, and finally, the Louis XIV era *Collège des Quatre-Nations*, the name of which survived into the 18th century as an allegorical symbol, inspiring, among others, the 'Monument of Four Nations' in the former moat in Tartu. Denis Diderot wrote in the *Encyclopédie*: 'the buildings of the university are dispersed around the city in converted buildings (*inn, hall*). This was the case for Oxford, Cambridge and, in part, Sorbonne.'⁴⁴

Already in 1803, Krause ordered a copy of Johann Friedrich Penther's architectural compendium for his newly-founded department of architecture.⁴⁵ Almost simultaneously, both universities – Göttingen and Tartu came up with the idea of building a library in the ruins of a medieval church. The leading ideas in Göttingen came from one of the most prominent architects of the day – Friedrich Weinbrenner,

43 Sturm, *Leonhard Christoph Sturms Vollständige Anweisung, Allerhand Oeffentliche Zucht- und Liebes-Gebäude*.

44 *Encyclopédie, ou, dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres, mis en order & publié par M. Diderot & quant à la partie mathématique, par. M. d'Alembert*, 17 (Neufchastel: [s.n.], 1765), 408.

45 Johann Friedrich Penther, *Erster [- Vierter] Theil einer ausführlichen Anleitung zur Bürgerlichen Bau-Kunst, enthaltend ein Lexicon Architectonicum*, Bd. 1–4 (1762, 1764, 1767, 1771); see also Epi Tohvri, 'J. W. Krause arhitektuurikabinet jaerialaraamatukogu', *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828, kataloog 4: ülikool Emajõe Ateenas = Die Universität im Embach-Athen*, ed. by Juhan Maiste, Anu Ormisson-Lahe (Tartu, Tallinn: Tartu Ülikool, Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2016), 289–290.

who recommended the Pauliner church to be built up in accordance with 'the Gothic character' of the structure and the Gothic style of the English cathedrals, resulting in the renovation of both the tracery and the portals.⁴⁶ In many ways Krause's work can be viewed as the direct reception of the popular architectural treatises of the day or as a mirror of what was referred to as '*Papierarchitektur*' that was largely accepted and used at the turn of the 19th century⁴⁷. Beside the ideas of Gothic Revival, the main source for Krause was naturally the centuries-long classical tradition. His compass of style and taste pointing unerringly toward the greatest names and more significant masterpieces of the era. Following in the footsteps of Marc-Antoine Laugier, a Jesuit architectural theorist, Krause searches for the most primeval basis of architecture and finds it in Laugier's 'Primitive Hut'⁴⁸, which according to Krause 'father Adam once built on a gently sloping hill, by making columns out of tree trunks and a roof out of branches and leaves.'⁴⁹ When designing the capitals for the columns of the Auditorium Maximus, the architect was inspired by Vignola's orders.⁵⁰ Palladio and Scamozzi, as well as other classics of the Vitruvian tradition, including Jacques-François Blondel, whose *Cours d'architecture* was ordered for the university's architecture department in 1803, became the sources for Krause's architectural approach.⁵¹

The library of the university's department of architecture founded by Krause also included a wide range of influential German architectural works, including Lorenz Johann Daniel Suckow's *The Fundamentals of Civilian Architecture*. Also available were the publications of Gottfried Huth, in which is stated, '...the taste of the people may be buried if artists continue to present works to

46 Christian Freigang, 'Architektur und Städtebau von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts bis 1866', *Göttingen. Geschichte einer Universitätsstadt*, Bd. 2, ed. by Ernst Böhme, Rudolf Vierhaus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 2002), 792, 793.

47 Klaus Jan Philipp, *Um 1800. Architekturtheorie und Architekturkritik in Deutschland zwischen 1790–1810* (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 1997), 9.

48 Marc-Antoine Laugier, *L'Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris: [s.n.], 1753).

49 Krause, *Bau-Rede bey dem Richten des Daches des Kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu Dorpat*, 12.

50 TÜR KHO, f. 9, nim. 1, s. 29, 2.

51 Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture, ou Traité de la décoration, distribution & bâtiments* (Paris: Chez Desaint, 1771–1777) (6 text sections and 3 picture plates; vols. 5 and 6 are in the University of Tartu Library).

the public that lack an innovative approach.⁵² When designing the university's main building, Krause used Christian Ludwig Stieglitz's *Zeichnungen aus der Schönen Baukunst* published in 1798.⁵³ Krause wrote: "The Doric order suits it [the main building]. The thickness of the decorated [*fluted*] base that projects out from the wall is equal to the thickness of the wall and the pedestals stand out only as far as needed by the columns and the pilasters behind them. Their axes are based on the measurements of Vitruvius's *aero* style, and do not require large gaps between the columns, which would give the impression that the entablature is about to collapse. ... The variety of facades and ornamentation is not incidental, but rather an attempt to fit them together in different ways in order to suit the character of the whole."⁵⁴

In the course of designing, Krause's attitude matured; instead of the *grand gout della belle simplicité* and *zopf* style of Dresden, the Greek Revival style and Empire style of St Petersburg have an impact on his later designs for the university. Concepts like embodiment (*Inbegriff*) and the organic whole (*Organsiche Ganzen*) appear in the architect's vocabulary.⁵⁵ In the first designs for the university, the architect placed the columns on high pedestals, similar to those on Claude Perrault's eastern facade. In subsequent solutions, the architect made a decisive change. Instead of the double pilasters, he used the colossal columns similar to those he had seen in St Petersburg at Andrei Voronikhin's Saint Petersburg Mining University (1806–1809), Ivan Starov's Tauride Palace (1783–1788) and Giacomo Quarenghi's St Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1783–1787). In 1819, Krause compiled a comparative table of architecture for his architectural lecture under the symbolic title "The differences prove that the artists of old did not limit themselves to one canon with observing classical models."⁵⁶

52 *Allgemeines Magazin für die bürgerliche Baukunst*, Bd. 2, ed. by Gottfried Huth (Weimar: Carl Ludolf Hoffmanns Wittwe und Erben, 1796), 175.

53 Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, *Zeichnungen aus der Schönen Baukunst oder Darstellung idealischer und ausgeführter Gebäude* (Leipzig: Voss und Compagnie, 1798), plate 1.

54 RA, EAA.402.5.14, 17.

55 Christian Gottlieb Hirt, *Anfangsgründe der schönen Baukunst, oder der Civil-Baukunst in ästhetischer Hinsicht, insonderheit desjenigen Theils derselben, welcher die Construction der Säulen nach ihren verschiedenen Ordnungen, als der ältesten und schönsten Werke der Baukunst lehrt* (Breslau: G. Hamberger, 1804), 14–15.

56 Johann Wilhelm Krause, *Unterschiede zum Beweise das die alten Künstler sich nicht ängstlich an Regel banden bey der Säulenstellung*. Manuscript (1819). TÜR KHO.

The architect compares the Athens Parthenon with the temples of Paestum and Agrigento of Revett-Stuart; and Louis-François Cassas⁵⁷ with the true modules from Vitruvius's teachings.

Along with the Vitruvian tradition, Krause followed even more modern trends. We can find several outstanding examples in his drawings, such as Marie Joseph Peyre's giant cathedral, Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières' *Halle aux blés* and Heinrich Gentz's Berlin Mint, which housed the *Bauakademie* (Building Academy) from 1799. According to the descriptions of the rooms in his notes, in addition to the Mining Department, he mentions the rooms of the Building Academy, the library and the department of minerals. For the university manège, Krause used the designs printed in David Gilly's journal *Handbuch der Land-Baukunst*.⁵⁸ Some of the university buildings were inspired by the *architecture parlante* of the revolutionary time. For example, the bathing house (*Badehaus*) is a replica of the popular ice house in Paretz, designed by Friedrich Gilly (appearing in volume four of David Gilly's *Examples of Useful Architecture*, published in 1801).⁵⁹ One of the designs for the small bridge on Toomemägi Hill was based on the Iron Bridge in Coalbrookdale (published on the title page of the first issue of David Gilly's journal in 1796). In 1814, Krause also referred to one of the most important landmarks of the age – the pyramid of Étienne-Louis Boullée known to him from the drawings of Friedrich Gilly, which were published in 1791 in Johann Gottfried Grohmann's *Ideemagazin*⁶⁰ and later reprinted by David Gilly.⁶¹

57 Johann Wilhelm Krause, *Zeichnungen von Details des plastischen Ornaments*. Skizzenmappe (1795–1818). TÜR KHO, f. 9, s. 42, 1–50. The publications that provided models for Krause – *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762) and Louis-François Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie* (Paris, 1802) – were ordered for the University of Tartu Library at the architect's request.

58 David Gilly, *Handbuch der Land-Baukunst vorzüglich in Rücksicht auf die Construction der Wohnund Wirtschaftsgebäude für angehende Cameral-Baumeister und Oeconomen*, Bd. 2 (Berlin: Decker, 1798).

59 David Gilly, *Sammlung nützlicher Aufsätze und Nachrichten, die Baukunst betreffend*, Bd. 4 (Berlin: [s.n.], 1801).

60 Johann Gottfried Grohmann, *Ideenmagazin*, 3. Stück, Nr. 40 (Leipzig, 1796).

61 Gilly, *Sammlung nützlicher Aufsätze und Nachrichten, die Baukunst betreffend*, Bd. 1 (Berlin: [s.n.], 1797), 1.

THE TEMPLE OF LIGHT AND WISDOM –
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

'In Brand und Noth und Ungemach stand fest und ohne Zittern der hohen Thürme Zwillings-Paar, die Reihen schlanker Pfeiler, und trotzen Sturm und Frost sogar auf freiem offenen Weiler', wrote Krause in honour of the reconstruction of the roof of the ancient cathedral in 1804.⁶² The university library in the ancient ruins of the cathedral were to be at least as beautiful as the reading rooms in Vienna and Dresden. 'I am coming down from the ruins,' Morgenstern wrote to Rector Parrot in mid-February of 1803. 'Take care, dear Parrot, that the dimensions of the entire ensemble are measured by a master mason, and that your brother-in-law Krause is sent the necessary information for the plans. After a new detailed examination of the place, I am in total agreement with your reasoning that the colossal idea to reconstruct the entire building exceeds our abilities. At the same time, it would be a pity to erase the nature of the ruins from them. And its imposing sections, the aisles etc., must remain untouched, since they are not life-threatening, and let the blue sky into the church... *Quanta vis sit in localis!* In conclusion, there is a choice – either Tartu will get an ordinary library hall, of which there are hundreds, or it will become one of the most interesting libraries in the Nordic countries.'⁶³

The source of inspiration for the university architect was one of the most popular projects of the late 18th century in Germany – St Nicholas's Church in Leipzig, which Krause had seen in ruins, but also after the reconstruction by Johann Carl Friedrich Dauthe, who changed the old and faded Gothic church into one that is bright and filled with light.⁶⁴ Krause's idea of the temple of 'Light and Knowledge' brought the church, observatory and library together under one roof. As in Leipzig, Krause decorated the vaults with laurel leaves. The dream of the architect was to follow the ideas

62 Krause, *Bau-Rede beym Richten des Daches des Kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu Dorpat*, 7.

63 *Briefwechsel zwischen Georg Friedrich Parrot und Karl Morgenstern 1802–1803*, 40–41.

64 'Ueber einige Werke der Baukunst zu Leipzig und besonders über die neu verbesserte Nicolai-Kirche daselbst. Aus einem Briefe des Herrn Amts-Vorsteher Verweser Schmidt in Gotha', *Allgemeines Magazin für die bürgerliche Baukunst*, Bd. 2 (Weimar: Carl Ludolf Hoffmanns Wittve und Erben, 1792), 7 ff.

of the most modern libraries such as Wolffenbüttel⁶⁵; the Imperial Library in Vienna; the town library in Zürich – one that Krause had had seen with his own eyes.⁶⁶ However, when Krause made the first drawings, there were no definite rules for how to build a library. ‘A bibliothèque or library hall is a building in which books are selected and placed in cabinets based on expert advice,’ wrote Stieglitz. ‘Through the main entrance, the visitor steps into the vestibule, on the right, a staircase leads to the first floor, on the left are the living quarters of the keeper of the library. As he goes up the steps, the visitor arrives in the first-floor hall (Conservation Hall), from there he proceeds into a hall that is illuminated from above by windows, because the entire room must be open to the sun.’⁶⁷

The ambitious plan was to unite two sides of the universe: the house of God and the house of human wisdom. In his poem dedicated to the Dome, Krause honours the cathedrals of Milan and Seville.⁶⁸ Beside them Strasbourg, praised already by Goethe in his *Von der Deutschen Baukunst* (1772), also appears. Krause followed the examples of the Naumburg and Meissen cathedrals published by Johann Gottfried Grohmann’s in his *Bruchstücke der Gothischen Baukunst*.⁶⁹ When Krause visited the Academy of Arts in Berlin in 1796, he had the opportunity to see Friedrich Gilly’s imaginative fantasies – one of the icons of German Enlightenment culture: the drawings for the residence of the Teutonic Order in Marienburg (Malbork).⁷⁰ Had the church in

65 *Briefwechsel zwischen Georg Friedrich Parrot und Karl Morgenstern 1802–1803*, 40. The library founded in 1572 (currently known as the Herzog August Bibliothek) was famous among scholars for its rich collections and its building with a round floor plan – a rotunda – built in 1706–1710. It was one of the first buildings in Europe to be built specifically as a library.

66 Johann Wilhelm Krause, *Wilhelms Erinnerungen*, Bd. X (1796–1798), 33. Manuscript in the Library of Tartu University, f. 9.

67 Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, ‘Bibliothek’, *Encyklopädie der bürgerlichen Baukunst, in welcher alle Fächer dieser Kunst nach alphabetischer Ordnung abgehandelt sind*, Bd. 1 (Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1792), 265–267.

68 In his characteristic way, Krause had his poetry recited by his four apprentices, while he stood apart in the back row. For more, see: Maiste, ‘Enlightenment Temple Rising from the Ruins of the Medieval Cathedral’, 95 ff.

69 Johann Gottfried Grohmann, *Bruchstücke der Gothischen Baukunst, gesammelt und dem Studium der Baukünstler und dem Vergnügen der Liebhaber gewidmet*, 1. Heft (Leipzig: Baumgärtner, 1799), Taf. 2.

70 In 1797, a view of Marienburg titled *Addition to Patriotic Architecture* was printed on the title page of *Sammlung nützlicher Aufsätze und Nachrichten, die Baukunst betreffend* published by David Gilly.

Tartu been reconstructed as a whole, it would have loomed like Carl Friedrich Schinkel's cathedral above the town.⁷¹

The lack of resources did not allow these dreams to come true. The only part of the entire project of the huge temple that was completed on the Dome hill was the library, installed in the medieval choir room of the cathedral. Krause complained that there was not enough support from the central government. There was much less philosophising. 'The new professors who were arriving in Tartu lacked the idealism of the first.'⁷² In his *venia legendi* lecture, Krause emphasised the correct harmony between the means and the goals, which, consciously combined with the necessary reserves of energy, will give us the courage to continue.⁷³ And thus, time passed. Krause kept producing new projects for the reconstruction of Tartu Cathedral. And these ideas also remained only on paper. What remained of the ruins of Tartu Cathedral, the largest cathedral in Old Livonia were mostly untouched.

ALMA MATER – FUNCTION AND ICONOGRAPHY

'What is economy without architecture and conversely, architecture without economy?', Krause asked. 'Economy is the oldest of the philosophical sisters, the primal mother of all theoretical and practical ideas...'⁷⁴ And this corresponds to the requirements of the age – to the concept of '*Schön und nützlich*' broadly promoted in Prussian architectural practices at the turn of the 19th century. 'A university is built partly with funds from its founders and partly with the funds of those who will study and live there. ...the auditoriums can be placed on the ground floor. The upper floors should house the rooms for teaching natural history and natural sciences, chemistry and anatomy. ... The building should also house a library, a department of

71 Karl Eduard Biermann, *Dom über einer Stadt*. Oil on canvas, ca. 1830 (copy after the 1813 original by Carl Friedrich Schinkel).

72 Johann Wilhelm Krause, 'Aufzeichnungen über die Gründung und das erste Jahrzehnt der Universität Dorpat', *Rigaer Tageblatt*, 21.10.(03.11).1901, 24–25.

73 Johann Wilhelm Krause, *Öonomie und Architectur. Eine Skizze über den wechselseitigen Einfluss derselben auf Gemeinwohl, als Antrittsrede gehalten den 13ten Junius 1803* (Dorpat: M. G. Grenzius, 1803), 28.

74 Krause, *Öonomie und Architectur. Eine Skizze über den wechselseitigen Einfluss derselben auf Gemeinwohl, als Antrittsrede gehalten den 13ten Junius 1803*.

antiquities, collections of the instruments of physics etc., the senate, rooms for drawing and engraving, fencing rooms and dance halls.⁷⁵

The main building of the University of Tartu is one of the first buildings in Europe built specifically for educational purposes in the new age of Enlightenment. As Krause wrote: 'The character of the building must correspond to its great purpose, beyond subtlety and lightness it must have dignity, simplicity and earnestness.'⁷⁶ When the first contours of the university's main building appeared on small sheets of paper in 1803, the solution is reminiscent of a manor house (*Herrenhaus*) in the Baltic *villa rustica* style, the structure and function of which is derived from the principles published in German architectural treatises of the late 18th century. 'Today's architects owe a debt to the Greeks who established the orders of columns and the characteristic simplicity, true beauty and dignity of residential buildings. ... Excessive ornamentation should be avoided. In the Nordic climate, the rooms should not be too high or too low. Every room must lead to a great hall or other pass-through rooms. The stairs must be positioned to immediately attract attention at the entrance. The doors and windows must be symmetrically positioned on the facade. ... The basement should be built first, the deeper it is, the cooler it will be in the summer and the warmer in the winter. It is advisable to install vaults in the basements. ... When it comes to the rooms on the ground floor, it is recommended that they be modelled on the Italians, while also taking into account the German architectural teachings that correspond to the local mentality. Since columns and other decorations require higher rooms, the recommended height is eleven feet. Therefore, the great hall should be 5 feet higher, i.e. in total 16 feet.'⁷⁷

The initial floor plans for the university indicated the future functions of rooms: the right wing of the ground floor housed the departments of physics and chemistry, the laboratories, and an equipment room; the

75 Christian Freidrich Stieglitz, *Encyklopädie der bürgerlichen Baukunst, in welcher alle Fächer dieser Kunst nach alphabetischer Ordnung abgehandelt sind. Ein Handbuch für Staatswirthe, Baumeister und Landwirthe*, Bd. 1–5 (Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1798). The all five volumes were available for Krause in Tartu University Library.

76 RA, EAA.402.5.14, 17.

77 Friedrich Christian Schmidt, *Der bürgerliche Baumeister, oder Versuch eines Unterrichts für Baulustige, welcher sie durch eine grosse Anzahl ganz verschiedener Plane in den Stand setzt, die Einrichtung ihrer Wohngebäude selbst zu entwerfen, und ihnen alles lehrt, was sie vor, während und nach einem Bau zu wissen nöthig haben*, Bd. 1 (Gotha: Reyher, 1790), 49 ff.

rooms in the left wing were for the stokers and beadles; the entrance hall was divided into smaller rooms – punishment cells were planned for either side of the staircase; the ballroom was also close by. A columned hall in the manner of a peristyle – *Auditorium Maximum* – was located in the centre of the first floor. In the right wing, there was a museum and a collection of rocks and plants; in the left wing, the *Iuridicum*, *Philosophicum*, *Medicum* and auditorium for the theologians. In the spring of 1803, when more detailed plans were completed, a fencing room was added to the ground floor.

The first building to be completed in the university ensemble was the anatomy theatre with porticos on four sides; Krause was following the example of the most iconic work of European architecture – Palladio's Villa Rotonda. The rotunda-shaped amphitheatres in Padua (1582–1584) Leiden (1597), Copenhagen (1640–1643), Groningen (1654–1655), Uppsala (1662), Amsterdam (1691), Berlin (1720) and Halle (1727) had established a new iconology for anatomy theatres. In Zedler's encyclopaedia, the building was characterised as a public building that was meant not only for the teaching of anatomy, but also for exhibiting corpses and storing specimens. In Diderot's encyclopaedia, an anatomy theatre is 'a room where seats are placed as a circular amphitheatre and a rotating table for dissecting and exhibiting corpses is at its centre.' As an important model of the building type, Diderot points out Jacques Gondouin's *École de Chirurgie* in Paris (1769–1774), known as the 'True Temple of Asclepius'⁷⁸, what was popularised by Jacques-François Blondel's *Cours d'Architecture*.⁷⁹

An important element of the University of Tartu ensemble is the observatory. In Krause's time, an erstwhile aristocratic hobby had become a serious scientific pursuit, and the observatory on Toomemägi Hill was based on the genesis of the building type that dated back to the observatories of Sorbonne and Oxford, which were followed by the observatory in Gotha, designed by Franz Xaver von Zach. After Krause had been forced to abandon his initial idea of building the observatory on the base of the tower of Tartu Cathedral, a new solution was worked out in collaboration with other university professors like Johann Pfaff, Georg Friedrich Parrot, the Professor of Physics, and the astronomer

78 Allan Braham, *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 137 ff.

79 Blondel, *Cours d'architecture, ou Traité de la décoration, distribution & bâtiments*.

Ernst Christoph Friedrich Knorre, who had sent the drawings of the observatories at Gotha and Göttingen to Tartu.⁸⁰ In 1820, Friedrich Georg Struve became the director of the observatory. He initiated the Struve Geodetic Arc, which was a chain of survey triangulations to establish the exact size and shape of the earth, made micrometric measurements of double stars and identified stellar parallaxes, thereby raising Tartu to the centre of attention and laying the groundwork for the excellence of the astronomical sciences at Tartu. Struve also ordered a telescope for the university that was produced in Joseph von Fraunhofer's workshop in Germany and included the largest lenses produced at that time. This made it necessary to rebuild the tower of the observatory, and the plans were prepared by Georg Friedrich Parrot, who justified the cost of the construction with the words that the observatory should also be a work of art.⁸¹

In 1827, an album was published for the university's 25th anniversary at the initiative of Rector Georg Ewers, which included all the plans of the university buildings.⁸² In addition to the main building, the library in the ruins of the cathedral, the observatory and anatomy theatre, the album contained engravings of the clinic building, manège, bathing establishment and the park that surrounded all of them, which connected the spirit of *alma mater* to the urban space. The park was inspired by English-style landscaping, which had already been introduced to Estonia in the 1760s; and which, at the turn of the century, motivated Garlieb Merkel to write about French parks as monarchies and English parks as republics 'where each trunk could develop in its potential power and spread its branches as wide as its inner needs demanded.'⁸³ Serpentine paths were established on Toomemägi Hill, where the professors and townspeople could spend hours strolling in nature.⁸⁴

80 *Tartu tähetorn = Tartu Old Observatory*, ed. by Lea Leppik (Tallinn: Aasta Raamat, 2011), 31.

81 *Die Kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat. Fünfundzwanzig Jahre nach ihrer Gründung*, ed. by Johann Philipp Gustav Ewers (Dorpat: J. C. Schünmann, 1827), 34.

82 *Ibidem*.

83 Garlieb Helwig Merkel, *Briefe ueber einige der merkwuerdigsten Staedte im noerdlichen Deutschland*, Bd. 1 (Leipzig: J. F. Hartknoch, 1801), 13.

84 *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste, Welche bishero durch menschlichen Verstand und Witz erfunden und verbessert worden*, Bd. 1, A–Am (Halle, Leipzig: Verlegts Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1732), 236–237.

Poplars were also planted that remind us of Rousseau's Isle of Poplars in Ermenonville and its replica in Wörlitz, which Karl Morgenstern, one of the founders of the university, had visited in 1803. The trees were meant to evoke an association with an earthly Garden of Eden by recalling cypress trees with all their charming beauty. Silver poplars were also Thomas Jefferson's favourites included in his plans for his 'academic village' in Virginia. The moats were connected by bridges, of which one (later the Devil's Bridge) bore the mark of the Gothic style, and the other (later the Angel's Bridge) that of classical heritage and, with its Doric columns, resembled Athenian *propylaea*.

The university in Tartu became a symbol and a kind of quintessence of the Age of Enlightenment. Around the university, the city slowly grew. The meaning of the university ensemble is not contained in the unique positions of the individual buildings or the loftiness of the architectural thought, but in the harmony of the buildings that transforms Tartu into a unique architectural laboratory, where experiments with various new themes were conducted, such as the university in a park, in an environment, in an urban space. Compared to Western Europe, where the university ensembles were designed step by step following urgent need, those in the faraway colonies were built as mental places of refuge – as a kind of 'Platonic academy' for the progressive ideas of a still small, but growing, intelligentsia. Time favoured the territories that, until then, had been off the beaten track.⁸⁵

In many ways Tartu is a litmus paper of the era. Just like any other university, it has its own face, heartbeat and bloodstream, and where, in addition to genius, a role was also played by the *genius loci*. The specific historical conditions created the precondition for the birth of a new university rhetoric and iconography. The *lingua franca* used by the local *publica litteraria* at a certain time in history distinguishes both the semantics of the university and its metaphysical sources. Literally, the university is both a temple dedicated to light and philosophy and a workshop, where mourning for the past has always also meant longing for the future. When dealing with the past we have to deal with memory and its signs, which in addition to being the

85 Notker Hammerstein, 'Die Universitäten in der Aufklärung', *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, Bd. 2, ed. by Walter Rüegg (München: Beck, 1996), 495 ff.

reproduction of past facts have the value of their creative transmission into future.⁸⁶

The university belongs to its inhabitants, who always and at any time have the right and obligation to read its noetic contents anew and restart the discussion about the fantasy-built *noema* for which the perception process needs not only new ideas but new words that correspond to our imagination of the main problem facing the university. What is the general understanding of the university and what does it mean to each individual? To understand the university, we need both the capability to form sentences out of signs and our imagination, which presents us with the categories of space, form and colour. Tartu can be called the capital of the Baltic spirit – an island with distinct borders, where the university, like an island in the ocean, is assigned the role of turning chaos into the cosmic order. To read the university ensemble in Tartu means reading the most interesting, glorious, but also controversial pages of European Enlightenment culture. The university is like a person with its own nerves and psychology, but also the circulation of blood and the body.

JUHAN MAISTE: TARTU UNIVERSITY: AN ICON OF ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE NORTH

KEYWORDS: UNIVERSITY OF TARTU; ENLIGHTENMENT; JOHANN WILHELM KRAUSE; ARCHITECTURAL TREATISES, NEOCLASSICISM VERSUS NEOGOTHIC

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⁸⁶ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 6 ff.

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