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PHENOMENOLOGICAL ALMA MATER.
BORDERS OF THE VISIBLE AND THE
INVISIBLE IN HERITAGE PROTECTION

NOBLE SIMPLICITY AND CALM GRANDEUR

Alma mater is one of the most notable icons of Estonian cultural history, the symbol of Tartu as a university town and one of the best summaries of the notion described through the centuries as the “spirit of Tartu”. The university is real and, at the same time, imaginary. Its architectural identity is a part of a whole which in Tartu opens up on the meadows of the River Emajõgi and on Toome Hill, blending architecture with nature and giving it a common definition through images created by a collective consciousness. The university is undoubtedly the priority of the town, present everywhere, both in its physical landmarks and in their spiritual consecration, which connects an art historical discourse based on Winckelmann (as understood by numerous generations of art historians and as introduced by Voldemar Vaga¹) with the meaning of a work of art as described by Martin Heidegger, with its “installation or erection (*Errichtung*) of the fact of art, which is followed by the dedication and glorification (*Weihung und Rühmung*) of the work of art”.²

The present paper was motivated by a wish to arrange my own mnemonic spaces, to open up an opportunity to speak for the past in the future, to become a mediator between the two definitions of time and conclusions based on values connected with heritage protection.³ Having written about

¹ Voldemar Vaga, *Tartu Ülikooli arhitektid* (Tartu, 1928); Olga Paris, *Johann Wilhelm Krause*, Unpublished master’s thesis (Tartu, 1943, Manuscript in the University of Tartu Library); *Eesti arhitektuuri ajalugu*, toim. H. Arman (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965); Niina Raid, *Tartu Ülikooli peahoone* (Tartu: Rahkoi, 1993).

² Martin Heidegger, “The Origin of the Work of Art”, Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. A. Hofstadter (New York, London: Harper & Row, 1971), 52.

³ Juhan Maiste, Karin Bachmann, *Tartu Ülikooli ansambli ruumilise arengu kontseptsioon* (Tartu, 2009, Manuscript at the University of Tartu).

the university several times,⁴ this time I was intrigued by the novelty of my task: to interrogate not exactly history or art history in their peculiar narrative and pictorial informativeness, but to relate myself to the notion of time and space – both in their symbolic iconic essence and cognitive meaningfulness. My range of interest is the university as a spatial whole, as far as it can be estimated by the reflection of the environment through our inner “self” – a truth which opens itself through a reflection of an object in the evaluative field of the subject which, instead of denoting the fixed and static contours of a monument, speaks rather of erecting it anew for every period and age. It is thus a position principally opposed to the ideology of heritage protection as we have known it since the 19th century and as it principally still reigns in Western thought.⁵

Of two possible questions about memory – “what is memory about?” and “whose memory is it?” – the following essay concentrates (bearing in mind various dangers of that kind of approach) on the second part of the aporia: that is, on memories which, experienced by myself, open up beside the treasuries of collective memory and iconic traces of the past, pointing to museum shelves as an opportunity to see memory as a part of our creative fantasy. My conviction of the possibility of constructing a pictorial idea not only through a mnemonic act – *à la* “what did our forefathers say” – but also through a creative act in which the realisation that our knowledge is knowledge of something is connected to the ability of our fantasy to see and to revive the same picture again and again.

Never is the picture that we perceive in our imagination today similar in every detail to the picture we saw yesterday. Our world is born, repeating the mantras of memory time and again, and the basis of that metaphorical thinking is the ability of memory to arrange itself through a logical construction, as well as the will expressed by our subconscious to break away from a framed and limited truth, to exit into the limitless world of the sublime, where “On the one hand, it sets a limit through its

⁴ *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828. Kataloog 1. Kunstnikust arhitektiks*, koost. ja toim. Juhan Maiste, Hilikka Hiiop, Kadi Polli, Mariann Raisma (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 1999); *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828. Kataloog 2. Arhitektina Liivi-maal*, koost ja toim. Juhan Maiste, Kadi Polli, Mariann Raisma. (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2002); Juhan Maiste, Kadi Polli, Mariann Raisma, *Alma Mater Tartuensis. Tartu Ülikool ja tema arhitekt Johann Wilhelm Krause* (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2003).

⁵ Here I would like to point at two basic documents of heritage protection: the 1964 Venice Charter which sets matter in its static actuality a priority, and the 1994 Nara Charter the basic message of which defines the possible limits of spiritual continuance and physical innovation accompanying it.

presentation of the failure of imagination; on the other, it shows how this limit is, in turn, framed or bounded by the unlimited power of reason”.⁶

Instead of the unchanging and the constant, which in the aesthetic programme of neoclassicism has found an expressed metaphor in Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s demand for “noble simplicity and calm grandeur” (*eine edle Einfalt, und eine stille Größe*), in the case of the university as a phenomenon living on in space and time, my own opportunity to experience time and space participates. In the footsteps of Voldemar Vaga and all the others who founded their theoretical approaches on the equanimitous neoclassicist truth of the unity of time, space and place of action, the *alma mater* will here be treated not as a dead but as a living monument,⁷ a monument discovering and recreating itself time and again, as a warning, a reprimand, speaking of environmental values, not in epigrams of someone who has already left the arena but as something that awakens time after time, presenting itself as a new pictorial whole.

For the university is not merely its six Dorian pillars; it is not only architecture or ensemble, but something that inspires a crossing of the conventional borders of art history as a discursive scholarly paradigm: to speak of, besides collective consciousness, the collective subconscious, and to speak of something that, besides the visible side of things also opens the invisible side. Although the university space is physical, it is also metaphysical, actualizing both the morphological homogeneity of the ensemble and the possibilities of its artistic metaphor, blending space as an iconic structure with the notion of spatial poetics and its different psychological layers.

The touchstone of the *alma mater*’s quality is not only the values frozen into its elements as traditional history sees it, but also the “living flesh” (*una vera carne*) of history about which, speaking of the Parthenon frieze, Antonio Canova wrote, and which in the face of some later interpretations could be translated as living experience, as well as its utopian idea (*die Idee des Fleisches*).⁸ Neoclassicism in Tartu means not only a book taken home from the library but also a miracle on the backside of a medal in the form of an artistic message about which men have written “since the

⁶ Philip Shaw, “The Sublime is Now: Derrida and Lyotard”, Philip Shaw, *The Sublime* (London, New York: Routledge, 2006), 119.

⁷ A play or words from the sphere of heritage protection the roots of which stretch back to John Carter and the English conservation philosophy in the turn of the 18th–19th century. Cf: Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (London: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2006), 106ff.

⁸ Rudolf Walter Zeitler, *Klassizismus und Utopia. Interpretationen zu Werken von David, Canova, Carstens, Thorvaldsen, Koch* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954), 270.

beginning of time” time and again, and which in fact forms the content and inner nucleus of Winckelmann’s message and neoclassicist doctrine.⁹ Winckelmann, according to Hegel, “succeeded in representing art as a phenomenon that transcended the narrowly professional concerns of the art world, and made it the basis for analysing some of the fundamentals of human culture and philosophic self-awareness”.¹⁰ His ancient history was not only a piece of reading for those interested in the development of style, but much deeper “contemplation of the ideals of the ancients to fashion a new sense for contemplating art, which saved art from perspectives dictated by common aims and mere imitation of nature, and set up a powerful stimulus to discover the [true] idea of art in art works and in the history of art”.¹¹

The university is not only a document and an ensemble but, above all, a human being encountering it, experiencing its architecture, giving things their meaning, and space its definite content. In its deeper essence, the university cannot be explained only in the terms of analytical approach. Not only because its idea of the “spirit of Tartu” embraces the pillars of the temple, opens itself again and again through the spirit of times and its utopias, but because of an understanding that texts here are often metaphorical, related to the semantic space of art and connecting both their creators and recipients with the many-layered and ever-changing nature of reception. Art as interpreted by Winckelmann – as Madame de Staël wrote about it – points to ideals which in the perfection of their nature exist as a primeval picture (*Urbild*), not outside ourselves but in our own fantasies.¹² Thus it seems suitable to recall what Goethe has said: “Reading Winckelmann we not only learn something but become something”.¹³ Just as in Piranesi’s etchings so admired by the great thinker, the truth of neoclassicism opens itself not just in measurable proportions but in the immeasurable – *das Unmessbare*.¹⁴

⁹ See also Juhan Maiste, “Klassitsism ja tõde”, *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi*, 17 (1–2) (2008), 7–17.

¹⁰ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik, I* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), 92, cited in: Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2000), 20.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² Udo Kultermann, *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte. Der Weg einer Wissenschaft* (München: Prestel, 1996), 60.

¹³ Ingrid Kreutzer, *Studien zu Winckelmanns Ästhetik. Normativität und historisches Bewusstsein* (Berlin, Akad.-Verlag, 1959), 16.

¹⁴ Hugh Honour, *Neo-classicism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), 54.

THE UNIVERSITY IN TIME

Past expands into future, according to Henri Bergson, to whom the existence of a conscious being meant change, change meant ripening, ripening endless self-creation.¹⁵ The Augustinian truth described by Bergson has been adopted by the majority of the “memory theoreticians” of the end of the 20th century. Antiquity in time and in space is not and cannot ever be ready and finished; its “laudation and consecration” is an act which, once having taken place, requires constant ritualistic renewal. It is not possible to describe volatility in an immanent form. Every conclusion reached about the university as an aesthetic self by any of the “members of the honourable jury” is destined to be re-evaluated. For heritage protection as we understand it today starts not from things but from their meanings.

Meanings create values. Values in their turn form a basis for decisions which are a prerequisite for our description of the journey we lead from the past into the future. Writing today about the *alma mater*, we bear in mind what has been as well as what will be; and what can be changes according to changing circumstances, as it always has. Along with first-hand memory, which recalls things as they were, there also exists another memory speaking to us of events as we have seen them; besides this second memory, however, there is a third one, which places facts in a certain order on the most significant rungs of being. To understand Tartu, we must open locked doors and break codes, speak of memory, instead of antiquities, both in its mnemonic (*la memoire*) and souvenir (*le souvenir*)¹⁶ sense, making it possible to speak of the *alma mater* as a cosmos bordered by both the thinking intellect and a thinking space, as Yuri Lotman has put it,¹⁷ thus generating the necessity not only of a new way of thinking but also of a new meta-language.

The space which opens itself in the spiritual field of the university is rich in the meanings of the past and also of expectations for the future. The university in the unchanging field of neoclassicism, as it has been usually described, is but one part of the spiritual extent of Tartu. Free and independent beauty (*pulchritudo vaga*), existing beside beauty as a general norm (Kant’s *pulchritudo adhaerens*), offers a possibility of remembering, which is the basis of our intellect testing itself through a cognitive

¹⁵ Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, ed. by Keith Ansell Pearson, Michael Kolkman, Michael Vaughan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 20ff.

¹⁶ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. by K. Blamey, D. Pellauer (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 22.

¹⁷ Юрий Лотман, “Культура как субъект и сама-себе объект”, Юрий Лотман, *Избранные статьи в трех томах*, Том 3 (Таллин, 1993), 372.

experience, broadening memory as a cluster of meanings expanding spontaneously and independently from the past into the future and picking for that purpose not only hothouse roses but also all other flowers – whatever their species or family.

Memory – as enacted by our phenomenological experience¹⁸ – enables us not only to recall things but also to change them according to our imagination (*Einbildungskraft*), liberating linguistic history as an expression of prose and also history as an understanding of a poetical text which, as we remember, according to Aristotle means the poet's freedom to speak not only of what happened but also of what might have happened.¹⁹ Besides iconic memory based on the idea of similarity and copying, attention is turned to memory as a fresh and authentic experience as full of secrets and expectation as a new pearl shell just brought up from the ocean bottom by pearl fishers.

Memory takes care of both our past and our future, enabling us not only to recall things and events but also to change them according to our imagination. The central position of memory that we recognize in the philosophical world of today is related to the same principles as beauty. Thus – whether we want it or not – memory is, despite all its conventional rules (to remember, for example, the normative truth of classical art as understood by Immanuel Kant), selective and objective, preserving the emotions and experience given us through our senses, which have left their traces in us. Along with a Greek temple, we remember the smell of flowers, a kiss in a twilight park, the feeling of dark horror which seizes us in the alleys of an English park leading into darkness (Edmund Burke). Along with Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the borders of our aesthetic decisions are still set by a treatment dealt with by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten in his *Aesthetica* (1750).

GENIUS LOCI

Returning from here to the questions at the beginning of the article – “what is memory about?” and “whose memory is it?” – we shall, having shed

¹⁸ The notion of phenomenology is in this article used above all in its metaphorical (literary) meaning which thus exceeds the framework of strict scholarly vocabulary and leaves aside its different philosophical interpretations beginning with E. Husserl and finishing with R. Ingarden's treatment.

¹⁹ Aristotle, *On Poetry and Style*, trans. by G. M. Grube (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1987), 18.

light upon the second question, turn back for a moment to the first one. Along with genius, Tartu also speaks of *genius loci*, the spirit of the place, which, appearing as a notion already present in the Latin literary tradition, has found an awakening in values Christian Norberg-Schulz has applied in architecture.²⁰ The place, the locus, speaks of times that no longer have to exist physically. Place is the alternative of space and brings the most abstract theses, the facts purest in style and the most eloquent icons out of their cloister-like closeness, “breaking the opinion based on Ranke that it is possible to restore the past, assuming that facts are something primary, existing outside the researcher and before the analysis. They are given”.²¹ The abstract will open up in the pictorial concreteness of the *imago*, in what makes the outside visible,²² being born anew in every viewer’s eyes. No new narrative (history) – however long, however exhaustive – will replace the touch of *genius loci*. Architecture creates stage wings for the university, erects the *orchestra* and the *scene*, so to speak, but leaves at the very moment the performance starts.

To write a history we need facts; to understand the facts we need time and space, which denote, along the distaff trajectory, the actual content – colour, smell and taste – of phenomena described thus far only in general categories. Going back in time, we remember mostly neither time nor space nor a geometrical abstraction of what has been, but places. While space has a tendency to form a general framework, place has the value of singleness; it is what we remember; place gives a landscape its emotional context, and changes an iconic environment into a meaningful one, not only for someone else or for everybody else but for ourselves. A life full of memories gives life the sign of memory or souvenirs. For we remember things or situations and landscapes born of their joint effect, not because they remind us of a quadrangle or a square, or three-dimensional space in a more general sense, but because of a certain very concrete perception, an experience, or because we wait for them.

In Tartu two very characteristic cultural human rudiments meet. If permitted, I would connect the first of them with the Celtic “crooked line” and the tradition of the picturesque grown out of it, together with the

²⁰ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980).

²¹ Юрий Лотман, “Изъявление Господне или азартная игра?”, *Ю. М. Лотман и тартуско-московская семиотическая школа*, сост. А. Кошелев (Москва, 1994), 353.

²² William. J. Thomas Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 42.

romantic park and intuitive search for the truth; and the other with Greek logic – Pythagorean arithmetic and Euclidean geometry, which has made people since time immemorial plan marketplaces and agoras, has made them build systems with the help of ropes and measures which filter order out of chaos, and give order a meaning, both as a method of thinking and as visual language. Beautiful is that to which nothing can be added and nothing can be taken away – this is the message which since the days of Alberti has determined the locus of reception and ideology for classical art in the formation of European cultures.²³

Compared with several other Hanseatic towns (including Tallinn), Tartu has borne a stamp of regularity from the beginning.²⁴ The period of the Swedish reign added a belt of bastions to the town, which became one of the prerequisites of the development plans after the Great Northern War, when the idea of building Tartu into a castle town was still alive.²⁵ According to the plan of a castle town, confirmed by Catherine II in 1763,²⁶ Tartu included public and military buildings, as well as civilian houses, both in the centre of the town and in its newly planned parts. Tartu is an example of the Russian politics of the West, a bridgehead between two Romes – the old and the new – which blends the principle of strategic defence as the ideological message of the empire with plans for cultural evolution in the spirit of the Enlightenment, offering Catherine II, born an Anhalt-Zerbst princess, the opportunity to transfer the European town-building model into the reality of Russia's own Western province.

The background of Tartu is formed by the towns restored after the Seven Years' War (1756–63) in Germany, the Huguenot town-building principle adopted from France that became the bourgeois ideology of building towns.²⁷ The most important building in the centre of Tartu is its Town Hall, used also as a law court and a prison (*das gewesene Hofgericht*). Right

²³ Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450–1600* (New York, London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 15.

²⁴ See the plan of Tartu by Dr. Richard Ottow: Dorpat am Ende der bischöflichen Zeit etwa um 1540 bis 1560 (Estonian Historical Archives [Ajaloorhiiv, EAA], 2623-1-118).

²⁵ Kaur Altoa, "Von der Burg zur Festung", *Kunst und Architektur im Baltikum in der Schwedenzeit und andere Studien zur baltischen Kunstgeschichte. 11th Conference on Baltic Studies in Scandinavia, 12. Homburger Gespräch*, ed. by A. Loit, L. O. Larsson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), 179–186.

²⁶ See the plan of the Tartu military quarters designed on 22 October 1772 (EAA, 995-1-6846, 1, map explication).

²⁷ Willi Stubevoll, *Die deutschen Hugenottenstädte* (Frankfurt am Main: Umschau, 1990), 27ff.

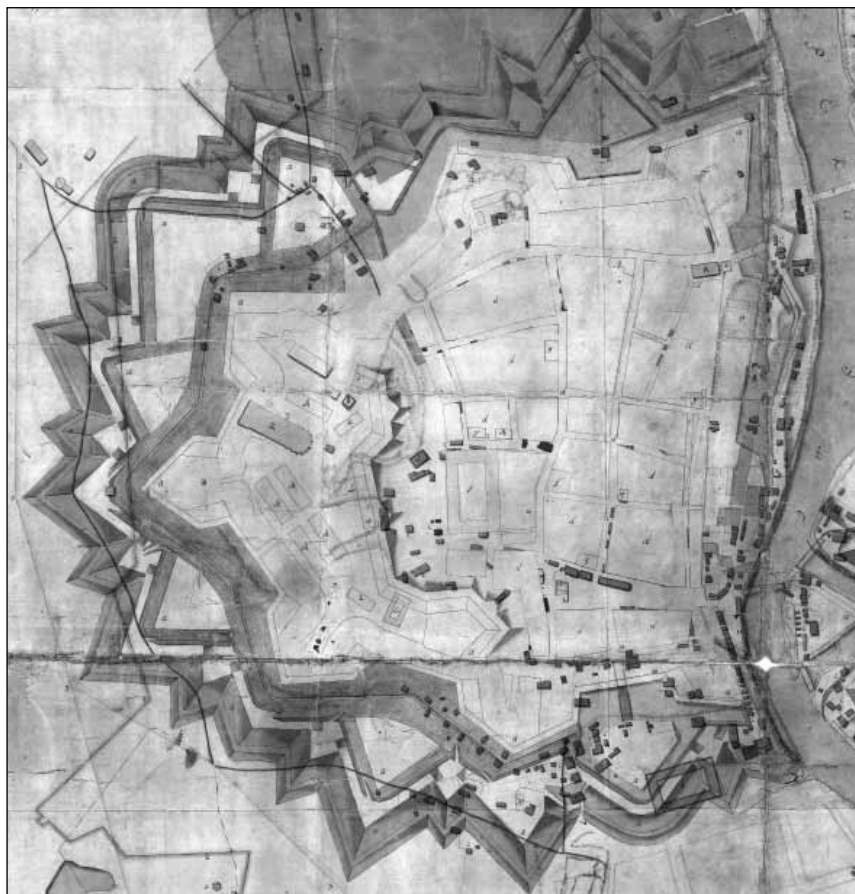


Fig. 1. Detail of the plan of town fortifications for Tartu, 1772 (Estonian Historical Archives, 995-1-6846, 1).

next to the Town Hall, a new town hall had to be built and a few steps on was the covered “German market”. On the other side of the existing town hall was the commandant’s house. Together those buildings provided a new vista for designing a new and bigger square to replace the earlier marketplace. The frontage of the square was to be formed by the houses of the citizens; somewhat further away were the chancery, the gymnasium, the *die Corps de guardie*, warehouses for provisions, and an artillery laboratory (*Artillierien Laboratorium*). As seen in the town plan, the intention was to replenish and extend the town, thus establishing a belt of earth fortifications started in the Swedish reign, including on the northern riverbank and in the redoubt area of the southern riverbank opposite the later Stone



Fig. 2. Plan of Tartu 1775. The future university buildings are shown on the plan (Estonian Historical Archives 995-1-6842, 4).

Bridge. The plan was to build the arsenals, barracks, and warehouses of the military prison in the centre of town and on Toome Hill – buildings whose foundations the university and the town later took great trouble in clearing away. Along the banks of the river, there was a row of net sheds and boathouses which, as noted on the map, belonged to civilians.

The plan to build a town-fortification came to an end with the fire that ravished the town in 1775. As seen in the plans of the same year of rebuilding Tartu,²⁸ the situation had radically changed. Instead of a military town, a civilian centre was to be built which borrowed its aesthetic programme from the town-building reform that Catherine II initiated in 1783 as the source of local initiative. As seen in the plan, the crooked streets so characteristic of medieval times were straightened, cutting pieces of land off property and tearing down the walls of ruined houses. The town had to become something more than anyone dared to think at first: an Athens on the banks of the River Emajõgi, an ideal town like Campanella's or Thomas More's, a Rome called Athens in the 16th century and,

²⁸ EAA, 995-1-6842, 4.

after Dresden, the most distant “Athens” in Europe. Tartu became open to classical culture and a thirst for classicism, its code for town-building is a world about which Adam Oeser and Johann Joachim Winckelmann had dreamt on the terraces of Brühl.

The light of the humanistic era seeped in through the windows of the new houses of the new time, which, having been boosted by the Empress’ enthusiasm for the encyclopaedia, knowledge and everything Voltaire-like, brought a new spirit to the meadows of the River Emajõgi, together with its visual counterpart in architecture. Masters from the newly awakened German towns arrived in Tartu – from Kiel, Stettin and Dresden. The town grew and flourished right under the eyes of its citizens. The Empress donated to Tartu the Stone Bridge and the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1786 Tartu was erased from the list of fortified towns and was thus open to new directions of development. On the one hand, Tartu is severe and extremely restricted. On the other hand, it is vital and playful. Along with the straight line, Tartu is also subject to the circle and ellipse; the *Zopfstil* of the façades here competes with the Greek taste showing itself at times, revealing, along with the stamp of “noble simplicity and calm grandeur”, a tendency towards the spectacular. The soul of Tartu is composed of *vistas*, picturesque views in the spirit of the Vedutist art of the time, which perhaps even at that time was borne in mind. The opposite side of the town’s aesthetic appeal is shaped by nature – the high slopes leading to the bishop’s castle and the river. Water flowed in the moats as late as the end of the 18th century. The newly planned streets all ended at the river.²⁹ The river was both a vein of traffic and a sight giving expression to the whole town. It is not possible to imagine Tartu without the river. The Stone Bridge across the river was a sign, the iconic meaning of which points both to the triumphal arches of Rome and to the ambitions of the third Rome of finding new life in the awakening Western provinces of the empire, in the commonly understood language of memory.

Tartu grew and flourished, extending outside its traditional boundaries, covering the former grassy areas, territories of former pastures and meadows, connecting the horse market (*Pferdemarkt*) on the northern bank of the river with the planned grounds of the St Petersburg road, “Pepler’s lands” with the Riga road. Tartu is an architectural whole built according to a uniform idea and plan which, having begun in the historical centre grew along the banks of the River Emajõgi as a succession of regularly

²⁹ See plan of Tartu from 1813–14. Made on the basis of the 1787 plan (EAA, 2623-1-2049, 15).

planned grounds and quarters.³⁰ Beauty meant progress, the method of the latter was order and its weapon was discipline, which, together with the foundation of the teaching of order denoted transference of the Vitruvian *eurythmia* and *symmetria* into town-building. Thirst for a utopia still permitted thought to wander, to take flight for a moment and – however unbelievable it may seem – to mark on the town plan of 1775, over the ruins of the St Mary’s Church, a surprising thing: a place for the future university (*Projekt zum Universitätsgebäude*).³¹

THE UNIVERSITY BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY

It is difficult to say today when and how exactly the university came back to Tartu. Preparations were well under way about ten years before the reopening. As early as 1792, the Livonian nobility applied to Catherine II for permission to restore the university. At the 1798 consultations of the representatives of the three Baltic nobilities in Jelgava (Mitau), the advantages of Jelgava (the buildings and library of the Academia Petriana) at the time were pointed out. Nevertheless, the Senate preferred Tartu because of its central location. The statutes of the Tartu Protestant university were compiled and presented to Paul I to be signed.³² According to the plan signed on 4 May 1799 by the Emperor, the university was to be responsible for inviting professors, taking care of the university property and, above all, for founding the university ensemble, for which, according to the sixth paragraph of the statutes, an architect was to be employed. The establishing of a professorship of aesthetics was also planned. The new university had to open a library, a centre of natural sciences, an observatory, a collection of mathematical and physical instruments, a hospital with six hospital beds, a chemistry laboratory, and a manège for eight horses.³³

The planned ensemble was to cover areas both in the town centre and on Toome Hill, which was a big portion of the historical town and meant clearing away ruins from one place and building new structures in another place. As seen in the plan signed on 7 October 1799 by F. W. B. von Schottenstein, the land surveyor of the Riga Province, the land given to the university (*dieses Stück ist zur Universität abgegeben*) was on the

³⁰ EAA, 995-1-6842, 4.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² *Tartu ülikooli ajalugu*, 2, 1798–1918, toim. Karl Siilivask (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1982), 33–34.

³³ EAA, 402-4-1.

former spot of the St Mary's Church and its near surroundings (*Publ. Wüster Schwedisher Marien Kirchen Platz*³⁴) as well as the empty plot of the former university printing house and the house of the Swedish Commandant (*Publ. Wüster Platz der ehemaligen Universitäts Buchdruckerey und des Schwedischen Commendanten Hauses*). From there, a traffic junction and central square formed next to the old Town Hall Square marked the start of both the road from the church to the market place (*Gasse von der lutherischen Kirche und dem Gerichts Hause nach dem Markt*) and the streets branching from it (*Gasse nach der orthodox griechischen Kirche, die neu abgestochene Gasse* and *Gasse nach Fleisch Scheunen*).³⁵

According to the Imperial provision signed on 7 December 1799 (here and hereafter the dates are given according to the Julian calendar) in the Riga Castle,³⁶ the nobilities of Livonia and Courland were ordered to form a university curatory, so the following members were nominated: Otto von Transehe (later Count G. A. von Manteuffel) and his deputy G. S. von Brasch from the Livonian Nobility; C. G. Von Baranoff and his deputy Baron J. F. Ungern Sternberg from the Estonian nobility; and J. U. von Grotthus and his deputy O. V. Mirbach from the nobility of Courland. The curatory made several important decisions connected with founding and building the university. On 13 July 1800 the Dome Square (*Domplatz*), together with the former area of the Swedish Church (*Schwedische Kirchenplatz*), was assigned to the future university economy councillor (*Oekonomie Verwalter*).³⁷ On 21 July the town asked to be relieved of responsibility for the expensive barracks and other commercial buildings near the Dome Church and this appeal was accepted and included in the plans of the future university ensemble on 28 July 1800.³⁸ The plan shows the Toome area before the beginning of great changes. The bastions have not been straightened yet, and storehouses, barracks, the *Luftröhre*, smithy and the gunpowder cellar can be seen next to the cathedral.

³⁴ St Mary's Church.

³⁵ Geometrischen Charte von der Kreisstadt Dorpat. 1787. Copied in 1799 by Christian David Sengbusch (EAA, 402-10-109).

³⁶ EAA, 402-4-1.

³⁷ EAA 402-4-2, 2–3. Übersicht des der Kaiser Universität zu Dorpt allergnädigt donirten Doms und dessen Appertinentien zu folge des allerhöchst bestätigten vom gen: Gouv: und Ritter von Nagel durch die Pernau Dorpt Oeconomie-Verwaltung den 28 Julius 1800 eingewiesenen Plans

Revidirt und aufgemessen vom 10ten bis 22. Junius 1803. von dem bestätigten zweyten Ritterschafts Revisor Herrn Andr Gott Seck und nach den 26 Jun: c: a: geschehenen officiellen Respicirung berechnet und eingetheilet. (EAA, 2100-11-133, 13).

³⁸ EAA, 402-10-119, 1.

And this was the place for the *alma mater*! As Krause has written in his memoirs, this pasture and pig sty, the area where the townspeople brought their garbage, was now the site of the future temple of education. As early as 28 October 1800, the master mason Lange received an order to gather all the bigger stones (*Feldsteine*) fit for future building from the church area and the moats. Purchases of building materials followed. The first known purchase – 40,000 bricks – was made on 27 October 1800 and the bricks were brought from the Vastse-Kuuste manor, which belonged to the land councillor Richter.³⁹ On 30 October planks, boards and rafters for the future manege were bought. On 10 December 1800 the court councillor Liphart from the Raadi manor made a bid to sell 150,000 stones, and on 11 December a bid from Igelström from Käravere followed. Tests of brick-making heat and format were demanded of every bid.

Many things were planned. On 24 June 1800 the curatory discussed the problems of building the Anatomy Theatre, asking Professors Balk and Stöhle, who had already arrived in Tartu to present their proposals.⁴⁰ On the same day and at the same meeting, Cornet von Taube, employed as a riding teacher, presented the curatory with a project for a stone manège (instead of which the curatory, on 5 April, decided to build a smaller wooden house). The manège building was planned to be built in the former moat, in front of the old courtins (*der Platz in Graven alten Festungswerke vor der Curtine*), in the place shown by the master carpenter Eisenschmidt and the groom Weber.⁴¹

On 5 December 1800 the Head of the university curatory, Baron Ungern-Sternberg, proposed to build an observation platform on the western tower of the cathedral, for which purpose he also had plans made. Regarding the university as a whole, this noteworthy document says the following: “Merchant Ganger, who was a building specialist and loved astronomy, called for drawing a project for building an observatory on the tower of the old Dome” (*Kaufmann Ganger der ein bauterständiger und zugleich ein Liebhaber der Astronomie frei angefordert habe einen Riss zu einer Sternwarte auf dem Turme der alten Domkirche zu entwerfen*).⁴² Almost at the same time, negotiations started with the horticulturist Schmidt, who was, on 30 July 1800, elected the head of the future botanical gardens,

³⁹ EAA, 402-4-3, 27.

⁴⁰ EAA, 402-4-9, 2ff.

⁴¹ EAA, 402-4-8, 24.

⁴² *Ibidem*, 48.

compelling him to start work on 1 May 1801.⁴³ By 1 November 1800, the master builder Lange presented the designs for the future greenhouse of the university botanical garden, with precise calculations both for the building's fieldstone walls and brick roof. The building was to be ready by Michaelmas Day 1801.⁴⁴

As there was a wish to start tuition as soon as possible,⁴⁵ the curatory decided either to buy or rent rooms in the town. On 16 July 1800 the von Rosen stone house beside the boarding house for noblewomen (*dessen haus an dem Stifthause belegen und von Stein erbaut sey mit den dazugehörigen Platze zum Universitätsgebäude für eine Kaufsumme 20.000 R. anzubieten*) was bought. On 21 July a lease was signed with the town secretary Karl Ludwig Schultz, who allowed the university to use his stone house with all its outbuildings for an annual rent of 1,200 roubles. On 14 August the university also received permission to use the halls of the living area in Land-Marshal J. F. von Ungern-Sternberg's house next to the Town Hall Square, together with a kitchen, coach house and new stables for four horses (*die Mittlere oder belle Etage mit allen in selbiger befindlichen Säälen, Zimmern und gelegenheiten ohne Ausnahmen, ingleichen mit neuen Stallhause auf vier Pferde im grossen Stall, und Equipagen raum in der Remise auf dem Hofe wie auch mit dem Gemeinschaft hiesigen Gebrauch einer Küche*).⁴⁶

The university had to start functioning at once. The owner of the Saare manor, Magnus Johann von Bock, allowed the university to use his house on the property next to St Mary's Church, between Sepa, Maarja and Kraemerstrasse Streets. The construction of the house had been begun by its former owner Christina Wilcke after the 1775 fire. By 1780 the house was basically completed.⁴⁷ The master mason was J. H. B. Walther (also the builder of the Tartu Town Hall). The house was 147 Rhein feet in length and 45 Rhein feet in width (the same measures as today). As was the habit of those days, there were vaulted cellars under the house, above which there were also partly vaulted rooms for housekeeping, including a big kitchen and, above it, a floor for festive occasions (*bel étage*) with daubed

⁴³ EAA, 402-4-11, 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 41.

⁴⁵ One of the reasons certainly was the continuing competition with Mitau where the university was in fact transferred temporarily from 25 December 1800 till 24 May 1801. About the university in Mitau see EAA, 402-4-13.

⁴⁶ EAA, 402-4-3, 3.

⁴⁷ Russian State Military Archive [Российский государственный военный архив, RGVA], 349-12-4685.

walls and beautifully ornamented ceilings (*auf das Beste mit Mörtel und Gips so wohl die Wände alee Laagen oder Decken gezieret*).⁴⁸

The university planned to add a library, a room for public debate, and lecture halls. To provide a worthy ambience, artists and master painters were employed to paint the house in a black-and-white checkered pattern, starting from the main staircase, and meant to match the ceilings of the upper floor designed by the stucco master (*à la arabesque*). In the first room the walls were covered with flower-patterned wallpaper, and wallpaper with three big mural landscapes. In the second room, the walls were painted light yellow and the panels light green. In the main hall, with its five big windows, the solution was even more festive: the walls were covered with an arabesque pattern, the ceiling was of white plaster (*von Weissen Gyps*), and the two beautiful stoves were of white glazed tiles.⁴⁹ Art supported architecture and both stood together for the academic self-esteem of the *alma mater*, which was gaining strength hour by hour.

A NEW UNIVERSITY IN NEW EUROPE

While the university was being built, Europe was undergoing a change, what beside the metropolis brought the periphery, previously unimportant and forgotten, on the cultural map. Education meant a new view not only of the past, but also of the future, connecting the whole world from the Baltic countries to Scandinavia, and from Russia to America, which until then had remained far from the epicentre of spiritual and material evolution. The University of Tartu was formed at a time when universities were built in Amherst, Helsinki, Oslo, Kasan, Virginia. The re-opening of the *alma mater* at the beginning of the 19th century marked not only an evolution of education and science but also the invasion of a space with new borders and artefacts.

Looking at the university buildings, we feel that we are standing near the sources of classical culture, and at the same time far outside its range, on the brink of the world – in St Mary’s land, a border zone which, with its peculiar and often very controversial fate, has caused tension within the framework of classical harmony, within its inner circle, lending many universal values its local stamp. And *vice versa!* The university’s border is in many ways also the border of Estonian culture, which in today’s

⁴⁸ EAA, 995-1-5386, 1–9.

⁴⁹ EAA, 402-4-3, 92.

borderless Europe stands, despite everything, because of values preserved in the historical memory of that culture. The spiritual space of the university is borne by the ideas of spiritual revolution of its founders, which led Europe, after revolutions and wars, to new paths, supplying it with a new cultural map, self-perception and values.

THE UNIVERSITY AS LIGHT

One of the first meanings we experience in Tartu is light. Light involves a challenge, a prerogative for finding the town's inner self and the university within the circle, in the centre of it all. Light sets us on the path of concretely defining the university ensemble in the town space. It also receives us in front of the university pillars, lures us on a mysterious trip under the ancient trees of Toome Hill, where light is everywhere, accompanied by its ancient counterpart – shadow. Staying within the range of light means answering a far-off yearning call, appreciated programmatically by the founder of that light. For, as Krause said when laying the cornerstone of the main building in 1805: “light, truth and welfare are the aims of our concern. In a confusion of circumstances caused by time, wild fighting among peoples, bloody differences, self-interest and oppression, upholding our surviving pride, the wise man says: May there be light in the hut! May the false glitter substitute for cultural decline, may the low and the high stand at one level, may the strong support the weak, and may there everywhere be readiness to promote recognised truths and good”.⁵⁰

At the beginning of the 19th century, light marked the continuing breath of the Enlightenment, the unshaken belief of the founders of the university that by imposing an aesthetic truth it is possible to solve all the complicated problems of the times and of humanity. Light had to differentiate the university from the town, to bring forth the pillared porch, moving lands and opening vistas. The new reality created in the rays of light formed the identity of Tartu and still does today, modelling architectural details and designing streets, lending a new quality to the environment which changes the yearning for beauty as a comprehensive language in our subconscious into a communicative and complex articulated text.⁵¹

⁵⁰ J. W. Krause, *Einige Worte bey der Legung des Grundsteines zum Hauptgebäude der Kaiserl. Universität gesprochen von Johann Wilhelm Krause, Professor, d. Z. Baudirektor* (Dorpat, 1805), 6.

⁵¹ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916), cited in Linnar Priimägi, “Semiosfääri piir”, *Acta semiotica Estica* (2007), 17.

“To get more light to the street side and to gain a better view of the main façade, he sacrificed some of the plots for an extension of the busy street, placed a wall that formed a borderline and shifted the front 48 feet back from it.”⁵² The building encompassed the walls of St Mary’s Church or, as this area was called on a university plan of 1799, “the public Swedish St Mary’s place”.⁵³ *Scientia nobilissima* and *corrispondenza alle parti*⁵⁴ – as the renaissance theoreticians have written about it, denotes in Tartu a parade of ancient rules of harmony, a visible expression of Vitruvius’ architectural rules – *ordinatio*, *dispositio* and *eurythmia* – and their unity. “Very becoming is the Dorian order, which from its embellished foundation projects only by the width of the wall, and the pedestals stand out only as much as the pillars together with the pilasters behind them require. Their axes emanate from the Vitruvian aestyle measure [...] the variety of façades and embellishments is not random but an experiment to see how all parts match with one another”, as Krause has written.⁵⁵

Order and order architecture conquering chaos “made it possible to have enough symmetry not to damage the pleasant general impression or to reduce the impression of strength or to disturb the harmony of the large wall pillars placed at intervals of 13 1/2 inches. [...] they were placed directly on the floor with the plinth and without any foundation, so the thickness of the shaft distributed more evenly in height, adding stateliness, while not deviating from the rules. In this way the entablature acquired more added grace”.⁵⁶ Light makes the itinerary within the university ensemble not only more varied but also more melodious. Following light, feelings will appear from our subconscious and thoughts will line up; it is light that marks our path in Tartu. Whoever gets lost in Tartu will find a cause for living and make friends, following the movement of light between morning and night.

The university vibrates, and the mathematical principle of its architecture brings the whole ensemble forth as a composition, making visible the wisdom of the ancients (Pliny the Elder) about light creating meaning and acting thus as a source of harmony in the arts. Light in the peristyle

⁵² Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, University of Tartu Library, Collections of Rare Books and Manuscripts [Käsikirjade ja haruldaste raamatute osakond, TÜR KHO], 9-1-28.

⁵³ EAA, 402-10-128.

⁵⁴ D. H. Feinstein, “Palladio und das Problem der Musikalischen Proportionen in der Architektur”, *Palladio. Werk und Wirkung*, ed. by Erik Forssmann (Freiburg: Rombach, 1997), 83.

⁵⁵ EAA, 402-5-14, 117p.

⁵⁶ TÜR KHO, 9-1-29, 12.

of *auditorio maxima* gives a spatial measure to the pillars after the example of Vignola's *Regula*. Through light, space opens itself as eloquent and sonorous melody, offering an attentive listener opportunities to find harmony "in the breath of the metaphysical criteria of beauty"⁵⁷, shedding light not only through measurable geometrical zones but also in the way those people have written who have not been trying to explain art but have created it.

We move in the university space as in a temple. To understand Tartu, we need to rise high above its cobble streets paved with facts, to follow art history from the height where "a good painter inwardly full of figures [...] pours forever forth something new from the inner ideas of which Plato writes".⁵⁸ And then rise in time and space to where the sun rises and sets⁵⁹ and where the presumable "presence of the god is in itself the extension and delimitation of the precinct as a holy precinct".⁶⁰

As much as the dictates of classicism define the romantic call of the essential Tartu space, free verse alongside the rhymed text started from the imaginary architectural fantasies of Ledoux and Boullée, architects of the time of the French Revolution, which the university architect – Johann Wilhelm Krause not only knew but often also copied.⁶¹ While in Krause's architecture the 18th century resounds clearly, his treatment of the town space answers, on the contrary, the taste of the new era, being inspired by new ideas of freedom, which meant not only a parade or procession of house-fronts (as we can guess about the town rebuilt after the 1775 fire)⁶², certainly not typical façades according to the demands of the state, but the power of free and creative fantasy which makes our university unique in our town-building practices, placing it in the meaningful framework of nature as a liberating power and as a source of inspiration found by a genius, as described by Kant. Enjoying independent beauty, along with a

⁵⁷ Erwin Panofsky, *Dürers Kunsttheorie. Vornehmlich in ihrem Verhältnis zur Kunsttheorie der Italiener* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1915), 79.

⁵⁸ Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton University Press, 2005), 280.

⁵⁹ W. Davis, "Winckelmann Divided: Mourning the Death of Art History", *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Donald Preziosi (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 47.

⁶⁰ Heidegger, "The Origin of the Work of Art", 45.

⁶¹ Juhan Maiste, "Johann Wilhelm Krause ja ajastu arhitektuuripilt", *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828. Kataloog 2*, 53ff.

⁶² Helmi Üprus, "Tartu varaklassitsistlik arhitektuur (a. 1775–1800)", *Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli toimetised 229. Tõid kunstiajaloo alalt 1*, toim. Voldemar Vaga (Tartu, 1969), 185–232.

dependent one, which opens itself both on Toome Hill, designed after Wörlitz, the philanthropic example of continental Europe⁶³, and in the folder of graphic sheets depicting the Tartu of the beginning of the 19th century.⁶⁴

The university not only conquers but also liberates, grows out of its framework, as Jyri Vuorinen has stated in the case of another *chef-d'oeuvre* of the time, the Helsinki Cathedral, regarded as characteristic of classicism, and according to the most prominent architect representing classicism in the Northern countries, C. L. Engel, sharing Krause's fate in Estonia.⁶⁵ The university, and classicism in a wider sense, as it opened up at the beginning of the new century of philosophy, no longer sought closed and limited (safe) spaces to find a foothold, but carried in itself – supported by the general ideas of the time – the liberating call of light, which, as Lord Elgin put it, made Lord Byron a discoverer of Greek wonders, offering the opportunity of Greek renaissance architecture through the Arcadian dreams of the Hellenes. And the powerful voice of liberty sounded louder in Tartu than in Helsinki and its university space, making Laocoön's cry poetry and the lyrics of a song, throwing off the chains of slavery as happened in the Virginia of Jefferson's time several decades later.⁶⁶

THE UNIVERSITY AS SHADOW

Per aspera ad astra, was written at the time of the building of the university. Along with classicism, Tartu has a second and even a third soul. This soul glows in its red brick buildings, which, like darkness, oppose the light shed by the dictates of classicism, casting their mystical dark shadows on the ancient Toome Hill, making one stop at the Monument of Nations in the moat, seizing in its grip of memories the one-time St Mary's Church where, as Krause has put it "layers upon layers open graves, tombs, basements, remains, that now send out a forgotten smell until they [builders] reached the untouched Mother Earth."⁶⁷ The iron cold water oozing from

⁶³ Maiste, Polli, Raisma, *Alma Mater Tartuensis*, 228ff.

⁶⁴ For more detail see: Voldemar Vaga, *Kunst Tartus XIX sajandil* (Tallinn: Kunst, 1971).

⁶⁵ Jyri Vuorinen, *Estetiikan klassikoita* (Helsinki: SKS, 1993), 188–189. The author of this article agrees only partly to this claim. The cathedral is chrestomatic only on the level of the classicist morphological project but not on the level of emotion in art. Its important part is not only the Vitruvian message of architecture but also light which makes the biggest Northern temple metaphysically impressive through the light changing with hours and even minutes.

⁶⁶ David Watkin, *A History of Western Architecture* (London: King, 1992), 369ff.

⁶⁷ TÜR KHO, 9-1-28, 37.

the excavations made the builders stop constantly and think that reaching light always meant a victory over darkness. “Chaos” – was the word Krause found suitable to describe the situation.

The university rose in the middle of ruins into a town centre centuries old; its horror is exposed in dark autumn nights in the town’s subconscious, when gusts of wind chill one’s blood in front of the Greek pillars and make one inquire about the deeper meaning and existential values of life. Along with birth and hope, a feeling that all that is earthly is perishable is constantly present in Tartu. The university breathes in the same rhythm as seasons: the key to its sublime beauty is found in verses read by Krause at the festivity of the lifting of the rafters of the Dome Church. The architect’s thought moves along the metaphysical surface of dreams. The university in Tartu means white columns, a temple on Toome Hill, where it was first planned that the university would be located. The Dome Church was meant once again to become a cathedral, a temple which, similarly to Strasbourg, Chartres or Milano (which Krause hints at in his poem) blends the greatness of the past with the starry path to the future, and the future with the source of all human knowledge, an encyclopaedic library, and the library with a place of worship (a project which remained unrealized in that form). “Have a look! A wonderful work has been built on the old and venerable tower that brings you fame, God bless you!” (*Aufgeschaut! Hoch ist erbaut das Werk des Alten und Ehrwürdigen Thum dir bleibt dein Ruhm, Mag. Gott dir Seegen verleihen*), wrote Krause.⁶⁸

A yearning for light and clarity born from the reception of antiquity stands confronted with the darker layers of the soul in the philosophical park on Toome Hill. It speaks of Tartu as one of the first examples of neogothic style, where the desire for the *gloria* of the past is connected with addressing the dark German soul, as G. Herder and J. W. Goethe spoke of it in 1772, when they met under the metaphysical vaults of Strasbourg, wrote odes to its builder Erwin von Steinbach and sighed for the metaphysical and the inexplicable: “How often have I returned, from all sides, from all distances in all lights, to contemplate its dignity and his magnificence. It is hard on the spirit of man when his brother’s work is so sublime that he can only bow and worship”.⁶⁹ In Tartu the poetry of

⁶⁸ J. W. Krause, *Bau-Rede beyrn Richten des Daches des Kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu Dorpat* (Dorpat, 1804).

⁶⁹ Johann Wilhelm Goethe, *Von der deutschen Baukunst* (1773), cited in Johann Wilhelm Goethe, “On German Architecture (1772)”, *Goethe on Art*, ed. and trans. by John Gage (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 107.

Sturm und Drang poets also resounds, making a utopia into a dream, giving wings to a thought born from the twilight unconscious, “bringing the ancient beast out of the horrible caves of the triglyphs”.⁷⁰

Besides norm and form, the notion of the sublime is very important when describing Tartu: a revolution of spirit, a yearning call of melancholy for Arcadian expanses and the sadness of the Elysian fields. Paradise in the spirit of the classicist utopias is connected to the inevitability of losing it and this feeling expresses itself in the crowns of the old trees and the longing light of the sunset glow, as romantic souls had written a hundred years before.⁷¹ “There it [architecture – J. M.] piles bouffant masses into protecting walls and vaults with great skill, the ... enormous cellars and gray rooms [...] daring at once to take a bold jump from one bank to another, letting the blaring sound of waters from the gorge rise and recede in the deeps”, Krause says in the *venia legendi* he held at the university.⁷²

Krause is a poet, romantic both in his philosophy of life and the grasp of his art.⁷³ The lines of poetry he read in the light of torches at the festive occasion of lifting the rafters of the Dome Church while it was being converted to a library, are full of a desire to rise higher in his soul, to blend Apollonian wisdom with “the will of genius”, the definable through the rules of classicism with the indefinable which calls again and again to seek for a connection between art as visual language and art as the noblest ideal of the spirit. The majority of what we appreciate today has been written in the form of poetry. Not only in the classical meaning of *pictora poesis*, but in the sense of the freedom of soul based on Kant, which permits one to decide about the world according to one’s own contemplative recognition. Holiness in Tartu means being a bridge between two cultural paradigms – order and chaos. It is just along the borderline between those two that Tartu poets walk.

A characterization by Christian Norberg-Schulz of the Age of Enlightenment as a “trap between sense and sensibility”⁷⁴ marks the drama of Tartu,

⁷⁰ TÜR KHO, 9-1-29, 12.

⁷¹ Of J. W. Krause as a bearer of the romantic tradition of the period see: Kadi Polli, “Eelromantism Johann Wilhelm Krause loomingus”, *Johann Wilhelm Krause 1757–1828. Kataloog 1*, 71ff.

⁷² J. W. Krause, *Öconomie und Architectur. Eine Skizze über den wechselseitigen Einfluss derselben auf Gemeinwohl, als Antrittsrede gehalten den 13ten Junius 1803* (Dorpat, 1803), 21.

⁷³ Juhan Maiste, “Johann Wilhelm Krause – teadlane ja poeet 19. sajandi alguse Tartus”, *Kaiserliche Universität Dorpat 200. 370 Academia Gustaviana. Tartu Ülikooli juubel*, ed. by R. Mägi, W. Drechsler (Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2004), 145ff.

⁷⁴ Christian Norberg-Schulz, “The Age of the Late Baroque and Rococo”, Henry A. Mil-

for the explaining of which we need both aspects of the spirit: the rules of logic and meditation, a journey of discovery making variable things similar at first sight, giving support to Goethe's thought that "the more perfect a human being becomes the more different become his parts".⁷⁵ And the more complicated will be the connections between the contrasts of our thinking: light and darkness. Speaking of the university, not only will the heavens open, but also hell in its deepest layers, the poisonous fumes of which lead the trail of thought back to the start of the journey, where light becomes twilight again and where the cawing of crows in the crowns of the old trees on Toome Hill bring to mind Arthur Schopenhauer's thought that "a work of art born of clear thoughts can never be genuine".⁷⁶

THE UNIVERSITY AS POETICAL TEXT

A work of art has often been defined through parallels in poetry. Poetry speaks of things of which painting must keep silent because of the limits of its methods, offering within the tradition of *paragone*, based on the Renaissance era, an opportunity to peek, through the language of poetry, behind the invisible curtains shading the visual system of images. Treating the measurable as a part of an immeasurable generalization, poetry places rhetorical language into the field of psychology,⁷⁷ presents itself in the love of the Greeks for the art of debate and finally opens up in a spontaneous crossfire of thoughts and feelings, which according to the words of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing does not shout in marble but raises a horrible clamour rising to the stars in verse. Why does Laocoön not cry in marble but in poetry?⁷⁸

Not following here a temptation to take sides with one of the described antipodes, I would like to stress the ambiguous character of an aesthetic experience: its love for symmetry and balance, on the one hand, which always stays calm inside, however stormy it is on the surface; and, on the

lon, *The Triumph of Baroque: Architecture in Europe 1600–1750* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 113.

⁷⁵ Cited in Priimägi, "Semiosfääri piir", 22.

⁷⁶ Arthur Schopenhauer, *Kunstidest* (Tartu: Mõte, 2002), 58. Translated from Arthur Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. Zweiter Band.

⁷⁷ Moshe Barasch, *Theories of Art. 1, From Plato to Winckelmann* (New York, London: Routledge, 1985), 165.

⁷⁸ Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. by E. A. McCormick (Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

other hand, the everlasting necessity to break the chains of a canonical truth. In the case of the university, both described powers not only exist but face each other like light and shadow, creating thus a unique tension, which everybody partaking of university life inevitably will feel. To perceive the real extent of the *alma mater*, the imagological truth opening up in pictorial language and finding expression in the pillars and domed buildings, in the architectural composition of brick walls and towers, must be set into the framework of the *catharsis* created by poetry.

The artistic self of Tartu is a cosmos which, concentrating energy around the monads emerging from its general vocabulary, creates a musical composition, composing the work according to the rules of counterpoint and chromatics uniformly accessible to an educated listener, and also leads thought away from all that is describable by one's senses and perceptible by mind. It leads us to a point where art as a phenomenon born in close relationship with its object but being immeasurably bigger and distancing itself from it opens up as a calligramme, the deciphering of which will not bring along the solution of the enigma but will direct our attention away from the object, "to the small space running above the words and below the drawings".⁷⁹ In the ritual act of bursting open a work of art, the one who experiences it will experience a world opening up by hypostases, in which the radiation uncovered step by step speaks of a reflection of the lower in the higher, in the movement of the simple and describable by the eye from the descriptive and stratigraphic level further to the iconographic one and yet further to the iconological one,⁸⁰ until the deeper essence of the work of art will open at the higher levels of reality transferred to us by *psyche* and perceptible outside our senses.⁸¹

In its deeper meaning (and meaning is what the present essay is about), the university is a sequence of artistic metaphors, a text, the spontaneity of which throws itself open in archetypes born from versified language, offering, along with a rational and conceptual ideology, an opportunity to approach its spatial ensemble through methods characteristic of the art of poetry, which Yuri Lotman has divided into semantic and melodi-

⁷⁹ Michael Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe. With illustrations and letters by René Magritte*, trans. and ed. by J. Harkness (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1983), 28–29.

⁸⁰ See Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

⁸¹ Treatment of art as a hierarchic cognitive process is in many respects based on the aesthetic doctrine of Plotinus. See Kevin Corrigan, *Reading Plotinus: A Practical Introduction to Neoplatonism* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press), 2005.



Fig. 3. Johann Carl Simon Morgenstern's home garden (Dorpat im Hausgarten, 1830ies, J. C. S. Morgentern's drawing. Sepia, pencil, black crayon. University of Tartu Library, ÜR 3763).

ous, relating the former to the conditionally intellectual, and the latter to the melodious correlation. The university space, by the way, offers both rich and poor rhymes, which step by step approach non-rhymes, while the number of rhyming sounds decreases.⁸²

In the case of the university, we might theoretically speak of the traditional, meaning rhymed speech, put into a phonetic system and also of a more loosely linked free verse. The former opens up in the parade of classics and the repeated speech of its elements in the representative zone of the university, where repetition means the rhythmic cycle of relatively similar elements, prevailing in classical order architecture based on a modal system in the town-space and before its concrete *mise-en-scènes*. At first sight this carries the viewer away with its melody, coming from under the conductor's baton, but with time it becomes more and more monotonous and tiresome, like the Empire style.

The farther we get from the zone of the main building, the freer becomes the tabulature prescribed by verse, the louder half tones and nuances sound in addition to general principles, offering in their original pauses and nodules in the ensemble of single buildings on Toome Hill an opportunity to enjoy views of the cupolas and bridges seen at the ends of alleys. *Otio et*

⁸² Юрий Лотман, *Структура художественного текста* (Москва, 1970), 151.

musis sacrum was the catch-phrase at first planned for the Inglisild (Angel's Bridge) by the first professor of classical philology, C. Morgenstern (later it was replaced by *Otium reficit vires*).

The university means wisdom inherited from the ancients, general rules which connect the Athens of the River Emajõgi, designed according to the principles of classicism, with the metre, cycle, and module proportions characteristic of the 18th century. The unity of time, place and action, so characteristic of the period, forms a conservative attitude characterizing Tartu, its static and rational townscape which changes only when we enter the university zone and the bright light of the temple. The Doric pillars right in the centre of the town make us stop; their inner impulse is a new textual structure which opens the invasion of architecture as a spatial phenomenon, extending borders and engaging the unique alongside the general, which besides universal values speaks of genius and its ability to make places not only spectacular but also personal.

When comparing the university to a human face – as was so characteristic of Enlightenment art – we choose, instead of noble simplicity and calm grandeur, character (*caractère*) and real architecture (*architecture vraie*)⁸³, which in addition to bearing a message of aesthetic perfection comes forward in the imaginary intrinsic in the new poetic diction. Besides the balance and harmony in Tartu, a quest can always be felt which makes the lazy and blueblood (the academic tradition) become revolutionary and red from time to time, liberating the primeval forces which, besides David's *Oath of the Horatii*, can be heard in Beethoven's *Eroica*. In Tartu we find traces of both tradition and innovation, what in the case "of its eighteenth-century usages was a form of novelty which arose from imitation; to be original, or an 'original genius', was to show exceptional skill in the 'inventive' combination or reinterpretation of hallowed precepts and traditional elements".⁸⁴

PATTERNS AND CIRCLES OF THE TOWN

To understand Tartu, we need time. To communicate with the town we have to have several keys. One of them leads us unavoidably to history and its language of signs; another to the town space as a cultural sphere

⁸³ Hanno-Walter Kruft, *Geschichte der Architekturtheorie. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Beck, 1985), 158ff.

⁸⁴ Matthew Craske, *Art in Europe 1700–1830: A History of the Visual Arts in an Era of Unprecedented Urban Economic Growth* (Oxford, New York, 1997), 35.

connecting history and monuments, to the spiritual behind the material. Tartu has been called the spiritual capital of Estonia. In Estonia's centre, the university holds the most important position and this means both the university as an ensemble and areas indirectly connected to it, from Kassitoome to the Tähtvere quarter and Tähtvere manor, where the university meets another educational centre – the Estonian University of Life Sciences. Between them lies an architecturally rich area: a park, a garden town, alleys which, with their emotions, turns and bends born of the interchanging rhythms of memories and natural sights, weave the citizen into a cloth designed by invisible field lines.

The university reaches far beyond the borders marked by its ensemble, points at the meadows of the River Emajõgi, encompasses Supilinn in its present-day conception, and ever extends its borders from the centre towards the edges. In the spatial sense, the university could be compared to a cobweb, from which the one who is caught in it might not get free for days, weeks or even months. An inquisitive mind will suddenly find itself on paths already visited and will follow footsteps left in Tartu's culture centuries ago. The stratigraphical picture of Tartu is formed by its history, from which it is possible to cut different pieces layer by layer, to peel it like an onion or an apple, differentiating two basic periods along this long and tiresome journey: Tartu before and Tartu after the re-establishing of the university at the beginning of the 19th century.

Tartu's values coincide with the values of the university; its clock mechanism chimes in unison with the Town Hall clock, forming an axis of Tartu which since time immemorial has started from the arched bridge over the River Emajõgi (or from under the arch of the former Stone Bridge), has stretched across the Town Hall square, ascended to Toome Hill along the resounding uphill cobblestone street, and awakened then on the observatory platform, from where a view opens upon the resting town below. Another spatial axis of Tartu is Ülikooli Street, passing through the town in a south-north direction since ancient times, which, starting from Vallikraavi Street (once a moat), connects into a whole Barclay Square, Pirogov Square and the buildings of the university, and ends at Lai Street.

The fields of impact of the university may be mapped using three concentric circles: the first circle is connected to the main building, with its closest roundabouts both in the north and in the south – the old university café and the chemistry building, marking the area between Jakobi, Munga, Ülikooli and Lossi Streets; another and wider circle covers Toome Hill, reaching the ancient moat and bordering a notably extensive fan-shaped

half-sphere territory where, in addition to its imaginary centre, the university, several energetic centres such as the cathedral, the anatomy theatre, the observatory etc. are formed; the third and the widest circle encompasses the majority of the present day part of the town under heritage protection. In the north, it reaches Lai Street (including the façades of its northern side and the Botanic Garden); in the south, the border of this imaginary university zone is Vallikraavi Street, with Café Wilde and the bank, continuing past Barclay Square and meeting one of the liveliest arteries of town life, Kүүini Street. In the east, it stretches to the River Emajõgi. In the west, its border is the northern slope of Kassitoome and several buildings: the new anatomy theatre and the building of the Estonian Historical Archives, both separating like stage wings the outer space of the amphitheatre from the inner circle.

Between the axes formed by streets, buildings have been placed; between them in turn grow trees of the parks which, melting together in some places, design a landscape out of the town patterns, offering an opportunity to take a breath after encountering the town's denser parts. The town seems to have been built following the rules of contrapoint and chromatics; it would be possible to listen to it after a moment of concentration: we would hear the orchestra start and then surrender the lead to the soloist, the recitative tension being created in the end by the choir. At different times of the day, the town space has a different effect: after the busy day, evening comes, which in summer brings along liveliness in certain places, leaving other places in privacy; on long and dark autumn nights, the park on Toome Hill becomes deserted and, with the night, lanterns are lit around the university, making visible the most important parts of the ensemble.

Dissecting Tartu as a university town, several different zones can be seen in it. Movement from one zone into another means stepping from one world and view of life into the next, which makes the general picture more variable and intense, both on the architectural-spatial and on the cognitive levels. The homogeneous structure within the university is deceptive, a figure of thought rather than of real life, which in the dynamics of its situations speaks, above all, not of stasis but of motion. Passing through Tartu, we pass not only history and nature but the town as a separate theatre, where the stage director has placed the wings but where the real content of the drama is formed by the relations of the object and the subject, the signifier and the signified. To perceive the town, we need our senses but also cultural experience stretching through centuries and over centuries, time before man and after, which changes memory from

a mere passive trace in wax into a living intuition, where behind the visible borders of the town gleams the invisible one, Italo Calvino's *La città invisibili*⁸⁵ as "a reality which seems to exist but which does not", which opens itself through imagination and the absurd, creating an opportunity for a new recognition and truth that can be even more real than the first and visible truth.⁸⁶

When moving through such a town, besides the logical and signifying the non-signifying, a text arises not understandable before we have lived it; not academic scholarship but everyman's right to live in a town he feels to be responsive to his experience in life. Besides the analytical approach, in postmodern town-building (and partly also in heritage protection) the cognitive approach has also become a method, where a town not only means an experienced and mapped itinerary, but also constant problems met by the one who moves in it; surprises which, on the one hand, point to what has been done but, on the other hand, ever demand a new and intriguing beginning. Besides knowledge, ignorance is equally important in such a town, and besides movement the quest becomes important. Wondering over a falling maple leaf in some shady alley on Toome Hill.

Creating such a town means not only a final performance, the restoration of buildings and perpetuation of values, but a constant strain of activities directed from the end to the beginning, a process that makes the town-space dynamic, lending heritage protection a weapon which allows one to take the town as a spontaneous partner in a game where, even in moments when its soul is locked up and the leading actors of the performance are gone, one remembers the existence of two realities – "the transcendental [...] never quite managing to pull itself clear of the empirical, and the empirical never quite free of traces of the transcendental".⁸⁷

PHENOMENOLOGICAL ALMA MATER

Jussi Jauhiainen, characterizing methods of town geography from the 20th to the 21st century, has proposed four different phases in the town's development.⁸⁸ The first of them got its start in the 1950s, when the pre-

⁸⁵ Italo Calvino, *La città invisibili* (Torino: Einaudi, 1972).

⁸⁶ Vilen Künnapu, "Järelsõna", Italo Calvino, *Nähtamatud linnad* (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1994), 117.

⁸⁷ Ian Maclachlan, "Introduction: Deconstruction, Critical Thought, Literature", *Jacques Derrida: Critical Thought*, ed. by Ian Maclachlan (Andershot: Ashgate, 2004), 2.

⁸⁸ Jussi S. Jauhiainen, *Linnageograafia. Linnad ja linnauurimus modernismist postmodernismini* (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2005), 22.



Fig. 4. The ruins of the Dome church from inside (Johann Wilhelm Krause, “*Ruine der Doms Kirche im Innern, besonders das Chor. Im Febr: unter Sturm und Schnee zum erstenmale gesehen*”, 1803. University of Tartu Library, ÜR 8975).

vious traditional empirical regional geography describing towns (also monuments and their typologies) changed the modelling of the town-space into a systematic spatial science of logical positivism. Another wave in the treatment of town-space in the 1970s brought forth counterpart of the objective environment – the subject – and treating the town as a hermeneutical system. The third wave, which started at the end of the 1980s, has been described by Jauhianen as contextual, has by now been replaced by the theory of flowing time and continuous space interpreting the town as a psychological field. By this we speak about town as intentional and hierarchic category fixed by heritage protection as the only valid truth, but through such a space in which memory belongs as an inseparable part to every act. Besides the future in the past, the past of the future has also become a topic for heritage protection,⁸⁹ which makes the urban environment and its signs – paths, margins, junctions etc. – readable through a

⁸⁹ Juhan Maiste, “Changing the Future of the Past”, *Koht ja paik. Place and Location. Studies in Environmental Aesthetics and Semiotics VI*, ed. by E. Näripea, V. Sarapik, J. Tomberg (Tallinn: Estonian Academy of Arts, 2008), 115–139.

signified and textual structure, blending together the physical and the non-physical, memories and fantasy, as inevitable parts of the same whole.

The town that opens itself as a part of a subject's environmental experience, the phenomenological town, does not belong totally to either category; the criterion of such a town is neither matter nor spirit, as Henri Lefebvre has pointed out in his theories of three-layered space presentation.⁹⁰ The town opens up, at the same time, as isolated from us and as cognitive, abstract and concrete, filling thought constructions with the matter of memories and flesh of sentiment, liberating itself and making itself known through a poetical message, which to one who moves about in the town, eyes open, gives an opportunity not only to understand but also to experience. According to Maurice Merleau-Ponty: "Space is not the setting (real or logical) in which things are arranged, but the means whereby the position of things becomes possible".⁹¹ Merleau-Ponty suggests that space, in its essence, means putting things on view for a moment, so that we can see them and define them as their natural attribute and source; space means something that becomes understandable to us only through our subjective perception.⁹²

Of numerous approaches to cultural studies ("strategies") in Tartu's environment are those that treat space as a relationship of the object and the subject, making it possible to see value judgements (about past, history, art etc., according to Alois Riegl) as well as history "as an act of experience in the widest sense of the word, be it consciousness, remembrance, imagining, wish, theoretical thinking or intuitive thinking".⁹³

Tartu differs from many (the majority of) places in Estonia. Transcendental memory is not separated from the immanent here. Walking along the border of the visible means getting in touch with the invisible in Tartu, remembering not only in the sense of the formal basis for the future or an insignificant attribute, but as a part of the mentality characteristic of the town. Even in how we think about Tartu and our history, our past with innumerable pictures of memory reverberates, which raises the iconic to a phenomenological level of meaning. Tartu does not need protection from its citizens (as is inevitable in Tallinn); heritage protection in the university town is not an monastery which the monks left years ago, but

⁹⁰ Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 38–39.

⁹¹ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. by C. Smith (London, New York: Routledge, 2002), 243.

⁹² *Ibidem*, 243ff.

⁹³ Tõnu Viik, "Kultuuriline pööre", *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 8–9 (2008), 607.

an omnipresent semiosis – both the outer and inner space where reflecting values and properties lead us time and again back to where we started.

In Tartu one must not speak in defence of the past but rather of the possibilities of the future, the past that opens itself in every moment of its creation, at a time when they are not fended off but invited, when heritage protection opens through its spiritual values, enabling us to participate in a godly feast which takes us from the role of onlooker to the role of participant, permitting us to taste the town, to eat it, swallow it, drink it and satisfy the hunger hidden in our cultural subconscious. Again and again! The “text of the city is always heterogeneous, because very different interpreters interpret the urban signs and the text of the city is ever changing”.⁹⁴ To understand the town, we need a reality outside language, both tangible and intangible; we need its iconic symbols – the observatory, anatomy theatre, main building in the heart of the ensemble – the university in the town and the university in the park, the town in its bordered cultural zones and in unlimited movement from order towards chaos.

We need a Tartu of two kinds. On the one hand, the Tartu that lives on in the metre and cycle of the beginning of the 19th century, expanding in the heroic rhymes of the Empire style; and on the other hand, we need a town the idyllic essence of which opens itself in the work of artists of local “Pallas” tradition, with its bohemian shade which sets us free from the hierarchic structures of memory and fills the space with a certain romantic spirit. Along with order, we desire a lack of order in Tartu; we want a system and the lack of it, a bohemian shade. The hierarchic structures of memory seem to stand outside the hierarchic reach of narratives dictated by *ratio*. We need heritage protection which will set us free, and creative fantasy, along with structures described by reason and guarded by the law, thus liberating not only prose but also poetry, opening an opportunity to write new texts in addition to pages written already. We need heritage protection which will help the past to find a place in the future, which will open itself again and again in every moment of the present, which will speak not only of wakefulness but also of “daydreaming” which “protects the dreamer” and “allows one to dream in peace”.⁹⁵ “Poetry is one of the destinies of speech [...] One would say that the poetic image,

⁹⁴ A. Mihkelev, “City and Poetry”, *Koht ja paik. Place and Location: Studies in Environmental Aesthetics and Semiotics III*, ed. by V. Sarapik, K. Tüür. Proceedings of the Estonian Academy of Arts, 14 (Tallinn, 2003), 351.

⁹⁵ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. by M. Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 6.

in its newness, opens a future to language. The words of the world want to make sentences.”⁹⁶

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KOKKUVÖTE: *Fenomenoloogiline alma mater. Nähtava ja nähtamatu piiridest muinsuskaitstes*

Alma mater on Eesti kultuuriajaloo silmapaistvamaid ikoone, Tartu kui ülikoolilinna sümbol ja ühtaegu parimaid kokkuvõtteid mõistele, mida läbi aegade on määratletud metafoorse nimega “Tartu vaim”. Käesolevas artiklis võetakse Tartu linnakeskkond vaatluse alla selle ajalooliste tähenduste kaudu, tuues ühelt poolt esile tema arhitektuurilise kujunemislöö, täiendades varasemaid käsitlusi uute kunstiajalooliste aspektide ja faktidega, teiselt poolt aga keskendudes ülikooli kui omaette mikrokosmose semiootilisele ja fenomenoloogilisele küljele ja selle mõistmise erinevatele tasanditele. Artikli üheks teljeks on ajalooline narratiiv, mis professor Voldemar Vagast alguse saanud kunstikirjutuslikus traditsioonis tõstab esile uue intriigi – “ülikooli enne ülikooli”, Katariina II poolt antud korralduste näol Tartus ülikooli avamiseks juba vahetult pärast linna suurt tulekahju 1775. Ülikooli koht ja esialgsed piirid linnas olid määratud juba veerand sajandit varem kui 1799. aastal Paul I korraldusel algas selle tegelik väljaehitamine. Ülikoolile kuulusid nii Maarja kiriku varemed all-linnas kui ka iidne Toomemägi. Ideed kerkisid “taevani” ja juba 1800. aastal kavandati Toomkiriku läänetornide kohale observatoorium, viies nii oma ideoloogiliselt sõnumilt baroksete fantaasiate valda kuuluva idee tegelike plaanideni – valmistati joonised ja osteti kokku vajalik ehitusmaterjal. 1802. aastal oli *alma mater* mõtetes valmis ehitatud. Idee lõpliku väljaarendamise võtsid enda kanda selle esimesed professorid Georg Friedrich Parrot, Johann Karl Simon Morgenstern ja ennekõike ülikooli ansambli arhitekt ja ehitusjuhi ametisse määratud Johann Wilhelm Krause.

⁹⁶ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie: Childhood, Language and the Cosmos*, trans. by D. Russell (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 3.

Tartu ülikool oli esimesi valgustusajastu haridustempleid Euroopas, mille vaimse sõnumi edastamisel kõlasid kaasa Prantsuse revolutsioonist alguse saanud ideed, pürgimused mõistuse, demokraatia ja humanismi järele. Ülikooli vaimu iseloomustas radikaalne progressiiaha, mis tõi vaimse kirgastumise ihaluses kaasa juba sajandeid vana ülikoolivõrgu kõrvale uute ülikoolide rajamise kui traditsiooni – tahte leida *vera carne*'le klassika puhastustulest läbi käinud arhitektuurne vorm. Ülikool tähistas senise perifeeria ärkamist, valguse võitu pimeduse üle, tähistas haridustempli rajamist maailma teisele äärele, Kreeka taassünni arhitektuuri ja valgeid sambaid kesk “pimeduse ööd” (Krause), veel mitte nähtavaks tehtud valgust, ebaõiglust ja sotsiaalset ja etnilist diskrimineerimist.

Tartu vaimseks taustaks oli vabaduse, võrdsuse ja vendluse loosungid nii sõnas kui pildis. Ülikooli konkreetseid arhitektuursed eeskujud pärinesid seejuures lähemast ringist, olles paljuski seotud J. W. Krause kujunemisaastatega Dresdeni ja Saksimaa varaklassitsismi ringis, kus Johann Winckelmanni ideed ja Adam Oeseri kujundikultuur olid saanud sealse Uue Ateena alusmüürideks. Emajõe Ateena vaimse paralleeli kujundasid uuenevad ülikoolid Halles, Weimaris, Göttingenis, Kielis ja mujal. Selle kaasaegseteks olid ülikoolid Euroopa kaugemal piiril: Moskvas, Kaasanis, Harkovis, Helsingis, Oslos.

Ülikooli kui linna kujunemisel mängis olulist rolli inglise park – Leopold III ja Friedrich Franz I poolt Anhalt Dessaus ellu kutsutud Wörlitzi aia-riik, mis kajastudes “utoopia saarena” Morgensterni mälestustes andis Tartule ühena esimestest Euroopa aedlinna tähenduse. Ülikooli kõrval linnas kõneleme Tartus ülikoolist pargist.

Alma mater sai proovikiviks ajastu ideelisele küpsemisele, mis sidus Katariina aegse klassitsismi (saksa ja vene erialalises kirjanduses varaklassitsismi) Kivisilla, raekoja ja seda ümbritsevad malelaua järgi kavandatud kvartalid uue arhitektuuri ihalusega prantsuse imaginaarse “revolutsiooniarhitektuuri” vaimus. Tartus heiastuvad Claude Nicolas Ledoux ja Étienne-Louis Boullée arhitektuurifantaasiad, mille linnaehituslikuks koodiks ei ole mitte ainult range vitruviaanliku sümmeetria järgi organiseeritud kvartalid, vaid samavõrra vabaduse valgus, mis kumab läbi iidse linnatuumikust järele jäänud varemetele püstitatud “valguse templi” (ülikooli peahoone) Toomemäeni, kus valguse asendab vari ja klassitsismi ampiirliku tasakaalustatuse asemel heiastuvad saabuva romantismi ajastu pürgimused kõneleda mitte üksnes normi ja vormi, vaid iga arhitektuuri-teose oma karakteri kaudu, nii nagu selle oli määratlenud kõneleva arhi-

tektuuri teoreetikud alates Francesco Miliziasist ja Nicolas Le Camus de Méziers'ist.

Tartu on märk klassitsismi ajastu sisemisest vastuolulisusest, selle esimesel pilgul külma ja traditsioonilise koore all varjab end muutustele aldis süda. Tartu on linn, millega siin viibija leiab peagi oma ning talle ainuomase sideme, linn mis kiirgab minevikust olevikku luues silmaga nähtava kõrval nähtamatuid – imaginaarseid kujutluspilte, mille sügavamaks sisuks on “kujundlikud protokollid”, nagu neist on kirjutanud Umberto Eco. Füüsika kõrval ilmub Tartu meile metafüüsilise metafoorina, tuues mõtte kunsti mõistmise kontekstuaalsetelt parameetritelt selle elamusliku tasandile, avades nii tähenduste tasandi, kus koorub esile meis igaühes elav võime ja tahe mälestuspilte üha uuesti läbi elada. Muutes nii üldise isiklikuks, mille kaudu ajaloolise raamina eksisteeriv sümboolne ruum ja *topos* leiavad olemasolevaid ikoone üha uuesti silmitsedes endale uue sisu ja kognitiivse välja.

Tartu tähistab allakirjutanule mitte ainult sotsiaalset ja kommunikatiivset ruumi, ka mitte üksnes ajaloolist mälu ja selle teisenemisi eriala teoreetilisel tasandil, vaid kunsti ja luule üha uuenevat maailma, kus poeetilisele tekstile omane värsimõõt ja plahvatus (Juri Lotman) paigutavad meie alateadvusest esile kerkivad kujundid üha uutesse suhetesse meid ümbritseva ruumiga, tehes välispidisest sisemise, muutes üldise isiklikuks ja vastupidi – andes aluse uuele sotsiaalselt determineeritud kogemusele. Autori eesmärgiks oli seejuures kõneleda kunsti kahepidisest võimust – nii tema igavikulistest tõdedest Winckelmanni vaimus kui esteetilise loomusest Baumgarteni mõistes. Kõnelda nähtava kõrval nähtamatust, otsida vastust küsimusele, millised kujundid ja miks võisid valitseda mitte ainult ülikooli ansambli loojate traditsioonidele tuginevas kogemuses, õpitus ja matkitus, vaid ka sisemises ja neile ainuomases innovatiivses jõus. Kõnelda mõistuse kõrval tunnetest, interpreteerides Krause poolt meile jäetud luuleridu poeetilises keeles, mis keelele asetatuna toob meieni mitte ainult visuaalse kogemuse, vaid ka kunagi olnud maitse, lõhnad ja värvi.

Vabastades kunsti tema ajaloo poolt kaasa antud ahelatest, paigutades *arte faktid* tagasi aega, mis nii nagu üks Kreeka ei peegelda ehk kujuta mitte midagi, vaid lihtsalt seisab keset lõhestatud kaljuorgu (Martin Heidegger Ülo Matjuse tõlkes) on allakirjutanu ülimaks väiteks tõsiasi, et ilma kunstita ei ole Tartut. Ei ole teaduselinna, kus loova alge süttimiseks on vajalik samavõrra ime, mis ehk ei olegi lõpuni ära seletatav ning mille lugu ei luba end tervenisti seada ajaloo kangastelgedele. Tartu suurimaks väärtuseks ja tema olemise allikaks on mälu. Mälu, mis talletab meil nii

välise kontuuri kui ka sisu, mille äratundmiseks vajame nii teadmisi kui ka fantaasiat, mis meie eksistentsile omase apooria – kõnelda üheaegselt nii objektiivselt ja välisest kui sisemisest ja kaemuslikust – seob minevikust tulevikku paisuva minevikuga (Henri Bergson), võttes mineviku kokku ainsasse reaalsuse kirjeldamisel mõistetavasse kujundisse – mälu (Paul Riceour).

Kujund on fakt, mis loomise akti kaudu võimaldab minevikul sündida olevikus iga kord uuesti. Ilma meie kunstilise osaluse ja sellest lähtuvate emotsioonideta puudub Tartul mõte. Võimeta kogeda fakti selle igakordse läbielamise kaudu ei ole olemas ka fakti ennast. *Alma materi* kuus sammast elavad muinsuskaitstes, mille puhul nn surnud mälestiste kõrval kõneleme üha enam elavatest mälestistest nii meie mõistuse poolt korrastatud *logose* kui ka neist lahti ütlemise kaudu. “Ei ole paremaid, halvemaid aegu, ...”, on öelnud Artur Alliksaar. Meie maailm sünnib mälu mantraid üha uuesti üle korrates, selle kujundliku mõistmise aluseks on nii mälu võime end loogilise konstruktsiooni kaudu korrastada kui meie alateadvuses väljenduv tahe raamistatud ja piiritletud tõest lahti murda, väljuda piiritletud maailmast piirideta maailma, kus muutumatu ja püsiva asemele puutume kokku ainulaadse võimalusega anda ajale ja ruumile võimalus sündida uuesti (Maurice Merleau-Ponty).

Selleks, et tajuda *alma materit* kogu selle tões ja selle ulatuvuses (ülesanne, mille enda ette seab ju iga uurija), tuleb pildikeeles avanev ikooniline tõde ennekõike asetada ajalukku, ja seejärel tõsta ta sealt taas korra esile, et olla kohal tõe valla heitmise hetkel. Nautida kunstiajalugu ilma kunstiajaloota, nii nagu sellest kõneleb fenomenoloogiline traditsioon, mis nagu teame, käsitleb kunsti küll objektiga lähedastes suhetes tekkiva, sellest aga mõõtmatus suurema ja kaugeneva kalligrammina, „mille lahti murdmine ei too kaasa mõistusest lähtuvat lahendust, aja ja ruumi konkreetsest vormist lähtuvaid piire, vaid suunab tähelepanu kujutatust kõrvale, tühjale ruumile sõnade kohal ja piltide all” (Michel Foucault). Et Tartust kirjutada, tuleb teda üha uuesti läbi elada. Et teda läbi elada, tuleb juba seni kirjutatu – kümneid ja kümneid tuhandeid lehekülgi Ajalooarhiivis Toomemäel läbi lugeda. Ikka ja jälle – uuesti!