

Mitteilung

im: **Ausschuss für Kultur, Integration und Gleichstellung**

Betreff: Bewerbung um den Status als Weltkulturerbe / Weiteres Verfahren

Bezug: 178/2012

Anlagen: 1 Bezeichnung: Gutachten Prof. Frijhoff

Die Verwaltung teilt mit:

Die Universitätsstadt Tübingen hat den Vorschlag der Universitätsstadt Marburg aufgenommen und bewirbt sich zusammen mit dieser im Rahmen einer sogenannten seriellen Bewerbung um den Status als UNESCO-Weltkulturerbe. Der inhaltliche Ansatz der Bewerbung ist: „Die Universitätsstadt als kultureller Raum über 500 Jahre“. Das Bewerbungsverfahren verläuft in mehreren Stufen: Zunächst entscheidet die Landesregierung über die Weitergabe der Bewerbung an die Kultusministerkonferenz. Die Kultusministerkonferenz hat eine Expertenkommission einberufen, die voraussichtlich im Februar 2013 die Bewerbungen prüft. Um diese Gremien zu überzeugen, benötigt die Verwaltung ein Fachgutachten, das die Bewerbung inhaltlich und nach den Kriterien der UNESCO begründet. Dieses Gutachten wurde inzwischen von dem renommierten niederländischen Universitätshistoriker Professor em. Dr. Dr. h.c. Willem Frijhoff erstellt.

In seinem Fazit hält Prof. Frijhoff fest, dass die Universität, von ihrer Gründung 1477 bis in die Gegenwart, ein kulturelles Umfeld und ein architektonisches Ensemble geschaffen hat, das seinen Charakter bis heute bewahrt. Insbesondere stellt Prof. Frijhoff in seinem Gutachten heraus, dass Tübingen die einzige Universität ihrer Zeit ist, die neue Gebäude erstellt und nicht in bereits bestehende Häuser einzieht und diese bis heute bewahrt („From an architectural point of view, the foundation of the University of Tübingen in 1477 was an unparalleled performance, and it is Tübingen’s pride that, contrary to so many other university towns in Europe, almost all the buildings realised at the time of its foundation are still in existence and even in use by the university.“). Prof. Frijhoff hebt in seinem Gutachten die enge Verbindung von Universität und Stadt in kultureller, geistiger und wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht hervor. Er stellt fest, dass es sich dabei um „ein einzigartiges Zeugnis einer kulturellen Tradition“ im Sinne der UNESCO-Kriterien handelt und damit auch die Bewerbung als kultureller Raum über 500 Jahre rechtfertigt.

Das Gutachten wurde an das Wirtschaftsministerium weitergeleitet und dient dann, bei positiver Bewertung durch die Landesregierung, als Entscheidungsgrundlage für die Kultusministerkonferenz. Die Kultusministerkonferenz wird auf Bundesebene aus den Vorschlägen der Länder eine Liste erstellen (Tentativliste), die bei der UNESCO-Kommission eingereicht wird. Die Tentativlisten der Staaten sind

die Grundlage für die mögliche Anerkennung einzelner Vorschläge als Weltkulturerbe der UNESCO in den nächsten zehn bis fünfzehn Jahren, beginnend ab dem Jahr 2016.

Eine deutsche Übersetzung des Gutachtens ist bereits in Auftrag gegeben worden. Anfang des nächsten Jahres werden die Bewerbung und das Gutachten als Weltkulturerbe mit zwei Vorträgen der Öffentlichkeit vorgestellt.

University Town of Tübingen

Report on the application of Tübingen
for the UNESCO World Heritage List

Gutachten zur Bewerbung Tübingens
um Aufnahme in die UNESCO-Welterbeliste
(*Englische Fassung*)

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*View from the Österberg across the historic city
centre to Hohentübingen Castle*

*Blick vom Österberg über die Altstadt zum
Schloss Hohentübingen*

Preamble

This report has been written to substantiate the candidacy of the city of Tübingen (Baden-Württemberg, Germany) for the inclusion on the World Heritage List as the very model of a ‘university town’.* Many cities of Europe and the Americas can rightfully boast of the richness of their historical legacy in matters of higher education and university life. Besides Tübingen, several other European towns owe their reputation to the preservation of a large number of historical buildings related to their university: Paris, Bologna, Oxford and Cambridge, Salamanca, Prague, Vilnius, Coimbra, Louvain, Uppsala and Alcalá de Henares, or outside Europe México City, Williamsburg (Virginia), even the modern Ciudad Universitaria of Caracas (placed on the World Cultural Heritage list in 2000). Just like Tübingen, other German towns such as Marburg, Heidelberg, Göttingen, Freiburg, Wittenberg, Helmstedt, Erfurt, Ingolstadt, Leipzig or Jena still possess many older or newer buildings attesting to their historical importance as towns endowed with a university. Even so, very few among them unite the prerequisites for a nomination to the World Heritage List as a ‘university town’ in the fullest and most comprehensive sense of the word.

In Germany, Marburg, Heidelberg, Göttingen and Freiburg take, together with Tübingen, pride in their identity as ‘classical university towns’. However, only the towns of Tübingen and Marburg have presented in Germany, and indeed in a wide part of Western Europe, a coherent and permanent image as ‘university towns’ and continue to preserve their enduring historical quality as such. Both characteristics, the historical identity of these university towns and their image and self-perception, go back to their foundation at the time of the late Middle Ages and the Reformation; expressions of this self-perception were time and again renewed and reemphasized throughout the centuries until the present day, and the towns were repeatedly enriched by systematic expansions from the academic into the urban landscape.

Among these university towns, Tübingen holds an unparalleled place because of the exceptional foundation campaign of the university around 1477, testifying to an outstanding performance of political, architectural and

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* This report has been prepared after the conception of a similar report for the application of Marburg as ‘university town’ for the UNESCO World Heritage List. Tübingen and Marburg intend presenting together a so-called ‘serial’ application. This preamble and the paragraph on concepts and method borrow, therefore, some passages from the Marburg report, published by Universitätsstadt Marburg and Philipps-Universität Marburg in 2012 [ISBN 978-3-8185-0502-8], in which also the Tübingen candidacy has been briefly presented (pp. 83–92).

technical character, and because of the virtually integral preservation of its initial buildings in their pre-conceived cohesion. This early university nucleus, coextensive with the upper town in which it is totally integrated, still confers to the town on the romantic Neckar River a picturesque scene of unique and widely recognized beauty. As far as its further historical development from its beginnings until the present day is concerned, Tübingen as a university town is comparable to its sister university town Marburg. Although these two university towns, located in two different states (*Länder*) of Germany, have prepared their proposal for the UNESCO World Heritage List separately, they have done so in the same spirit and with the explicit aim of a common, 'serial' application. At the end of this report a short comparison will be made between these two university towns.

Tübingen's proposal, and indeed the town's pride, is not so much based on the material presence and the enduring splendour of one single historical university building considered a masterpiece of human creative genius (as the first of the UNESCO criteria suggests). Rather, it is based on the centuries-old interplay and symbiosis between the city and its university, on the city's careful preservation of its physical layout, structure and environment with respect to its academic past and present, and on the richness of the city's history with respect to the social and cultural functions of higher education, teaching and science, and their practical applications.

Tübingen certainly holds a number of highly interesting and aesthetically valuable university buildings and academic collections. Besides the

Hohentübingen Castle
Schloss Hohentübingen



built areas of the town, the medieval castle Hohentübingen, seat of several university departments, exhibits impressive collections of ancient cultures (including the presentation of the prehistoric *Pfahlbauten* or stilt houses of the region included in the UNESCO World Heritage List) and the Museum der Universität Tübingen (MUT) is in charge of several dozens of collections of the arts and sciences, at the same time enhancing by their presentation the older and newer university buildings in which they are exhibited throughout the town.

Yet this application is not about separate buildings or collections but about Tübingen as a whole, as a ‘university town’, as a full-fledged university space, indeed a complete, multifaceted, dynamic and ever growing university town. This city displays not only a huge, rich, historically diversified variety of examples of university buildings, but testifies in the entirety of the old town, as well as in its modern extensions, to the various uses of urban space for the benefit of science and higher education. Ever since the university’s foundation, almost five and a half centuries ago, Tübingen has brought acclaim to itself and has been perceived by others as the prototype of the European university town (*Universitätsstadt Tübingen*, as it proudly calls itself). As such, it merits a place on the World Heritage list of UNESCO.

“...Tübingen has been perceived as the prototype for the European university town...”

How to read this report

This report has the following structure. In a short recall of the criteria for nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage List, the main arguments for the nomination of Tübingen as a university town are summarized. After the concepts and method used in this report are made clear, Tübingen’s major periods of great achievement as a university town are presented in a historical overview and the *interaction* between the town and the university in their common physical and cultural space throughout the centuries is described. Starting with the *Sternstunde*, or stellar hour, of the University of Tübingen’s foundation (1477), these paragraphs will focus on three moments of exceptional connectivity: the humanist and Reformation period, the nineteenth-century revival, and the twentieth century expansion. A synopsis of Tübingen’s physical and cultural space will focus on some places and *functions* of the university in society, such as the built environment, the students, the book and literary life which have given Tübingen the reputation of a ‘Metropolis of the Mind’ and the ‘City of the Muses’ and Tübingen’s *self-consciousness and self-perception*. An assessment follows summarizing the comparison between Tübingen and Marburg as two university towns with complementary town planning and building history, and similar social functions. A selected bibliography is provided, including the relevant publications used for this report after a working visit to Tübingen.

Criteria for nomination on the UNESCO World Heritage List

Tübingen's plea to be a site of universal cultural value is motivated by its outstanding contribution, starting with its exceptional creation period pursued without interruption during more than five centuries, to the creation of the model 'university town' its realisation in ever changing conditions and its preservation throughout the vicissitudes of periods of war and peace, revolution, political and social change, and cultural developments, and its contribution to the universal values of humanity. In such a town, where social, cultural and scientific life synergize, the universal values of science and scholarship were, have been, and are realised by the cooperation of an exceptional number of great scholars. This reflects itself in an exemplary way in the layout, the design, the built environment, and the social life of the university town, an integral cultural space.

With regard to the cultural criteria defined by UNESCO, it will be clear that the second, the third and the sixth on the list of ten criteria apply particularly well to the case of Tübingen. According to the second criterion, the site has "to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental art, town-planning or landscape design". The span of time reaches over more than five centuries, and as will be shown, architecture, monumental art and town planning have been combined in Tübingen in the years around and following the creation of the university in 1477 to shape a unique town, redesigned for its university and essentially devoted to its well-being and development, whereas town-planning and architectural design have guided the two following periods of the university's expansion.

1477 really was Tübingen's *Sternstunde*, i.e., stellar hour or moment of brilliance, that decided its future and that of the surrounding world. More than happened during those centuries in its sister universities, the founding Count Eberhard managed to create from the very start in a couple of years a complete academic institution in cohesion with the urban space, and to integrate it entirely into the urban fabric of the town of Tübingen, changing thereby definitely its function as a market town of local significance into that of a full-grown university town of trans-regional importance, gradually assuming a distinctive international outlook, character and aura. After the exceptional achievement of the starting years, two other periods have decidedly marked Tübingen as a university town: firstly, the unparalleled town-planning and urban design realised in the new university district of the nineteenth century outside the old town, and secondly, in the twentieth century, the covering of the town's outskirts uphill with well-designed, compact university quarters for medical research and clinical care, and for teaching and research in the natural sciences, always in a

"...the founding Count Eberhard managed to create from the very start in a couple of years a complete academic institution..."



Tübingen townscape around 1620

Tübingen Stadtansicht um 1620

harmonious interplay between town and university, and without violating the city's overall cohesion.

Development and preservation are the two key words here. Contrary to so many other European towns with an academic calling, and except for minor, occasional destruction, Tübingen has during all these centuries neither been destroyed by fire or by war, nor suffered from improper urban interventions or excessive and disruptive modernisations. After World War II, the medieval city centre, long a neglected area, was in very bad condition. Just as happened in many other European cities, the city council developed plans for a large-scale clearance of the worn-out districts of the Altstadt and their replacement by a modernistic city design with flat-roofed apartment buildings, large thoroughfares and generous parking facilities. Tübingen would have lost its very heart. However, due to the early and strong opposition within the administration and the citizenry itself, Tübingen became one of the very first German cities to show an acute sense of historical consciousness and to practice comprehensive heritage protection. In the 1970s the council came to foster an intelligent revitalisation of the legacy of the past on the basis of an inventory of 300 historic monuments in the Altstadt and the remediation of some of the major destructive projects already on course to realization. Therefore, throughout the slow evolution of the town, its history, nature and culture have achieved together the harmonious symbiosis and cohesive unity that make Tübingen the perfect model of a historically shaped university town. In the final analysis, it is the way in which the town and the University of Tübingen have been able to take advantage, together, of the exceptional founding event of the university's *Sternstunde* during the subsequent centuries, and to transform this legacy into a true university town, that constitutes Tübingen's major claim to fame.



Leonhart Fuchs, page from the *Neue Kräuterbuch*
 Leonhart Fuchs, Seite aus dem *Neuen Kräuterbuch*



Model of Wilhelm Schickard's mechanical calculator
 Modell der Rechenmaschine von Wilhelm Schickard

The third criterion requests that the candidate should have “a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or a civilization which is living or which has disappeared”. The present report contends that the university town as a cultural space is exactly the place where such an interchange is systematically organised, and that the university town as such singles itself out from other towns through its huge investment in architecture, art and town-planning; further, that the university town as an urban model has generated its particular cultural tradition, which endures until the present day. This report will therefore expand on the case of Tübingen as a special and indeed unique example of these values, developments and achievements, a jewel of living historical culture, and a town where even in a remote past some of the basic values of democratic society began to be realised, as is shown in the so-called Tübingen Agreement (*Tübinger Vertrag*) of 1514 between the overlord and the citizenry, considered the first German *magna charta*.

The sixth criterion, to be used preferably in conjunction with others – in the case of Tübingen, the second and the third – asks in particular for association with events or living traditions, with ideas or beliefs, or with artistic or literary works of outstanding universal significance. This criterion applies particularly well to Tübingen. Indeed, the University of Tübingen has been the foster ground for some of the greatest performances of the human mind. As regards science, Leonhart Fuchs (1501–1566) wrote there his richly illustrated *Neue Kräuterbuch*, the first modern treatise on comparative botany (1543) – his name still survives in the fuchsia flower. Wilhelm Schickard (1592–1635), the ‘Swabian Leonardo’ considered to be the predecessor of cybernetics, a Hebraist, mathematician, astronomer and optician, was the first to recognize the importance of logarithms; long before Blaise Pascal (1642) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, he invented in 1623 the first known mechanical calculator. Its design has been conserved in Schickard’s correspondence with the astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–630), another Tübingen student, who had developed and published in Tübingen his first innovative ideas on the solar system (1597). The DNA (nucleic acid) was isolated for the first time in Tübingen by Friedrich Miescher (1869), and Alzheimer disease first publicly described by its name giver Alois Alzheimer (1906).

Tübingen’s outstanding philosophical and theological tradition is embodied by Tübingen scholars and students like Hegel and Schelling, David Friedrich Strauss and Rudolf Bultmann, Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Paul Tillich and Hans Küng. Artistic and literary achievements of high value have been constantly performed and fostered in Tübingen as Metropolis of the Mind over the past five hundred years. Moreover, Tübingen was and is the town of poets and novelists, the City of the Muses. The names of Friedrich Hölderlin and Hermann Hesse (Nobel Prize in Literature 1946) may suffice. The legacy of all these performances and evolutions is still preserved

in the archives, libraries, and academic collections of the university and in the museums of the city. Living memory of these cultural achievements is visible in many places of the town, not to speak of the flavour of social and cultural life in present-day Tübingen itself as a lively university town.

Some words about concepts and method

The central concept that allows us to perceive, to represent and to analyse Tübingen in its full richness as a university town, is that of *urban space*, more precisely that of *cultural space* (*kultureller Raum*). This notion refers to a major development in the cultural sciences of the latter decades: the so-called *spatial turn*, by which the customary approach to the physical reality and the pre-eminently historical approach to the cultural reality have been enriched with a spatial component, permitting us to re-evaluate historical space in a multifaceted but cohesive way. For present-day cultural historians and human geographers, every historical phenomenon is at the same time rooted in spatial arrangements, such as buildings, a town's layout, the representations of the space by rulers, managers and citizens, its various uses and appropriations, including creations of perception and imagination. Conversely, a geographically determined cultural space cannot be rightly understood without a thorough analysis of its genesis, its historical dimensions, and the work of memory that together make it a living space for its inhabitants, practitioners and visitors.

Four eminent scholars, whose visionary analyses have also been translated into works for a larger public, must be quoted in this respect for a full understanding of the richness of the notion of cultural space, and of the meaning of the *spatial turn* for the presentation of a historical town worthy of World Heritage status. In his seminal work *The Production of Space* (French version *La production de l'espace* 1974, English translation 1991), that may be considered as the founding study in this matter, the French scholar Henri Lefebvre has contended that a given space never is simply a purely physical space but that it is constantly created, produced and developed along three lines involving three interacting forms of representation (the so-called spatial triad): spatial, historical, and social – in other words: the space as represented by its designers and rulers, the space as a 'lived-in' historical environment, and the everyday spatial practice of the common man and woman.

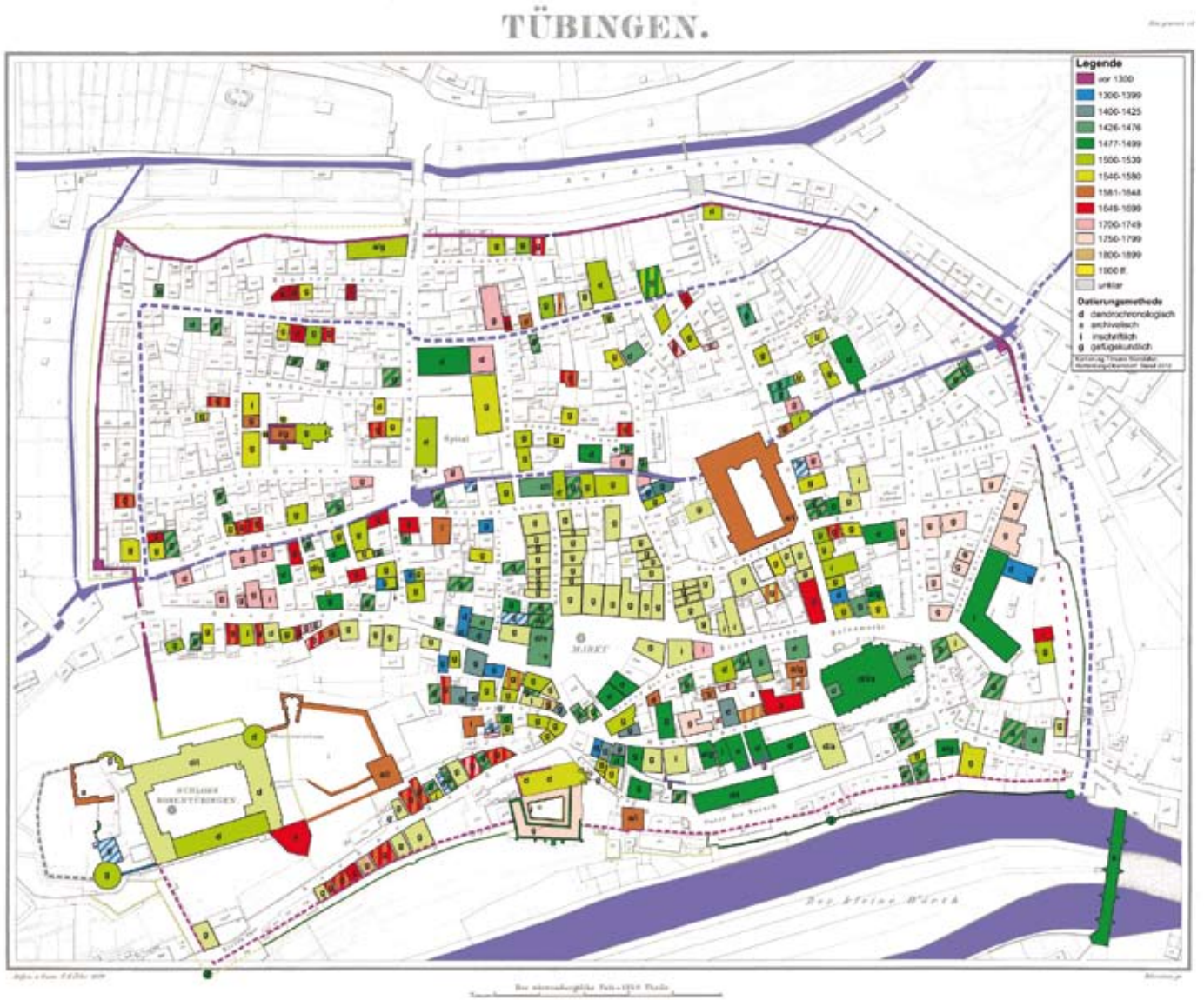
Continuing his reflections, the philosopher Michel Foucault has coined the term *heterotopia* (i.e. places of otherness) to describe spaces that have more layers of meaning or relationships to other places than were planned by the hegemonic authorities or than those that immediately meet the eye. In his vision, urban space presents many separate spaces for alternative use,

diverging from the standard meaning of urban life for the common citizen. On an institutional level, examples of such separate spaces are boarding schools, hospitals, prisons, psychiatric clinics, or even the whole cultural universe of a specific group of the local population, for instance the universe of academic life or a student body. In discussion of his theories, the cultural historian Michel de Certeau has insisted upon the dialectical relation between the production of urban space by the designers, architects, authorities and administrators of a town, on the one hand, and the consumption or *appropriation* of the space by the inhabitants, visitors and other users on the other hand, who quite often impose upon the urban structure their own patterns of use and meaning, rooted in their historical practice and in their own perception of the urban space. All these theoretical reflections have been synthesized by the social geographer Edward W. Soja in the notion of *thirdspace* that defines a vision of space in which the objective design, the planning, and the management of space come together with its subjective representation, memory, use, and imagination.

Applying these notions to our theme, a *university town* may be defined as a multifaceted and multi-layered cultural space in which several dimensions of urban space meet each other:

- the *built environment* of the town, largely dominated by and constantly (re-)designed for the institutions of higher education, preserved in a visible historical context that shows in its layout and in the design of its buildings the development of the intimate relationship between the university and the town;
- the *historical memory, the actual discourse, and the living representation* of the town as a full-fledged space or setting where higher education, in whatever institutional or practical form, is performed, realised and appropriated in its different aspects and dimensions by human agency, i.e., by its citizens, its temporary inhabitants (such as students), and its visitors;
- the *spatial practice* of the town as a typical university-bound way of living and a behavioural environment, including the alternative practices of the university's subjects in a dialectical relationship with the social settings and moral rules defined by the town's magistrates or by higher authority.

For our proposal of Tübingen as a candidate for nomination as 'university town' on the World Heritage List this implies that we must analyse the cultural space of the town in its historical development and the basic features of its social life taking into account these three dimensions: the physical space (the town's layout, buildings and material organisation); the urban space (planning and management, social and cultural policy); and the civic space (the use, perception, and appropriation of the cultural space).



Map of the construction phases before 1800

Plan der Bauphasen vor 1800



Tübingen, Neckar riverfront

Tübingen, Neckarfront

Elaboration

The university and its staged development

Tübingen's famous Neckar front and its centuries-old picturesque panorama is not only a traditional place of beauty, but it also provides us with the quintessence of this application: the intertwining and interplay of town and university at a degree so tight and intense that it is virtually impossible to distinguish them throughout history, let alone to describe their history separately. Therefore, typically, all historical studies and popular works on Tübingen stress this interaction. They always describe the town's evolution together with that of the university, and the former quite often as a function of the latter. The mutual intertwining goes so far that the cultural sobriety that is quintessential for Protestantism and for the Lutheran lifestyle taught during centuries at the University of Tübingen is reflected in the architectural simplicity of its buildings and those of the town, adamantly opposed to the baroque exuberance of nearby Catholicism. The urban physiognomy of Tübingen speaks the language of the natural beauty of a straightforward layout and a plain and simple style, without unnecessary adornment, but aspiring to the celestial perfection suggested by the high rising houses and buildings in the steep alleys of the academic Oberstadt (upper town).

Tübingen's university was named Eberhard Karls Universität or *Eberhardina-Carolina*, after its 1477 founder, Count Eberhard of Württemberg-Urach, and its eighteenth-century benefactor, Duke Carl Eugen of Württemberg (1728–1793, reigned from 1744), who imposed his name to Eberhard's in 1769, granting to himself at the same occasion the title of *rector magnificentissimus*. Indeed, the impact of the ruling family on the university's fate was seminal during the first centuries. In the history of the union between town and university three phases may be distinguished: firstly, the foundation period of the university in the old town (Altstadt) in 1477 and the following years; secondly, the design of a coherent university campus in the nineteenth-century suburb Wilhelmsvorstadt, expressly created for the university – a unique case in Germany, comparable only with the post-1872 university campus of Strasbourg, then part of the German Empire; thirdly, the university extension on a series of new, modern campuses after World War II and the achievement of a continuing union and a planned physical overlap of town and university in the twentieth century.

During the later Middle Ages, Tübingen was essentially a small market and wine-producing town of little, barely regional importance. Within the perimeter of the town, a rectangle of approximately 400 by 600 meter including the castle, two parts may be distinguished: the upper town (Oberstadt) on the rocky hill along the Neckar, and the lower town on a flat level



View from the south, Braun and Hogenberg, 1595

Ansicht von Süden, Braun und Hogenberg, 1595

terrain along the Ammer, a small river running in Tübingen north of the town, parallel to the Neckar. Although typically situated on the Neckar itself, a river tributary of the Rhine on which also Heidelberg with its well-known university (founded 1385) and present-day state capital Stuttgart are situated, Tübingen was in effect enclosed by these two water courses. During many centuries, and until today, they have virtually encased the Altstadt and effectively limited its expansion.

Around 1231, Tübingen appears as an incorporated *civitas* (a community of citizens bounded by contract), dominated by the castle on the hill, called Hohentübingen, which belonged to the family of the palsgraves (Counts Palatine) of Tübingen. An accumulation of debts obliged the palsgraves to sell their castle and the town in 1342 to the counts (later dukes and kings) of Württemberg who have remained its overlords ever since. Yet after 1342 Tübingen was, with some temporary exceptions, not the central town of their territory, the main seat of the government, or the home residence of the rulers. After the dynastic division of the county in 1442, the family branch that reigned as lords of Tübingen resided in Urach (at present Bad Urach), a distance of about 20 miles.

Initially, Tübingen was not a major ecclesiastical centre either. It was not a bishop's seat, and other than the parish church of St. George and the pilgrim's or hospital chapel of St. James (*St. Jakob*), there was no collegiate church. By and by, however, some religious foundations came near or into the town. Some miles north of Tübingen was the Cistercian abbey of Bebenhausen (founded in the 1180s, still excellently preserved), which had an office and storehouse in the town itself. The religious orders of the Austin friars (1262, a pontifical foundation) and the Franciscans (1272, founded by the palsgraves) settled in Tübingen bringing into the town some forms of intellectual life. As early as 1312 Tübingen had a Latin school, later called the

Schola Anatolica (on the Schulberg). A nunnery (*Nonnenhaus*) was founded in 1333; its 1488 building is still in existence (Beim Nonnenhaus 7). Next to it and after its secularisation in 1536, botany professor Leonhart Fuchs established his Botanical Garden, one of the very first in the world.

1477: Tübingen's *Sternstunde*, or Stellar Hour

Just like many other universities created in the later Middle Ages, the university of Tübingen was founded by an intelligent ruler highly interested in culture and education, a protagonist of the religious renewal then embodied in the *devotio moderna*, and surrounded by gifted councillors and excellent scholars deeply engaged in the new developments of early modern scholarship and the promises of Humanism for the renewal of cultural life, especially of the arts and sciences. But while the conditions for the university foundation were common to many European institutions, the founding act itself was exceptional, both as far as the act itself is concerned and with regard to the physical realisation of the university buildings in the town.

The founder was Count Eberhard V 'im Bart' ("the Bearded", 1445–1496, reigned after 1459) of Württemberg-Urach (after 1482 also of Württemberg-Stuttgart) and Montbéliard (in German Mömpelgard, at present a region of France). Together with his mother Mechthild of the Palatinate (1419–1482), who was an archduchess of Austria by her second husband Albrecht of

Stained glass windows in the Collegiate Church:
Count Eberhard the Bearded, his wife Barbara Gonzaga
and his mother Mechthild of the Palatinate

*Glasfenster in der Stiftskirche: Graf Eberhard im Bart,
seine Frau Barbara Gonzaga
und seine Mutter Mechthild von der Pfalz*



Habsburg, the brother of Emperor Frederick III, and with his uncle, Count Ulrich (1413–1480), the former regent of the county after Eberhard's father Ludwig I's and his elder brother Ludwig II's early deaths, Count Eberhard decided in 1476 to erect a university in the county, in the context of the count's enhanced territorial politics. The county of Württemberg would be erected as a duchy in 1495, but at the time of the university's foundation Eberhard was still the simple count of a small, minor territory of the Holy Roman Empire, which in 1442 moreover had been divided into two parts: Urach (Eberhard's part and the seat of his administration) and Stuttgart.

This fact makes the creation of a full-fledged university an unusual decision, testifying to the count's intellectual dynamism and his political ambitions as well as to the cultural drive of his mother as a close relative of the emperor. Perhaps some influence may also be detected from Eberhard's young wife Margravine Barbara Gonzaga (1455–1503) from the house of Mantua, whom he married in 1474 and who was a sister of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483), the apostolic administrator of the university city Bologna and a protector of the arts and sciences. Students from Eberhard's Montbéliard territory received preferential treatment at the new university, but, in addition, a dozen fellowships were allotted at the University of Paris – a disposition that helped to set up the University of Tübingen's scholarly network, as did the example of the neighbouring new University of Basel in Switzerland, established in 1459.

“...the city was set up from the very beginning as a full-fledged university town and provided with a full range of suitable buildings...”

A bull of Pope Sixt IV, dated 13 November 1476, authorised the founders to erect their *studium generale* at Tübingen as a full-fledged university according to pontifical law, enjoying the right to confer the *licentia ubique docendi*. The model retained was that of the University of Paris, the *universitas magistrorum* administered by the masters (the senate) and organised in four faculties: theology, law, medicine and the arts. The authorisation of Emperor Frederick III followed in 1484. Actually, the university had already been inaugurated in October 1477, following a printed invitation by the count himself, dated 3 July 1477. During the first century of its existence, outbursts of an endemic plague forced professors and students on nine occasions to flee for some months to neighbouring towns or to pass the academic year outside Tübingen. Yet the city was set up from the very beginning as a full-fledged university town and provided with a full range of suitable buildings. The city council itself was re-established by the count in 1477.

Count Eberhard was a convinced humanist with great cultural ambitions. As a young adult he travelled to the Holy Land and his motto was ‘Attempto’ (I’ll risk it). Scholars of European reputation were admitted to his court and settled in his towns, such as the law student and humanist historian Johannes Vergenhans (Nauclerus, ca. 1425–1510), intellectual promoter and first rector of the Tübingen university, the Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin, one of the most independent spirits of his time and a passionate defender of the freedom of scholarship, and the then famous theologian Gabriel Biel, a

canon of the Windesheim congregation of the Brethren of the Common Life and an eminent representative of the *devotio moderna*. Gabriel Biel fused the *devotio moderna*, a movement of popular piety, with the scholarly *via moderna* of the philosophers and theologians, creating in Tübingen until the adoption of the Protestant Reformation in 1534 the centre of a new religious spirit and of a reform movement of great vitality reaching unto the heart of theology in Paris. The count himself fostered a scholarly climate that made Tübingen from the start an attractive place for scholars who were in favour of Renaissance education, Humanist scholarship, religious revival and Reformation ideas.

The foundation of the University of Tübingen went along with the count's attempts to reform religious life in his county. In the very year of 1477 he introduced in his residential town Urach the Brethren of the Common Life (called *Kugelherren* because of their hood), devoted to modern education, and in 1482 he attached them to his court chapel in Tübingen. Once the university was inaugurated, Count Eberhard thought in 1478 about replacing the Tübingen Austin friars by the Dominicans, better equipped for up-to-date theological debate. This relocation was not implemented, but the lively debate on the opposition between *via antiqua* and *via moderna* and the confrontation of humanism with scholasticism put Tübingen on the forefront of Europe's intellectual life. Moreover, in spite of the traditional university model adopted in its statutes, the University of Tübingen introduced humanist and renaissance elements in the curriculum from the start and fostered chairs in the humanities, the *studia humanitatis* or *artes liberales*, in particular poetics, rhetoric, ethics, classical languages (Greek, Hebraic), and mathematics. It put a new accent on pedagogics and a progressive curriculum, considering the arts as a propaedeutic stage introducing to and preparing for the higher faculties.

Contrary to other university towns conceived around a princely residence or a spiritual centre, the University of Tübingen originated from a typical urban context, in spite of the count's own active involvement. The choice of the small town of Tübingen for the territorial university may still surprise one, because Tübingen was neither the residential town of the count and duke, as in Heidelberg, nor a busy ecclesiastical centre with large convents ready for academic use, as some decades later would be the case in Marburg. Tübingen was in fact the smallest university town in the fifteenth-century Holy Roman Empire, and one of the smallest of Europe as a whole. The new university was therefore conceived as a comprehensive, strictly functional institution designed by the count and his councillors, and executed by local craftsmen according to the local building traditions.



Johannes Reuchlin,
Augenspiegel („Eyes' Mirror“) 1511,
a pamphlet defending his views

Johannes Reuchlin,
Verteidigungsschrift Augenspiegel 1511

“..Tübingen was the smallest
university town in the fifteenth-
century Holy Roman Empire..”

The founding moment: the upper town re-designed as a university campus

From an architectural point of view, the foundation of the University of Tübingen in 1477 was an unparalleled performance, and it is Tübingen's pride that, contrary to so many other university towns in Europe, almost all the buildings realised at the time of its foundation are still in existence and even in use by the university. Virtually all of the universities existing at that time had built up and increased their architectural patrimony over a long lapse of time, adding at a slow pace different provisions to the small initial nucleus of the institution. Tübingen's university, on the contrary, was designed and built in one single campaign, in a couple of years, and in a conscious attempt to unite town and university in a close-knit relationship.

The university edifices adopt the architectural style of the town, their construction having been realised by the same architects and craftsmen as those of the civil buildings, with exactly the same techniques and many of them in the same building campaign. Naturally, their size is adapted to their academic functions, but neither the first university hall or the student boarding houses (*Bursa*, and later the *Martinianum*), nor the chancellor's house, or the faculty housing (*Fakultätshaus*) diverge in their initial layout, construction and outer aspect significantly from the global building style in Tübingen. They are harmoniously inserted into the town's built surface and are only distinguishable by their size, place or name.

There are two main reasons for this global unity. The first proceeds from the very way in which the university was erected by the count, the second is embedded in the technical conditions of the university's building campaign. Let's first examine the facts of the foundation. One must remember that during the first centuries of their existence in the high and later Middle Ages, universities were basically a group of faculties, not a collection of buildings. Lectures were held in houses rented by masters, examinations in churches or convents. In the next centuries, the universities either housed their halls and colleges in buildings that already existed and whose function was then adapted to university teaching or to the housing conditions required for teachers and students, or they started building separate colleges for teaching and halls for residence. As early as the thirteenth century this was the case of the oldest and most important universities of Europe, such as Bologna, Paris and Oxford: they grew slowly around some initial buildings and their edifices were randomly built or re-used for university functions. In the following centuries, this day-by-day building policy, very much dependent on the available corporate resources and private funding by individual benefactors, was also the case of the university foundations in the Holy Roman Empire, for example in Prague (1347), Vienna (1365), Erfurt (1379), Heidelberg (1385), Cologne (1388), Louvain (1425), or Basel (1459).

In spite of the impressive academic cityscapes achieved and still visible in university towns such as Paris, Oxford or Salamanca with their tight



University buildings in the Münzgasse
Universitätsgebäude in der Münzgasse

network of halls and colleges, there was no general university design at the basis of their foundation. Central university buildings and provisions for university life in town came haphazardly, following the gradual extension of the university. Tübingen's sister town Marburg is a case in point for the re-use of older urban buildings: when in 1527 Marburg university was founded by the landgrave of Hesse as the first European university formally committed to the Protestant Reformation, it was deliberately housed in the three huge male convents of the town that previously had been freed from their religious population in order to serve as lecture halls, *paedagogium*, seminar rooms, hospice, or student residence. With the exception of single residential colleges, the impressive, often majestic central buildings of European universities with their lecture halls are virtually all constructions

of later times, such as the *Archiginnasio* in Bologna, built in 1562–63, the *Sapienza* in Rome in 1575–1585, the old *Sorbonne* in Paris in 1627–48, or, in Germany, the comprehensive university buildings of Altdorf near Nürnberg (1571–1583), Helmstedt (1576–1612), or Würzburg (1582–1591).

A comprehensive educational cityscape

A similar systematization was developed in Tübingen, but one full century earlier. The founder of the Tübingen university, Count Eberhard im Bart, must have been one of the very first in Europe to conceive of a new university as a coherent cluster of educational provisions and functional buildings that had to be set up simultaneously in order to form a complete campus for which the university town provided the necessary space. But the university foundation was also harmoniously integrated in a more global campaign for the renewal of the town. Instead of conceiving a comprehensive *building* that would unite different university functions, as would be the case in later times, he conceived for his new creation a comprehensive university *town*, incorporating in the town's initial nucleus the different academic functions in new or renovated buildings: the *Stiftskirche*, the *Aula*, the *Bursa* with its two *paedagogia* for the faculty of arts, the *Augustinerkloster*, later the *Evangelisches Stift*.

View across the Neckar front with Hohentübingen Castle, Collegiate Church, plane tree allée, the old Neckar bridge, around 1877

Blick auf die Neckarfront mit Schloss Hohentübingen, Stiftskirche, Platanenallee und alter Neckarbrücke, um 1877



Assisted by his mother Mechtild, who, as a descendant of the elector of the Palatinate was familiar with the role and development of the university in Heidelberg and had persuaded her second husband Albrecht of Habsburg to found in 1457 a new university in Freiburg im Breisgau, then an Austrian possession, Count Eberhard was one of the first of his age to consider the university as a unique, multifunctional cultural space, comprising not only the administration and the lecture halls, but also the residential buildings for students, the professorial residences, the library, a student hostel, etc. And he was certainly the very first to create in his town from the start a full-grown university campus, which was in fact co-extensive with the town's upper part (Oberstadt), and whose picturesque view seen from the Neckar (the famous Neckar front) has charmed generations of visitors. For the count, everything had to be there from the beginning.

"...Count Eberhard was one of the first of his age to consider the university as a unique, multifunctional cultural space..."

This unique initiative was due to the newly developed ideas of the count and his humanist councillors about the nature of the secular state, the care of the prince for the welfare of his subjects, and the service the university in turn had to render to the state, including in matters of religion, as the legitimizing spiritual authority and the source of public morality. Among the first professors in Tübingen were some important theorists on the changing relations between church and state, such as Gabriel Biel, Johannes Nauclerus, and Philippus Melanchthon. The count also borrowed some of his ideas and projects from older institutions, such as the idea of a *Sapientia*, a teaching college with rooms grouped around an arcaded courtyard, like there were in England and more particularly in Bologna.

The *Stiftskirche* (Collegiate Church): the university's first place of honour

Significantly, the count did not build a new chapel for the university, neither was one of the existing convent chapels of the town destined for university use, something that happened in universities and colleges elsewhere. On the contrary, the local parish church of St. George had to also serve as university chapel, thus showing the intimate union of town and university. In fact, having obtained in May 1476 the pope's authorisation, the count had in March 1477 deliberately transferred the chapter of the collegiate church of nearby Sindelfingen to the parish church of Tübingen in order to make it serve as an endowment for the professors of the new university. Henceforth, St. George's parish church was a collegiate church (*Stiftskirche*), but the count's initiative may also be seen as an early measure for using ecclesiastical property for a more secular cultural goal, and for a careful use of scarce financial provisions.

At the same time, the church building itself was reconstructed, to be adapted to the growing needs of the town and also to serve the university. Already in 1470 the construction of a new choir had been started on the



Tübingen's upper town, aerial view
Tübinger Oberstadt, Luftaufnahme

count's initiative and with his money. The choir was ready in 1476, when the first stained glass windows could be placed. It was immediately devoted to the use of the university founded the following year, and functioned as an auditorium (or *Aula magna*) and reception room. For the Holy Mass services of the members of the academic community, one of the lateral chapels next to the choir was attributed to the university: the Latin names of the four faculties are still visible in the frescoes on the vault. The church's nave was rebuilt in the following years. Its double function (church for the parish, auditorium for the university) motivated the construction in 1490 of the superb rood screen (the *Lettner*), still in existence, as a closure between the nave for the parish and the new choir for the university. The stained glass windows of the choir, of which the three central ones have been perfectly conserved, obey to a strict decoration program showing Biblical themes and the life of saints next to images and symbols of the founding family. One scene recalls the former academic role of the choir by exhibiting the images of the university's first professors – a quite exceptional representation in that period.

The introduction of the Reformation in Tübingen took place in September 1534. The *Stiftskirche* was quickly rearranged for exclusive use by the Lutheran confession, and the whole choir lost its liturgical function. At the same time, the endowment of the university was disconnected from the ecclesiastical foundations of the church. Hence, after having used the choir during some years as lecture hall for the faculty of theology, the university in 1550 definitely left the choir, which was then destined as a burying place for members of the ducal family, starting with the founder of the university, Eberhard himself, whose body had already been transferred to the choir in 1537.

Yet the *Stiftskirche* continued to serve as the university church throughout the centuries. For the students of the theological seminary (the *Evan-*



Fresco on the vault of the Collegiate Church showing the Latin name of the Theological Faculty

Fresko im Gewölbe der Stiftskirche mit dem lateinischen Namen der Theologischen Fakultät

Tombs of the dukes of Württemberg in the choir of the Collegiate Church

Chor der Stiftskirche mit Grablege des Hauses Württemberg

Epitaph of Professor Johann Kingsattler (1486–1534) in the Collegiate Church

Epitaph von Professor Johann Kingsattler (1486–1534) in der Stiftskirche

The first professors of Tübingen's university, stained glass windows in the Collegiate Church

Die ersten Professoren der Tübinger Universität, Glasfenster in der Stiftskirche



gelisches Stift), its divine services remained compulsory, the more so as the medieval chapel of the seminary itself (the former Augustinian convent) received other uses. The stalls of the choir were moved to the nave but preserved for professorial use. Teachers and some students from prominent families procured burying places in the *Stiftskirche*, and several epitaphs still recall the memory of Tübingen professors, like the touching memorial paintings for the (Catholic) professor of law Johannes Kingsattler (1534) with his wife and 15 children, and for the professor of (Protestant) theology Dietrich Schnepf with his wife and 16 children (1572).

An exceptional technical achievement

The unity of town and university in the foundation period is also due to the precise and deliberate planning and the technical conditions of the building campaign, achieved within a time period of less than 25 years. Begun in 1476, the whole university district in town was achieved around 1500. In fact, the new university was completed as early as 1482 as far as the university buildings in the strict sense of the word were concerned. In the short lapse of time between 1476 and 1500, more than fifty buildings were realised that were related to university use, reshaping entirely the ancient Oberstadt but respecting the architectural unity of the old town with its gabled and timber-framed constructions. The aesthetic argument of a harmonious and beautiful cityscape had clearly played a guiding role in the architectural design by the count, the architects and the local craftsmen.

Nunnery on the canal of the Ammer River
Nonnenhaus am Ammerkanal

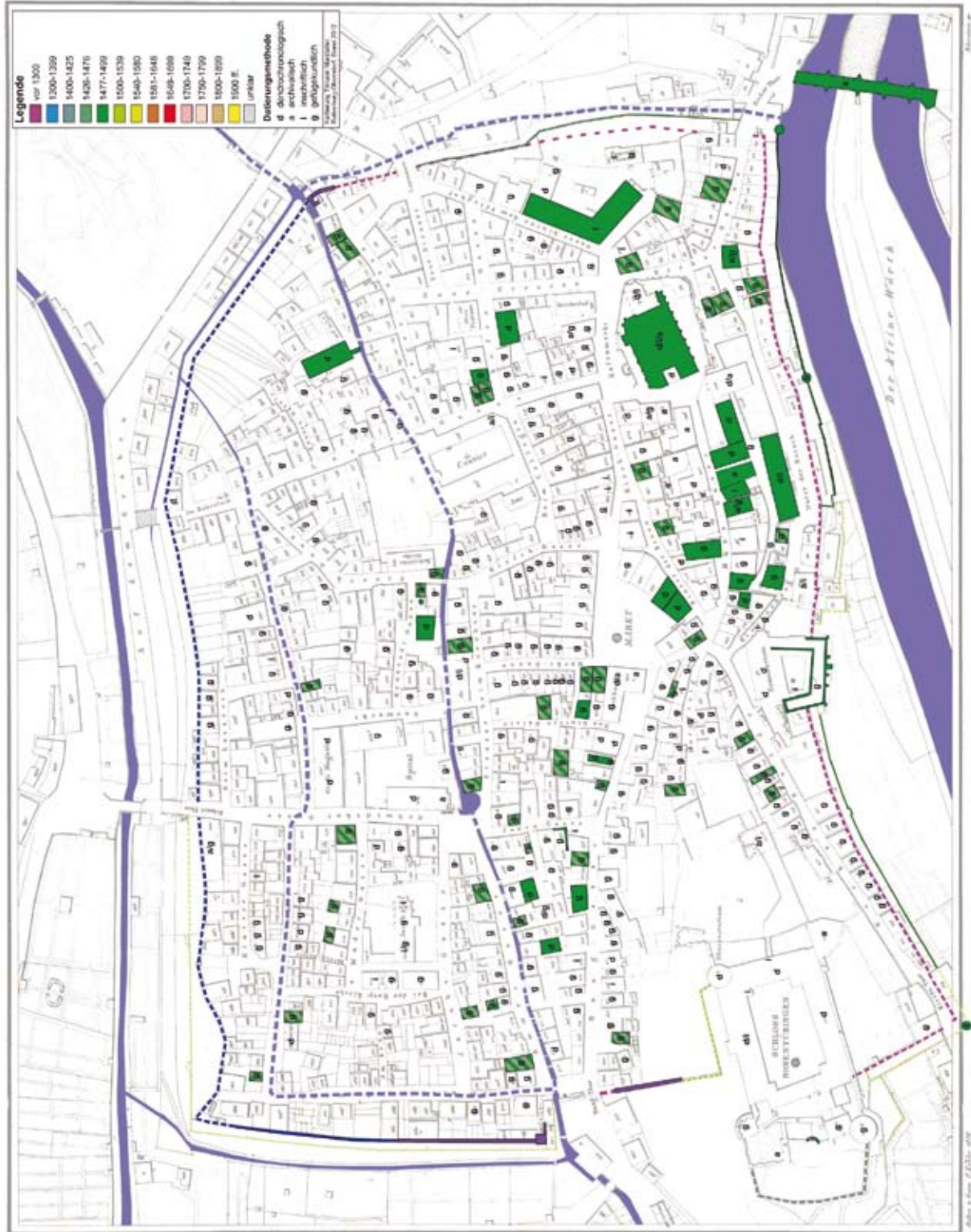


This unusually quick achievement in a period known for the laborious and time consuming construction campaigns of public buildings was due to another, concomitant factor of a technical nature, equally unique and closely linked with Tübingen's geographical situation. Extensive dendrochronological research has recently shown that the timber for the wooden structures of the different university buildings was cut down and supplied in a very short lapse of time. Moreover, the construction campaign of the university could benefit from strong local traditions and a rising spirit of architectural renewal and town planning in that period. In fact, recent research on the construction techniques and the age of the houses in the built area of the old town of Tübingen points again and again to a strong and continuous interaction between the civil, religious, and academic construction waves.

A new city hall had been built in 1435, the city's granary in 1453 (*Kornhaus*, now the municipal museum), the big warehouse in 1474–75 (*Fruchtkasten*), the city's alms house in 1481 (*Almosenhaus*), the stone bridge on the Neckar in 1482–89, the nunnery in 1487–88 (*Nonnenhaus*), the town's hospital (*Spital*) was rebuilt in

TÜBINGEN.

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New Buildings from the period of the university's founding (1477–1499)

Neue Gebäude in der Gründungszeit der Universität (1477–1499)

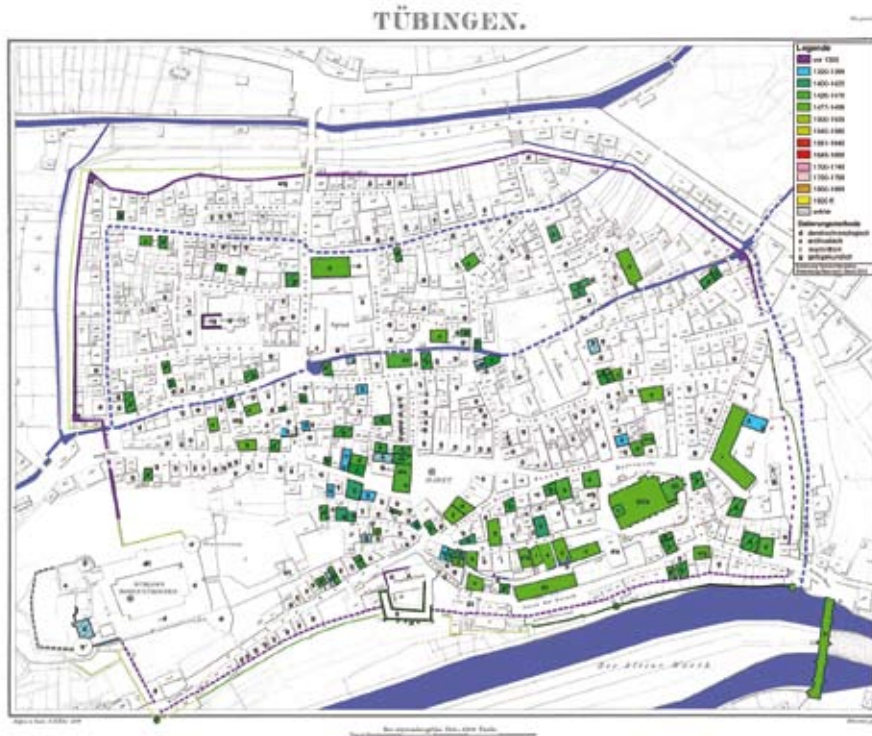
1501–02, the salt storage (*Salzstadel*) a bit later, in the early sixteenth century. St. George's parish church was under reconstruction from 1470, and in 1500 St. James chapel (the *Jakobuskirche*) was entirely renovated and extended. This was originally a pilgrimage chapel on the transnational Way of St. James' to Santiago de Compostela (proclaimed the first European Cultural Itinerary by the Council of Europe in 1987, Santiago itself being a World Heritage site). In 1491–92 the huge *Pfleghof* (town warehouse and administrative centre) for the neighbouring monastery of Bebenhausen was built where it still stands east of the *Stiftskirche*, the *Pfleghof* having been obliged to leave the *Münzgasse* for the construction of university buildings.

All these buildings have been preserved until the present day and most of them, now well researched and documented from an architectural and historical point of view, were in recent years superbly restored. As a consequence of the civic actions in the 1970s in favor of the preservation of the Altstadt, a redevelopment campaign was started by a specialized office for city revitalisation (*Sonderamt für Altstadtanierung*) under the immediate direction of the city's director for building and development. Respecting the dense medieval grid of the town, this campaign concentrated upon the restoration of selected building areas. At the same time, it aimed for a high quality mix of the traditional functions of living, trading, manufacturing, and culture in the Altstadt as a whole. The result is a lively and harmonious historic city centre with the old buildings restored and revitalized to their ancient splendour. Some of them, in particular the *Fruchtkasten*, may well have served as an example for the university's building campaign. Moreover, several dozens of late medieval houses still exist, several of them having been built for professors or other university officials. They provide the pedestrian paradise, which the city centre of Tübingen presently is, not only with indisputable charm but also a remarkable historical unity that is extremely rare in present-day cities and makes Tübingen, as a historical town, indeed a unique case.

There were practical advantages for the choice of Tübingen as the county's new university town, and it is precisely on this point that the university's foundation was an exceptional event. The planned simultaneous construction of a full range of university buildings in 1477 necessitated quick and easy access to solid but cheap construction material. Timber was the solution, the more so as this was the current construction material in the Tübingen region and in the town, and local craftsmen were accustomed to using it. Tübingen's situation on the Neckar River facilitated the provision of timber from the Black Forest. Actually, the huge quantities of timber needed were present in the Swabian hinterland but most of this territory was not in the county of Württemberg. The political skill of the count and the help of his mother, who lived in the region concerned were needed to overcome this handicap and to ensure a quick and toll-free transport. They had to act quickly and together. In fact, the timber was floated from the higher areas



Gothic column in the Bursa, dated 1480
Gotische Säule in der Bursa, datiert 1480



Medieval buildings (before 1500)

Mittelalterlicher Baubestand (vor 1500)

down the river in huge rafts. The traces of the junctions of the wooden beams for transport through the brooks and rivers are still visible in several places. All these technical factors help to explain why the building campaign was undertaken precisely in that couple of years and was executed with such remarkable speed.

The first building campaign

The ancient university campus goes from the castle to the parish church and dominates the lower district of the town where the crafts and trades were concentrated. Therefore, the buildings were not regrouped around a central courtyard but aligned along some parallel streets, in particular Münzgasse, Klosterberg, Bursagasse, Neckargasse, Kirchgasse and Burgsteige, which form together the Tübingen Latin Quarter. Because the town campus was located on the ridge of the hill and on its rather steep slopes, some buildings have several storeys more on the riverside than on the front side on top of the hill. The Alte Aula, for instance, counted nine storeys on the riverside! In addition to the university buildings themselves, from the beginning the original university campus also included residential buildings or houses for students and professors, and a number of private buildings destined for professionals connected with the university, such as bookbinders, booksellers, chemists, or craftsmen.



Alte Aula – old central university building before the university's centenary 1777 and today
Alte Aula vor dem Universitätsjubiläum 1777 und heute

Bursa
Burse



The first important new construction of the university, in 1477, was its main building in Münzgasse. Part of it burned down in January 1534, causing also the loss of the first university library and the oldest archives. It was replaced, partly on the same foundations, by the *Aula Nova* in 1547, still in existence, but at present called the *Alte Aula* (Münzgasse 30). It served at the same time as an administrative building and a warehouse for the payment of the university professors' salaries in corn and other goods. At the 1777 centenary its façade was modernised in a mixture of late baroque and early neo-classical style by Duke Carl Eugen, but it remained the central university building until the inauguration of the *Neue Aula* in the Wilhelmsvorstadt in 1845. After its recent restoration, it serves again as a general university building.

The second construction was the *Bursa* or *Contubernium academicum*, a boarding school for the students of the faculty of arts with quasi-monastic living conditions. This enormous institution built with timber cut down in 1478–79 was achieved in 1480. It still dominates the Neckar front with its impressive four-storey façade of great simplicity (Bursagasse 1). Originally it had two entrances corresponding to the two *paedagogia* included in the institution, one for the students of the *via antiqua* (the philosophical 'realists') and one for the *via moderna* (the 'nominalists'), but the distinction disappeared half a century later.

After a fire in 1491 the university obtained the ruins of the building Münzgasse 20 and rebuilt it as *Fakultätshaus*, in front of the chancellor's home, and the adjacent terrain. This was from the start the faculty of law with its lecture rooms. The university enjoyed the privilege of an autonomous court of justice for its members, the *forum academicum* or *privilegiatum*. Therefore, the first university prison, the oldest in Germany that is still in existence, is located in this building. In 1736 moralistic frescoes were painted on the prison's walls on behalf of the university, in order to bring their duties home to the prisoners, mostly students.



The university's student prison
Karzer der Universität

Still in 1477 an important lecture hall and residential building for the university was erected next to the *Fakultätshaus* (Münzgasse 22–28). One of its wings probably was the lecture hall burnt down in 1534, as mentioned above, but the other two parts still stand. Dendrochronological research has quite recently shown that the trees supplying the timber for this building were cut down in 1475–76. The construction material was therefore already supplied at the foundation moment of the university and the building campaign could start immediately.

In front of the *Fakultätshaus*, is the Chancery, or house of the chancellor, the representative of the pope, who conferred the degrees and was also dean

of the chapter (*Propstei- und Kanzlerhaus*, Münzgasse 11). Again, dendro-chronological research has proven that this house must have existed long before the foundation of the university, the trees having been cut down in 1405–06, but it became property of the count in 1481 and therefore of the university.

Several private foundations for poor students were created in the early decades. The best known is the college for 18 students, including a library, founded in 1509 by the theology professors Georg Hartsesser (1440–1516) and Martin Plantsch (ca.1460–1533). In 1683 it was established in a student house built by the university in 1665 in front of the university (Münzgasse 13). This so-called *Martinianum* is still in existence.

A complementary institution: the *Evangelisches Stift*

The most important and long-living foundation was however still to come. In 1536, shortly after the 1534 Reformation, Duke Ulrich erected a ducal *stipendium*, a theological seminary of Lutheran persuasion, called the *Evangelisches Stift*, which would be for centuries to come the main educational provision for the intellectual and spiritual elite of the duchy and kingdom, and indeed for almost all the great scholars and thinkers of Lutheran and Enlightenment Germany, including intellectuals, philosophers and men of letters like Hegel, Schelling, and Hölderlin. Many former students obtained influential positions in the Protestant nations of Europe, some even outside Germany. The library was richly endowed with books by Duke Christoph (born 1515, reigned 1550–1568) and others, but served exclusively the training of theologians and Protestant ministers. In 1547 the *Stift*, fit for 41 students, was established in the former Augustinian monastery, but when Duke Christoph increased the number of places to 150, the building was considerably enlarged, 1557–60, and refurbished many times in later centuries. Under Duke Carl Eugen it got in 1792–1800 its neo-classical look, which included the former chapel, rearranged as a library. As an institution providing board and lodging to a huge number of students of the university, who in return were obliged to the service of church and state in later life, it would remain rather exceptional in the German Empire, and of a tremendous influence on intellectual life, the theological orthodoxy, and the cohesion of the state church.

This half century, which may be regarded as Tübingens *Sternstunde* or stellar hour, includes the 1514 events finished by the adoption of the *Tübinger Vertrag* (Tübingen Agreement), one of the very first steps, if not the first, towards a democratic government in the Holy Roman Empire, notwithstanding the repressive character of the treaty towards the lower classes aspiring to a better social position and more political influence. The tax rebellion of





City Hall
Rathaus

the peasants during the reign of Duke Ulrich (1487–1550, duke 1498–1519 and 1534–1550), known as the Revolt of Poor Conrad (*Aufstand des Armen Konrads*), was beaten down as a consequence of the treaty concluded on 8 July 1514 between Duke Ulrich and the estates of the duchy. By this treaty the duke ensured himself the political and financial support of the ruling classes of his duchy and the towns (the church prelates, and the *Ehrbarkeit* or ruling class of the patrician families) by granting far-reaching rights and privileges in matters of personal liberty, representation, military defence, judicial equity, tax regulation, and territorial integrity.

“...the founding charter of civic liberty for the centuries to come...”

This treaty, the founding charter of civic liberty for the centuries to come and the first in the Holy Roman Empire, is currently known as the *magna carta* of Württemberg. As a further consequence of this treaty, the duke established the court of appeals (*Hofgericht*) of his duchy on the third floor of Tübingen’s city hall. This court existed as of 1460, but until then had moved with the duke’s court to Urach or elsewhere. It remained in Tübingen until 1806. The court’s councillors being essentially recruited among the university’s professors, this measure meant a next step towards the symbiosis of city and university, warranting the maintenance of civic rights.

**The second complementary institution:
the *Collegium illustre* (College for Nobility)**

Whereas the creation of the new university guided the layout and the architecture of a considerable part of the public space of the upper town (Oberstadt), it was not Tübingen's only resource of more than regional importance for learning and education. Another institution was set up as a very early school for state officials and civil servants, complementary to the university dedicated to scholarship. It was housed in a building that took the place of the former Franciscan *studium*. Indeed, the Franciscan convent of the town, founded in 1272, harboured in the later Middle Ages a *studium* of the Franciscan order where lecturers taught philosophy and theology until its suppression during the Reformation in 1534.

After a fire in 1540, the restored buildings of the suppressed convent were destined by Duke Christoph in 1559 to host a *Collegium illustre* for the education of the higher strata of the county of Württemberg. In the church regulations for the duchy of Württemberg issued by the duke in that same

Collegium illustre, College for Nobility

Collegium illustre, Ritterakademie



Collegium illustre, College for Nobility

Collegium illustre, Ritterakademie

Courtyard of the College for Nobility around 1608

Hof des Collegium illustre um 1608

year, 1559, the educational provisions of Tübingen were systematically extended to all the social segments of the society and the state. Educated for service to the state, parallel to the university that educated for service to the church and society at large, the young patricians and nobles had to learn in this elite academy all the skills that were required by their social condition: beside lectures on themes suitable for their societal tasks in princely service, they learned fencing, horse-riding, dancing and other physical exercises, among which in particular was the most important group sport of the higher strata of early modern society, *jeu de paume*, the ancestor game of present-day tennis. They also studied fortification, politics, jurisprudence, natural sciences, and modern languages. Together, the University of Tübingen, the Evangelisches Stift and the *Collegium illustre* covered the whole range of arts, sciences and skills that mattered in the society of that time.

In 1588–92, Duke Christoph's son Ludwig rebuilt the *Collegium* in German renaissance style, after the Italian *Sapienza* model around a courtyard serving for public exercises, one of the wings containing the hall for the sport *jeu de paume*, which students and visitors could observe from a built-in gallery. Under the influence of the ideas on political and military education of the French nobleman François de la Noüe, the *Collegium*, called the *Ludovicianum* after its founder, was reorganized by Ludwig's successor Friedrich I (1557–1608), Count of Montbéliard and Duke of Württemberg in 1593. Friedrich was also a grandson of Philip the Magnanimous, the founder of the Marburg university in 1527, and he displayed a similar humanistic interest in the education of his subjects. Count Friedrich, made famous by Shakespeare's allusions to him in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, was himself a well-educated, modern ruler with an ambitious cultural policy and pronounced cultural preferences. He was the first absolutist ruler of his state. The university as well as the academy owe him much for their reputation. He started a *Kunstammer* (art collection), and his preferred architect Heinrich Schickhardt (1558–1635) designed for him an impressive range of renaissance buildings, including a new residential town, called Freudenstadt, in the Black Forest, meant also to shelter the Protestant fugitives from the Austrian territories.

The *Collegium* was inaugurated in 1594 by the new duke. Known as the very first College for Nobility of Germany, it was exclusively destined for princely and noble students, beginning 1596, and soon became the model for similar institutions in the Holy Roman Empire, starting with the famous *Mauritianum* at Kassel (1598) in the landgraviate of Hesse, where Friedrich's grandfather reigned. About 120 pupils could be accommodated in the building in the middle of the town of Tübingen. New statutes enhanced the *Collegium* in 1601 as a full-fledged *Ritterakademie*, or Knights Academy, enjoying the privileges of the university but conserving its autonomous status.



I Apice picta Modi regalia lectu Lycei
Rarum Terciaq Principis istud opus

Cernis' ut eminent populosi more theatri
Aula Peristylijs scenica fulta suis

Enlightened measures

During the first decades, the academy was a much-envied educational model in the Holy Roman Empire and it enriched the urban life of Tübingen by the display of nobility culture and the rituals and customs of the German elite. After the first half of the seventeenth century the academy lost much of its significance, although it was occasionally allowed to retain those scholars in Tübingen who were at odds with the university. The absolutist and enlightened duke Carl Eugen, keen on renewal of the educational provisions of his duchy, took then a properly revolutionary measure. In 1767/70 he projected the foundation of a renovated military academy and artillery school in the Tübingen *Collegium* according to the modern utilitarian ideas about the training of army officials and technical education, which were prevalent in some other German territories, in France and among several absolutist princes of Europe. Initially this higher education institution was scheduled to be coupled with the university, but when the ducal efforts to reanimate the university showed few results, the academy was established in 1770 in his castle *Solitude*. Beside military science, other modern matters were taught, such as the new medical, management and technical sciences. In 1775 the duke moved the academy to his capital city Stuttgart and in 1781 he obtained from Emperor Joseph II the elevation of his *Hohe Karlsschule* to university level.

This was in fact a serious threat for the university of Tübingen, in spite of the duke's double role as protector of traditional scholarship and promoter of the new arts and sciences. Indeed, this was the very prototype of a modern higher education institution perfectly adapted to the new world of Enlightenment, where natural sciences, technology, economics and civil administration (*Kameralistik*) played an enhanced and indeed a decisive role. Nevertheless, Tübingen managed to conserve its university next to the *Hohe Karlsschule* of Stuttgart. But the latter, one of the very first modern technical universities, was accused of fostering revolutionary ideas and suppressed after the duke's death in 1794, with the intention of a transfer to Tübingen. However, this transfer was not realised and Tübingen would definitely remain deprived of technical schooling at the university level. In 1798, during the Napoleonic era, the *Ritterakademie* was finally closed, and formally suppressed in 1816. Its collection of physical instruments was incorporated into the university as a 'physical cabinet' in 1804, to be transferred to the new *Physikalisches Institut* in 1888.

Tübingen retained its new name, the *Eberhardina-Carolina*, from the duke's intervention policy, and, at its third centenary, a refurbishing and modernisation of the *Alte Aula* and the *Stiftskirche*. Aside from a technical university, Tübingen until today lacks not only a technical university but also a *Kunstakademie* (art school). Both deficiencies reinforce, however, the link between private or corporate initiatives in those fields and often provoke a supply of curricular or extracurricular teaching from the side of the university.

Institutional revival after the revolutionary period

In later centuries, e.g. in 1682, in the 1780s, in 1826 and again in 1918, the transfer of the university to the nearby capital city of Stuttgart was repeatedly proposed and seriously debated, by famous scholars such as Leibniz, but still more by the political authorities, as was also the case with other universities in small towns throughout Europe. Indeed, during the early modern period, the perception of the relation between university and society slowly changed. Henceforth, universities were not seen as clerical institutions or isolated centres of pure science, but as social institutions that had to correspond as closely as possible to the needs of society at large and that, consequently, had to be placed in the middle of the actual needs and events. Another argument often advanced by the ruling authorities, e.g. in the turbulent decades of the early nineteenth century, was the political control of

Tübingen, from the south, around 1780

Tübingen von Süden um 1780



the students, easier to realise in the capital than in remote towns with their local traditions and their own, strong social interaction.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the university had functioned essentially as a huge theological study centre, one of the major think tanks of Lutheranism, to which some faculties of smaller size had been added. But under the strong impulse of the young absolutist Duke Carl Eugen, who started his reign in 1744, the university commenced its modernisation, diversifying its disciplinary interests and gradually expanding outside the initial urban nucleus. The medieval St. Conrad's chapel in the lower city was already used as an anatomical theatre. In 1753 a small chemical laboratory was added, which served until its transfer to the castle in 1818 and hence in 1846 to the Chemical Laboratory (now the *Alte Chemie*) next to the *Neue Aula*. In the previous year (1752), the duke had allowed the university to erect an astronomical observatory on the north eastern turret of his castle.

At the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* of 1803 and in the following years, the former uniformly Protestant duchy of Württemberg lost the county of Montbéliard, occupied by the French revolutionaries in 1793, but was compensated for its loss by the acquisition of several extensive, mostly Roman Catholic territories and imperial cities on its eastern borders. The duke was made elector of the German Empire and in December 1805 at the Treaty of Preßburg (Bratislava) he received the title of king. According to the prevalent religious policy, state and religious laws and opportunities had now to coincide. Therefore, in 1821/28, the new diocese of Rottenburg (now Rottenburg-Stuttgart) was established for the Catholic population of the new, greater kingdom of Württemberg and Catholic theology had to be taught within its boundaries.

In 1812, a Catholic theological university for the kingdom of Württemberg was founded in the town of Ellwangen, where in the past theology had already been taught by the Jesuits. But this one-faculty university proved too small and short-lived. In 1817 the new king, Wilhelm I (reigned 1816–1864) suppressed this new-born university by transferring the faculty to the territorial university of Württemberg in Tübingen. It was housed in the former *Collegium illustre*, which allotted numerous rooms to students. Thus, the building was reopened in the same year as a boarding house for the students of the newly added Catholic theological faculty of the University of Tübingen. In 1821, it was renamed *Wilhelmsstift* after its founder. As such it still exists as an additional provision of the university like the *Evangelisches Stift*. The former ballroom of the *Collegium* was refurbished to serve as the first Catholic church in Tübingen after the Reformation; in 1875–78 this church was replaced by the neo-gothic St. John's church in the former garden of the *Collegium*, just north of it. In 1935, a second residence was added to the expanding *Wilhelmsstift*, called the *Johanneum*. It was housed in the *Villa Bruns* in the university district (Brunsstraße 19) built by the architects Eisenlohr and Weigle.



Wilhelmsstift - Catholic Theological Seminary, 1827

Wilhelmsstift – Theologenkonvikt 1827

Following the construction of the new palaces of the dukes of Württemberg at Ludwigsburg in 1707–33 and in the capital city Stuttgart after 1746, the Hohentübingen castle had lost its territorial and seigniorial significance. In 1803 the use of the whole ducal castle was handed over to the university, which obtained the building in full property in 1816. It was allocated to the university library (until its transfer to the university district in 1912) and to the expanding department of natural sciences. The mineralogical and paleontological collections were exhibited in the castle, as well as the physical instruments. In 1818 the chemical laboratory was housed in the castle's former kitchen, where Felix Hoppe-Seyler (1825–1895) discovered haemoglobin and founded modern biochemistry. It was in that laboratory that the young assistant professor Friedrich Miescher (1844–1895) in 1869 isolated the *nuclein*, i.e. the nucleic acids, commonly known as the DNA. In fact, he was the first to identify DNA as a distinct molecule. In Tübingen the foundations were laid for further molecular discoveries, although it was many decades later that their importance would be fully recognized, and the research resumed by biochemistry and cell biology.

The early nineteenth-century renewal manifested itself equally in the conversion of the huge building of the old *Bursa*, in 1803–05, into the first academic hospital, with the new neo-classicist look that would mark virtually all the subsequent new university buildings of the nineteenth century. The hospital was the mother of a long range of clinical institutes that in the course of the next two centuries would be built in the university districts next to the old town. Even after the transfer of the hospital to a new building in 1846, the *Bursa* continued to serve different clinical functions until its restoration and allocation to the philosophical faculty in 1968–72. Soon new faculties were added to the university, both being the first of their kind in Germany: the Faculty of Political Economy organized in 1817, called the Faculty of Political Science in 1822; the Faculty of Catholic Theology, equally in 1817; and the Faculty of Natural Sciences in 1863.



Memorial to the poet and politician Ludwig Uhland
Denkmal des Dichters und Politikers Ludwig Uhland

In the first half of the nineteenth century the University of Tübingen gradually received a new impetus, not only because of the revival and development of scholarship, in particular in the medical and natural sciences in quickly modernising Germany, but also because of the involvement of its scholars, especially those of the humanities, in the development of political ideas and a critical mind toward the pretensions of religion and the churches, and their civic involvement in the creation of modern society and the recognition of human rights. Trendsetting was the attitude of the Tübingen-born poet and scholar Ludwig Uhland (1787–1862), one of the founders of scientific philology, whose memory as a democratic politician is cherished in Tübingen. His lyrics in praise of liberty after the adoption of the 1819 Württemberg constitution met with enormous enthusiasm. In 1833 he had to resign his Tübingen professorship because his political views opposed the prevailing political regime. He was one of the members of the revolutionary 1848 Frankfurt parliament, the first freely elected parliament for all of Germany. As early as 1873, a statue was erected for him in Tübingen.

Theology was another field of profound renewal, with a broadly European echo, in Tübingen, where for a long time rigid Protestant orthodoxy, later mitigated by Pietism, had dominated the faculty. In the 1820s and 1830s the Lutheran theologian Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860) initiated the historical analysis of Biblical texts, thus founding what was to be known as the *Tübingen School*, the first to practice systematic criticism in scholarship and teaching of the New Testament. In this orbit, David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874), still being a simple *Stiftsrepetent* (a tutor in the *Evangelisches Stift*), published his critical and indeed strongly de-mythologizing study, *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (Tübingen 1835–36), translated as *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined* (3 volumes, London 1846). His scholarly portrayal of the historical Jesus scandalized at the time the whole Christian world of Europe and beyond, but would be of seminal importance for the scholarly renewal of Christian theology, and indeed of Christian life. Many influential Protestants of international fame, innovators of post-war

theology, have received their education at the University of Tübingen, theologians such as Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), Karl Barth (1886–1968), Paul Tillich (1888–1965), and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, victim of Nazi persecution (1906–1945).

The Catholic theological faculty of Tübingen, established in 1817, responded to the Protestant challenge by forming its own *Tübingen School*, starting with Johann Adam Möhler (1796–1838), a theologian and church historian who advocated a rich diversity of Christian life against traditional monolithic Roman Catholic dogmatism. This school was known for its positive and historical approach to theology: revelation as mediated through history. The faculty has published the influential *Theologische Quartalschrift* of Tübingen since 1819. Romano Guardini (1885–1968), one of the most influential post-war intellectuals and peace workers, taught at Tübingen, just like the present Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph Ratzinger, *1927) from 1966 to 1969, together with Hans Küng (*1928).

Many other scholars have put Tübingen on the international agenda, to name only Ernst Bloch (1885–1977), professor of philosophy at the university and one of the intellectual heroes of the student movement of the 1960s. He taught there at the same time as (Sir) Ralf Dahrendorf (1929–2009), the liberal sociologist of post-capitalist society, who later engaged in a political career in Europe.

The first expansion: the suburb *Wilhelmsvorstadt* in the Ammer Valley

From the architectural point of view, the second period of growth of the university coincided with a new, even stronger symbiosis between the city and the university through the creation of a full-grown university district after 1840, in the new extension of the town in the Ammer Valley (Ammertal), north of the lower part of the old city. After the acquisition of the castle for the natural sciences, the university had established the medical clinic (the university hospital) in 1805 in the former *Bursa*, which was refurbished for that use in a neo-classical style. Simultaneously, in 1805–09, the Botanical Garden was moved from its exiguous place in the old town between *Aula* and *Bursa*, where it had been laid out in 1663, to a large terrain northeast of the town between its walls and the Ammer River, formerly having served as practice ground for the *Collegium illustre*, and a Botanical Institute was finally built on the terrain in 1846 (*Alte Botanik*). In 1817, a new chemical institute was planned in the garden. It was not realised but it must have started the expansion movement by influencing the ideas about the congenial union between the old city centre and the university prevalent among the members of the university senate. In 1818 the university argued in favour of the acquisition of new land for more housing for the growing number of professors, some of whom had already begun to build homes outside the



University campus in the suburb "Wilhelmsvorstadt" around 1860

Universitätsviertel in der Wilhelmsvorstadt um 1860

city walls. The city walls were demolished, and in 1821–22 the Museum was built just outside the Lustnauer Tor, next to the new Botanical Garden, as a poly-functional cultural and community centre for academic and civic sociability. It was beyond the Ammer, as an extension of these two academic centres, that the new quarter was designed.

What distinguishes Tübingen from other universities expanding in the same period, both in and outside of Germany, and constitutes at the same time its present-day pride, is the exceptional architectural unity of the new university district, resulting partly from early planning designs, partly from intelligent urban development in later decades, partly from the continued use of the architectural style employed for the first, central university buildings. In particular, the interpenetration of town and university in the new quarter was shown by the gradual occupation of the land by university institutes, professorial dwellings, student residences and houses for rent by the citizenry, in a remarkably harmonious urban layout and architectural design.

In 1811, the university had obtained the status of a state institution. As the new state university of the kingdom of Württemberg, it had lost much of its autonomy but at the same time it was henceforth administrated in the

perspective of a wider state policy. Just like many other measures in favour of the University of Tübingen and of cultural life as a whole in the new kingdom of Württemberg, the development of the new university quarter owes much to the personal interventions of the second king Wilhelm I (1781–1864), who since 1816 reigned as a liberal monarch until the challenges of the 1848 revolution turned him conservative. Confronted with the Tübingen demand for a new ‘University House’ (or *Aula*) in 1837, King Wilhelm visited the projected places in person. Against the wish of the university senate that was still much in favour of keeping the whole university within the old limits of the medieval city, the king opted in 1838 for new land outside the former walls, which would enable a steady, gradual enlargement of the university in the sense of modernity. This decision has proven its prophetic value: the new land has sufficed for the virtually unlimited expansion of institutes and clinics of the university until far into the twentieth century. New buildings were added first around and in the continuation of the new university centre, then occupied gradually the adjacent lower terrains between the new extension and the city cemetery in the north and the old city in the south, returning the university development in the direction of the ancient urban space and hence accentuating again the unity of the town and the university. Finally, the space occupied by the university buildings became larger than the surface of the old town, of which they now formed an immediate extension.

Already in 1832–35 a new anatomical institute with lecture rooms and an anatomical theatre for demonstrations was erected east of the town, on the lower slope of the Österberg hill. Finally, the new extension was to be scheduled for the north side of the town. The first building on that side of the old town was the new *Aula*, intended to replace the old one from 1547. Its construction in neo-classical style, designed by architect Georg Gottlob Barth (1777–1848), preceded by a representative square, and flanked by two symmetric buildings devoted to the two core natural sciences of that time, botany and chemistry, respectively, was started in March 1840 in the presence of Crown Prince Karl (1823–1891). On 31 October 1845 the *Neue Aula* was inaugurated. Its huge central reception hall was surrounded by a large number of lecture rooms and offices.

A year later (1846) the new surgical clinic (a clinical hospital for surgery and internal medicine, now the *Hygiene-Institut*) was built, which would mark the start of the development of the medical quarter in the new university district. From the start, the city appears to have planned a mixed occupation of the new district, alternating university buildings and private houses, mostly for rent to university professors and students, but also for private use by the owners. For example the representative private house built in 1844 by architect Albert Barth the younger in front of the *Neue Aula* would later serve as a residence for Prince Wilhelm, then a student in Tübingen. Having acquired all available land in the next decades, the layout of the new

Neue Aula – new central university building in the Wilhelmsvorstadt

Neue Aula – Hauptgebäude der Universität in der Wilhelmsvorstadt



Neue Aula – new central university building around 1860

Neue Aula um 1860



Colonnade in the Neue Aula

Wandelhalle in der Neuen Aula

district was systematically designed with rectilinear streets and quadrangular blocks. This mixed use singles the Tübingen university district out from similar quarters in other university towns. It is at the same time proof of the harmonious unity between town and university.

The main avenue, with its neo-classical look, quickly received the name of Wilhelmstraße in honour of the king. New faculties and expanding institutes moved to the new district. After the formal institution of a faculty of Natural Sciences in 1863, the first to be founded in the German states, and due to the growth of science in unified Germany after the 1871, a growing range of institutes and clinics was built in the new quarter that reached its most harmonious layout around 1890: the physiological institute (by Josef Schlierholz, achieved 1868), the institute for pathological anatomy (by Albert Koch, 1874), the ophthalmic hospital (1875), the medical hospital (*Medizinische Klinik*, 1878–79), the physico-chemical institute (by Felix Berner, 1885), the institute for physics (*Physikalisches Institut*, by Felix Berner, 1888), the new gynaecological hospital in place of the old one that in 1803 had been installed in the former *Bursa* in the old town (*Frauenklinik* 1890), the enormous, eye-catching hospital for mental diseases (*Nervenkrank*, later renamed *Psychiatrische Klinik*, 1894), the huge geological institute for lectures and for the mineralogical, geological and zoological collections (by Albert Beger, 1902), a new institute for chemistry replacing the 1845 building next to the *Neue Aula* (by Albert Beger, 1907, one of the very few buildings that was demolished in the 1970s after the transfer of chemistry to the *Morgenstelle*), a new ophthalmological clinic (*Augenkrank*, 1909), and finally, delayed by the war, a skin clinic (*Haut- und Ohrenkrank*, also by Albert Beger, 1913–1922).

Other university buildings were added such as the *Turnhalle* (sports hall, 1877) and the chancery, not to mention a host of minor buildings for practical use. Finally the new University Library designed by architect Paul Bonatz was added in 1912, in front of the new *Aula*, where it now stands, enlarged in 1963 and 2002 for the 3,700,000 millions of volumes it keeps today, but still preserving its historical reading room with a beautiful fresco of ‘Odysseus in the underworld’ referring to the immortality of the book, by Karl Schmoll von Eisenwerth. Many institutes remained in the old town, especially in the humanities.

Clinics of the university around 1920

Universitätskliniken 1917

Hospital of the university around 1855

Krankenhaus der Universität um 1855

In the foreground the suburb "Wilhelmsvorstadt and the old clinics in the valley – in the background the new clinics on the hill "Schnarrenberg"

Im Vordergrund die Wilhelmsvorstadt und die alten Kliniken im Tal – im Hintergrund die neuen Kliniken auf dem Schnarrenberg

After World War I, the *Universitätsviertel* (university district) was considered closed on the north side by the new chemical institute. Subsequently, it was extended towards the west, parallel to the Ammer River, where it approached again the old town. A clinic for children's diseases was built (*Kinderklinik*, 1927), as well as a huge new surgical clinic (*Chirurgische Universitätsklinik*, 1929/35). Finally, a considerable extension of the *Neue Aula* in the same neo-classical style was realized in 1928–31, necessitated by the gradual growth of the student numbers. This continuous building activity occupied the Wilhelmsvorstadt ever more. It reduced its initial park-like character, with the exception of the Botanical Garden situated between the university district and the town, which gained now a new momentum as a green, recreational zone within the city. But at the same time it turned the whole area into a tight group of university buildings with a remarkably homogeneous outlook, procuring the present-day observer a strong impression of well-considered planning.

The second expansion, uphill: Schnarrenberg and Morgenstelle

In the 1950s and 1960s, the expansion of the university due to the beginning democratization of student recruitment, the continuous renewal and on-going specialisation of the natural and medical sciences, the stream of medical discoveries and scientific innovations, and new views on medical cure and care necessitated worldwide a huge and continuous investment in new buildings and provisions and specific infrastructures, especially in the so-called 'hard sciences' and in clinical care. At present, the university *Klinikum* counts seventeen separate clinics.

As happened in the same post-war period time in Marburg where the medical and natural sciences left the town in the 1970s for a remote location on the Lahnberge, Tübingen's university also took the decision to concentrate the new buildings in specific places and set them not only aside from the former university districts in the old town and the Wilhelmsvorstadt, but also outside the lower districts of the town by putting them on the hills. However, Tübingen clearly preceded Marburg in this matter. As early as 1937 the first plans for occupation of the Schnarrenberg further uphill to the west were formulated on behalf of the university in order to respond to the growing demands of the university clinics. Yet it was not before the 1950s that a competition for the development of a new medical district on the Schnarrenberg was launched, and in 1958 the final development plan for the whole new area was established by the university and the city authorities, almost quadrupling the territory occupied by the university from 46 to 170 hectare.

In the meantime, new institutes and a considerable number of office buildings, technical centres, laboratories, not to forget parking structures,



were added to the university district in the Wilhelmsvorstadt, and the university library received its first extension (1959–63), another to follow in 2002, overarching in 2005 even the Ammer River. This university district was finally limited in the north by the *Max-Planck Institut*, and the astronomical observatory with the *Kepler Center for Astro and Particle Physics* uphill. Early in the 1950s the construction of the new medical clinic on the Schnarrenberg was started; it was finished in 1961. But it was not before the 1960s that a growing number of medical and pharmaceutical institutes and clinics came to occupy the Schnarrenberg in the northwest, expanding and complementing the clinical provisions in the Ammertal.

The natural sciences followed in a first building campaign from 1968 until 1974 on the Morgenstelle, half a mile more uphill. This movement towards the top was crowned by the latest location of the Botanical Garden with the newest version of the Botanical Institute (now the Biological Institute, 1969) and the arboretum on the highest level. At present, the comprehensive disposition of the University of Tübingen shows a striking cohesion between town and university. Virtually all the university buildings are located in a half moon from northeast to northwest, limited in the south by the old town and its extensions which still maintain the first university buildings and students housing, and in the north by residential quarters, including the student village *Studentendorf Waldhäuser-Ost* (1975), really a complete residential district corresponding to the student ideals of the 1970s, next to a huge residence hall with 1,700 rooms.

As for the medieval and early modern buildings in the old town: the *Bursa*, which had housed the dental clinic after the departure of the gynaecological clinic in 1907, was completely restored after 1967 in order to be devoted to the humanities in 1972. Pedagogy found also a new place in the Münzgasse, and the Hohentübingen Castle, finally having lost all the natural sciences, became the seat of cultural studies, in particular archaeology, ethnology, and anthropology. The final result of all these moves has been a rather clear and rational regrouping of the main science divisions in specific quarters of the town, in spite of some exceptions: the humanities (including theology) and social sciences in and immediately around the old town, the administrative buildings, with the old clinics and medical institutes in the Wilhelmsvorstadt, the natural sciences uphill on the Morgenstelle and the new medical clinics in between on the Schnarrenberg. As a university town, Tübingen has therefore realised a remarkable unity between city layout and academic functionality.

Faced with the danger of a dispersion of the university buildings of the other faculties through the town, the general development plan adopted by the university in 1958 scheduled the accommodation of the humanities and the social sciences in the Wilhelmsvorstadt, either in the vacant institutes or in new buildings. The first building for the humanities was the so-called *Hegelbau*, built in 1958 for the faculty of philosophy, the second

the *Neuphilologikum* (for philology) in 1971–74. For the new constructions, the neo-classical and neo-renaissance styles, which during many decades had marked the academic landscape in several varieties, were abandoned, and new, sometimes daring architectural projects were adopted, like the *Clubhaus* for the students, built in the 1950s by Rolf Gutbrod in front of the *Neue Aula*, next to the university library, and financed by the US Congress in order to foster German democracy. Certainly the most remarkable buildings in the *Wilhelmsvorstadt* are the central lecture hall by architect Paul Baumgarten (*Hörsaalgebäude*, 1968), called the *Kupferbau*, the copper building, because of the conspicuous copper covering of its outer walls, and the main *Mensa* (refectory, 1966), quite near to this building by the same architect, with similar characteristics. Although contrasting with the traditionalist architecture of the majority of the buildings in the *Wilhelmsvorstadt*, they testify rather eloquently to the continuous renewal of the university and indeed of academic life and constitute popular meeting places and points of reference for the academic population.

Refectory on Wilhelmstraße
Mensa an der Wilhelmstraße



At present, a fourth period seems to have started, initiating a new, rationalised redistribution of the faculties and institutes. A competition for the design of the ‘campus of the future’ was launched in 2008, and several older and newer buildings of monumental character are at present threatened with demolition. Whatever the outcome, the humanities are now reintegrating the old town, and the restored *Neue Aula* is recovering some of its old, primary functions as the heart of the university, surrounded by the university library, the central refectory (the *Mensa*, threatened but still preserved) and the great lecture hall. The medical and natural sciences continue remaining uphill, but the former clinics are again approaching the old town. The visual distribution of the university buildings gains in clearness, and the interplay of town and university is given new opportunities.

Whereas in former centuries the transfer of the University of Tübingen to the capital city Stuttgart was suggested repeatedly, at present the university is so tightly anchored in the city, as the oldest and as far as its reputation is concerned indeed the principal university of the state (Land), that the University of Tübingen attracts higher education institutions from elsewhere, such as its three Max-Planck Institutes (for developmental biology, biological cybernetics, and intelligent systems), the *Evangelische Hochschule für Kirchenmusik* (Evangelical University for Church Music, transferred from Eßlingen in 1998), or the *Collegium Ambrosianum* for adult Catholic theological formation (transferred from Ehingen in 2009). It also motivates the foundation in the town of important scholarly and cultural institutions of international weight and aura, such as the German-American Institute and the Institut Culturel Franco-Allemand, or the Global Ethic Institute (*Stiftung Weltethos*) founded in Tübingen by the world famous Catholic theologian of Swiss origin Hans Küng (*1928), who officially inaugurated it in 2012. Küng was a professor at the Faculty of Catholic Theology from 1960 to 1980 and afterwards director of the Institute for Oecumenical Research that he had founded. Small wonder that the width and richness of the academic provisions and the quality of teaching and research was crowned in 2012 by the attribution of the status of ‘Excellence University’.

There are many other links between the town and the university. Technical design has been documented in Tübingen since 1785; in 1809 Christoph Friedrich Dörr (1782–1841) became the university’s first design teacher, whereas soon afterwards the city’s institute for technical design, whose existence is first mentioned in 1821, was housed in the *Neue Aula*. In the early nineteenth century Friedrich Silcher (1789–1860), since 1817 director of music at the university, is a telling example of an academic teacher whose activities in favour of local singing associations, choral unions, and musical festivals in Tübingen have meant much for the integration of academic culture in the local community. After World War II, such cross-lines have been multiplied, for example in the *Studium generale*, in the university’s *Kulturreferat* (founded in 1951), a form of cultural cooperation between town



The early buildings of the university
along Münzgasse

*Die frühen Gebäude der Universität
entlang der Münzgasse*

and university meant to bring high culture to the town, in particular music, in the common initiative of the *Sommer Universität* (summer university), or in the children's university (*Kinder-Uni*), the first in Germany (and probably also worldwide) to be founded in 2002 as an educational offspring of the University of Tübingen.

The university town as a cultural space: places, functions and people

Students in town

“...the second youngest town in Germany...”

At present, the city of Tübingen counts a bit less than 90 000 inhabitants, among whom approximately 25 000 are students and close to 4500 university teachers, researchers and other employees of the university. The number of university employees amounts to 12 000, when including the clinics. This means that more than a quarter of the Tübingen town population is made up of university students and that more than half of the population is directly engaged by the university. This, incidentally, makes it the second youngest town in Germany, a fact that is of major consequence for the nature of the symbiosis town/university. Most other inhabitants depend indirectly on the university for services of different kinds: housing, nourishment, clothing, shopping and transportation, books, digital equipment, and other products for intellectual or technical performances, arts and leisure, etc. The town's culture is, therefore, to a large extent dominated by students and by former or present-day forms of student life. During the early modern period this proportion has changed repeatedly but in the end remained rather similar: in the high days of the University of Tübingen, in the 1580s, one out of every four or five inhabitants must have been a student or a teacher.

With a total of 5800 matriculations between 1477 and 1534, in the Catholic period, the University of Tübingen, limited by the small scale of the Württemberg territory, made a reasonable start in the academic landscape of Europe. The majority of students must have entered the service of the Roman Catholic Church either as priests or as simple clerics endowed with a smaller or greater benefice, of which Württemberg counted 1100, or provided with a task in an educational institution. The close relation between church and university would be maintained after 1534, under the Protestant regime, yet there was a significant change: henceforth, good knowledge of theology was required, and the faculty of theology, already considered the first under the Catholic regime, got a brand new impetus because of the ever closer relationship between the territorial church and the state. In spite of the disappearance of the beneficial system, the Lutheran church monopolised in fact most of the university recruitment, either through the arts or through theology, the theological faculty playing, henceforth, the role of a professional education agency, coupled with rather generous student provisions like the *Evangelisches Stift*, the theological seminary. The other faculty that benefitted from the on-going changes in society was the law faculty: it was closely connected to the territorial administration and supplied not only the great majority of its councillors and civil servants but prepared also its

policy and jurisprudence. As early as 1495 the first known juridical *consilium* of the faculty was drafted. The establishment of the territorial court of appeals of Württemberg (the *Hofgericht*) in the Tübingen city hall in 1514 increased considerably its activity in the public sphere.

The approximately 100 to 150 annual matriculations at the beginning became 150 to 200 after 1550, but fell to less than 100 after the Thirty Years War. After a small rise up to 150-odd in the second half of the 17th century, they would remain close to 100 during a century and a half, currently known as the period of the university's decay, until the beginning of a steady increase in the 1810s. A decade later, the number of 300 matriculations yearly had already been achieved. Because students normally studied three or four years, the real number of students living in town was three to four times higher. Although Tübingen continued to attract between 5 and 7% of the total German student population annually, these numbers resemble in no way the huge matriculation numbers of our time, ten to twenty times higher. They explain, however, the very close, almost personal link that could exist between the student body and the early modern town population, which we can put at about 3500 at the founding moment, and 5000 in the next centuries, i.e. perhaps ten times the number of students and professors in bad periods, three or four times their number in times of student increase. The slow evolution of the numbers explains why the city campus designed by Count Eberhard would remain sufficient during the whole early modern period, and why suddenly an extension of the university infrastructure was needed after the 1810s.

The built environment: the town as university campus

With no more than 4% of the built area destroyed, Tübingen remained virtually untouched by the destructive forces of World War II. In the historical town, just the Uhland house was destroyed by the bombing of 15 March 1944, i.e., the house where Ludwig Uhland died in 1862, Uhland's birth place at Neckarhalde 24, a stately burgher mansion, is still preserved as an important monument. Moreover, Tübingen never really suffered from the urban demolition and redevelopment campaigns of the 1960s, which so disfigured many European towns. Seen from the point of view of historical heritage, the exceptional riches of Tübingen consist not only in the preservation of virtually all the buildings that have marked the different stages of the development of its university, but also that of the whole encapsulated historical environment of a medieval, early modern and contemporary town, which gives the observer a particularly overwhelming feeling of the unity of university and town, and of the intimate way in which both were and remain related.

Moreover, for two centuries the university has been the major building force in Tübingen – a situation that recalls its *Sternstunde*, or stellar hour,

"...Tübingen remained virtually untouched by the destructive forces of World War II..."

around 1477. The great number of institutes, auditoriums, observatories, student houses, fraternities and other buildings related to the university, not to mention the private dwellings of the numerous staff members, testifies not only to the seminal importance of the university for Tübingen's physical space, but also to the trend-setting role of the university in the cultural space. It is the University of Tübingen that has over and over again redefined in the town the renewal of architectural styles and trends, and has put its mark on the whole built environment. Ever since the foundation of the university in 1477, virtually the entire space occupied by the town has been fashioned by university life. A telling example is the superb avenue of plane trees (*Platanenallee*) in front of the old university, planted in the 1810s on the Wöhrd (Neckar island) and serving as a promenade for the academic citizenry.

In all, three very different, but as such remarkably homogeneous architectural unities may be distinguished, each of them testifying to a particular phase of the interaction between town and university:

1. The old town limited by the former medieval city walls, where the university was founded and which remained its unique seat until the first half of the nineteenth century, encompassing a small botanical garden (first next to the *Nonnenhaus*, then between the *Bursa* and the *Alte Aula*, after 1663 as a formal *hortus medicus*), and even the castle (renovated after 1507) which served after its dereliction by the ducal family as chemical laboratory, astronomical observatory, and university library.
2. The nineteenth-century university district surrounding the former walls extends north of the city centre and the second botanical garden as a systematically outlaid university campus, gradually occupied by halls, institutes and clinics corresponding to the new division of sciences; in its centre the new lecture hall (*Neue Aula*, built 1841–45) and the university library (1912). But it includes as well the many professorial dwellings, the student houses and the 32 fraternity houses (*Verbindungshäuser*) on both sides of the old town, as well as places of civic sociability (the Museum) and of interaction between the university and the citizenry (the Botanical Garden now reshaped as a public park facility).
3. The twentieth century extension of the university on the northwestern hills, marked by the ever growing cityscape of the medical clinics (on the Schnarrenberg) and the natural science institutes, including the third Botanical Garden designed in 1969 (*Auf der Morgenstelle*); next to these a remarkable student village of the 1970s (*Studentendorf Waldhäuser-Ost*), that has brought together high-rises and flat-level constructions in a single urban design and in a style quite typical for the student life and culture of that era.

Geistesmetropole: A Metropolis of the Mind

A century ago, Dr. Maier-Pfullingen published his book on Tübingen as the ‘City of the Muses’ (*Die Musenstadt Tübingen. Bilder aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Tübingen 1904), an image that reflects the self-perception as well as the reality of Tübingen’s cultural life. Probably the most important characteristic of academic culture in the university town of Tübingen is the enduring high level of its literary and cultural life. Books were always Tübingen’s core business. Beside academic scholarship, the unity of Tübingen as a cultural space assumed a civic component very early, expressed in book printing, book selling, libraries and literary sociability. The alliance between university and town expressed itself at an early stage through the printing press. Already in his founding document, Count Eberhard exempted book printers, book illuminators and bookbinders from customs and taxations. Conversely, all printing, selling and loaning of books in Tübingen was submitted to the university rector’s control, censorship, and permission from the start and all personnel of the book trade were matriculated at the university. The censorship regulations were maintained until the revolution of 1848. The 1601 revised statutes of the university obliged the printers to file two copies of all printed material in the university library, an early form of the present-day *dépôt légal*, or presenting copy for the library. Scholarly and literary culture expressed and reflected the intimate relationship between city and university.

“...Books were always Tübingen’s core business...”

Initially, Tübingen was poorly connected to main commercial and cultural routes and far from the major cultural centres. The town lived essentially from wine making, small commerce and its local market function. However, in the period 1475–1525 the Swabian territories experienced a time of flourishing reflected in the foundation of the University of Tübingen. A second period of growth started after the introduction of the Reformation, when Tübingen became an important printing centre for the Lutheran Reformation.

Tübingen scholars were then at the forefront of scholarship and science, and some of their works would be decisive for our present-day vision of the world and our practice of life. Tübingen was surrounded by numerous towns with an educated citizenry, such as the free imperial towns of Esslingen, Ulm and Reutlingen, where the printing press was introduced in the 1470s. Tübingen benefited from this active printing climate in its neighbouring towns. Then in 1498, Johannes Otmar (died 1514) moved from nearby Reutlingen to establish the first press in Tübingen, followed in 1511 by Thomas Anshelm (around 1465–1523), who disposed of Greek and Hebraic characters, and in 1523 by Ulrich Morhart and his successors, who in 1561–64 printed in the Croatian and Slovenian languages with Cyrillic and Glagolitic characters. The humanities flourished in Tübingen under such impulses.

Printing production included the works of trendsetting Tübingen professors and scholars of the European humanist movement, such as the philos-



Report about Tübingen illustrated with a lecture hall and portrait of the famous professor Johannes Stöffler, page out of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* 1628

Bericht über Tübingen illustriert durch einen Hörsaal und das Porträt des berühmten Professors Johannes Stöffler, Seite aus Sebastian Münsters *Cosmographia* 1628

opher, first theology professor and university rector Gabriel Biel (1420/25–1495), the World Chronicle (*Weltchronik*, 1516) of university co-founder and first rector Johannes Nauclerus (ca. 1425–1510), the Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), the humanist theologian and educational theorist Philippus Melancthon (1497–1560), Reuchlin's nephew, known as the *praeceptor Germaniae*, and the astronomer and mathematician Johannes Stöffler (1452–1531). Stöffler was the maker of the astronomical clockwork, which still adorns the façade of the Tübingen city hall. He was the author of famous and leading astronomical tables (1514), of an important treatise on the astrolabe that was for a long time leading among seamen (1512) and of a scientific proposal for a calendar reform (1518) that was decisive for the adoption in 1582 of the new Gregorian calendar, now worldwide in use. His student Johannes Carion (1499–1537) drafted the first systematic global history of the world (*Chronicon Carionis*), which for some centuries determined the European vision of the world's evolution and final destiny. On the basis of a planetary conjunction, Stöffler and Carion prognosticated for 1524 a world-wide deluge (we would now call it a tsunami) which frightened and even panicked a considerable part of the European population. A century later, the famous Copernican astronomer Johannes

Kepler (1571–1630), a former student of Tübingen, printed there his Platonic interpretation of the planetary system *Mysterium cosmographicum* (1597).

During the decade 1550–60 Duke Christoph, who had a keen interest in the advancement of culture in his duchy, assembled in Hohentübingen Castle a remarkable library, which he considered the “treasury of the mind”, a scientific archive which had to be preserved to be available in case of calamities in other libraries. It was an early design for heritage preservation. It embraced books on theology, law and administration, medicine, history, on mathematics, including military art, and on natural sciences. The 1568 catalogue listed 2100 titles. In 1594, the duke also founded a scientific library in the *Collegium illustre* that served as educational institution for the nobility, essentially in administrative matters, law and jurisprudence, and military art. After the Battle of Nördlingen (1634) in the Thirty Years War, both libraries were transferred to Munich by the conquering enemy in 1635.

The university library itself was transferred in 1818 to the castle Hohentübingen and enjoyed a considerable increase thanks to the absorption of the libraries of the monasteries suppressed in the previous years. In 1912 the university library was housed in a new building in the university district, where it still is, counting now more than 3 million volumes. After 1820 the same happened with the library of the Wilhelmsstift, the new Catholic theological faculty and seminary housed in the former *Collegium illustre*. It

enjoyed a considerable increase from the suppressed monasteries and from a royal foundation.

Tübingen had been from the start the home of many booksellers, publishers and printers and even of some highly skilled bookbinders. The most famous among them would be the Cotta family. In 1659 the printer Johann Georg Cotta (1631–1692) established his book shop and publishing house in Tübingen, since 1667 in the house Münzgasse 15 in front of the Stiftskirche. The Cotta dynasty continued to work in Tübingen as one of the major printing houses of Europe until its final transfer to Stuttgart, the capital of the new kingdom Württemberg, in 1810–16. It flourished especially under Johann Friedrich Cotta (1764–1832), who managed to attach to his publishing house Germany's whole spiritual elite, from Schiller and Goethe to Kant and Hölderlin, and who made Tübingen the *Geistesmetropole* of that decisive period for the formation of modern society. Cotta was the publisher of

House of publisher Johann Friedrich Cotta
(1764–1832), Münzgasse 15

Haus des Verlegers Johann Friedrich Cotta
(1764–1832), Münzgasse 15



several innovating periodicals, the new media of that time: the *Europäische Annalen* since 1795, the *Propyläen* under the direction of Goethe 1798–1800, and of the highlights of the German Enlightenment, of early Romanticism, and of rising nationalism: Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805, editor of the periodical *Die Horen*, 1795–97), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831, editor of the *Kritisches Journal der Philosophie*), Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843), Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), and Ludwig Uhland (1787–1862). Though not a Tübingen adept, Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) published since 1805 exclusively at Cotta's.

Hölderlin, Hegel and Schelling were known as the “Tübingen Three” who had studied together at the *Evangelisches Stift*. The very names of these Tübingen students and scholars show the close ties of Tübingen with philosophical idealism, which was at the basis of the emancipatory movement of the European citizenry and its educational upsurge as *Bildungsbürgertum* in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Student life had always been active in Tübingen, not only in the well-known field of student culture, in the many traditional fraternities and in the numerous pubs of the old town, but also in the intellectual, artistic and political fields, through the more modern student societies.

Many other literary names are closely related to Tübingen, such as the poet Eduard Mörike (1786–1862), the storyteller Wilhelm Hauff (1802–1827), and the Swabian female author Ottilie Wildermuth (1817–1877). A present-day guide to the homes where poets in Tübingen lived in former centuries lists 52 directions going from the *poeta laureatus* Heinrich Bebel (1472–1518) in the *Bursa* to twentieth-century writers, the great majority of whom lived in the Oberstadt in the immediate neighbourhood of the old university. Nobel Prize winner Hermann Hesse (1877–1962) worked since 1895 as an apprentice bookseller in the Heckenhauer'sche Buchhandlung (Holzmarkt 5) in Tübingen and repeatedly praised the picturesque medieval town. A special place must be reserved for Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843), the main poet of German romanticism but in his early years, around 1800, also a defender of the liberty of foreign peoples, in particular the Greeks, preceding by some years that other famous poet committed to freedom, Lord Byron (1788–1824). Hölderlin wrote in Tübingen his epistolary novel *Hyperion* (1797) for his beloved Diotima, but soon his mental state condemned him to be taken care of by a private citizen from 1807 until his death in 1843 in the now famous *Hölderlinturm* (Hölderlin Tower) on the Neckar (Bursagasse 6).

In 1818–20, the reading societies of professors, students and bursaries, and those of the citizens, in particular the civil servants of town and state, united themselves for the creation of a place of social interaction and education and a library, called the *Museum*, a huge building erected in 1821 just outside the former city walls next to the ancient botanical garden soon converted into a place of recreation. At present, the *Museum* is still an active



“Hölderlinturm” on the Neckar, where poet Friedrich Hölderlin lived until his death 1843

Hölderlinturm am Neckar, wo der Dichter Friedrich Hölderlin bis zu seinem Tod 1843 lebte

meeting centre. In 1903 the *Volksbibliothek* (People’s Library) was founded for the lower classes; established since 1907 in the Neckarhalde, it moved to Nonnengasse as municipal library (*Stadtbücherei*) in 1985. Finally, in 1947 an Adult Education Centre (*Volkshochschule*) was founded in Tübingen.

Self-consciousness, realities and perceptions

Just like other universities in Europe and elsewhere in the world, that of Tübingen has from the start been overtly proud of its existence, celebrating the institution and its members at every anniversary, in particular at the centennials. The epithet *Musenstadt* (City of the Muses) rightly refers to its role as spiritual metropolis and the predominance of the humanities in

the public performances of its students and professors. Its five-hundredth anniversary was the starting point for a large historiographical quest followed by a huge scholarly and popular book production involving a complete renewal of its historical self-image. The town itself has formally added the epithet *Universitätsstadt* (university town) to its name, clearly showing its self-consciousness, its identity and its ambitions.

In fact, as early as 1596–98, barely a century after its foundation, the *Imagines professorum Tubingensium*, published in Tübingen by Cellius, celebrated already the fame of the university’s professors, depicted on woodcuts with rimed biographies. The dissertation *Tubinga, sedes sat congrua musis* (Tübingen, a perfectly suitable seat of the Muses) defended by Johann Ludwig Metz under Professor Balthasar Raith and printed at the university’s second centenary in 1677, was the first panegyric showing the self-consciousness of Tübingen as a full-fledged university town; it provided its first historical and topographical description from an academic point of view. August Friedrich Bök’s *Geschichte der Universität Tübingen* (Tübingen, Cotta, 1774) was a first and early attempt at a more modern form of history writing.

Not everything is however positive in this story. In spite of the presence of scholarly Hebraism at the University of Tübingen (Reuchlin!), Count Eberhard, the founding hero, was also the man who expelled the Jews from the town in 1477, at the occasion of the university foundation; they had

to leave the whole territory in 1498. And occasionally the symbiosis between town and university had its negative side-effects: during the popular uprisings in Tübingen in 1831 (the so-called *Gôgen* revolt) and 1847, the student organisations were armed by the town authorities, who used them for crushing the insurrection and crippling the social aspirations of the lower classes. More generally speaking, the more well-to-do citizens and university members in the *Oberstadt*, contrasted socially and culturally with the *Gôgen*, the nickname of the much poorer wine-growers, who in former centuries dominated the lower town. The popular *Gôgenwitze* (jokes) still reflect their difficult living conditions.

The reputation of the town itself has not always been as positive as it is nowadays. Goethe, for instance, when visiting the town in 1797 for his contacts with his publisher, called the town “horrible” (*abscheulich*), and its lower parts “extremely badly built and needy”, in spite of his appreciation of the university district in the *Oberstadt*. Many other testimonies tell the same story: after a period of fame and flourishing at its *Sternstunde* in the half century following its foundation, and a temporary revival in some decades of the next century, the University of Tübingen went through a period of lesser growth, and indeed decline. The town itself

„Süßes Löchle“ in the lower town, former Jewish quarter, 1913

Süßes Löchle in der Unterstadt, ehemaliges Judenviertel, 1913



was known for its ancient layout and old-fashioned look, its dirty streets, its unpleasant smells, and the bad state of its crooked houses with their very small rooms. Until far into the nineteenth century, Tübingen resembled a huge village marked both by the sounds of student life and the filth of the cattle in the streets. Quotations about Tübingen's backwardness abound. Yet, we must appreciate them for their real worth: many of them reflect new urban ideals and new conceptions of the relation between town and university and it was precisely in Tübingen in the course of the nineteenth century that these new views were realised in a brand-new university district, the *Wilhelmsvorstadt*.

Moreover, the contention that Tübingen was not more than a provincial village shows precisely what this report is about: Tübingen's temporary backlash has preserved the old city centre and conserved for us a marvellous example of a late fifteenth century university foundation. The unity between university and town expresses itself not only in periods of growth and prosperity, but also in their common decline. In fact, it was precisely because the university fell back during almost two centuries to a sheer regional level that the town remained what it is nowadays. Due to the tight link between the university and the Lutheran church, expressed in the *Evangelisches Stift*, the early modern University of Tübingen became a telling example of a learned world dominated by the church and by theology, in a spirit of provincialism, but also of an intimate relation between state and church, and between town and gown.

On the social level, the unity between the town and university has acquired some remarkable features. They have long lived together as a tight-knit social world. During the first centuries of its existence, the University of Tübingen must be characterized as what historians at present call a *Familienuniversität*, meaning that a small number of local families during several generations monopolized the faculty chairs and that a considerable number of the local students belonged to the same families, expecting to succeed their parents and relatives in their jobs and functions, in town as well as at the university itself. The bond between university and town was the more solid as the other state institution in Tübingen, the *Hofgericht* (1514) was made up of councillors who simultaneously professed in law at the university. Until far into the nineteenth century, the same family names repeatedly return in the annals of the university, such as Camerer (Camerarius), Gmelin, or Osiander (descending from the famous Lutheran theologian Andreas Osiander, an early defender of the Jews and opponent of anti-Semitism). Some of these native scholars became paragons of science, such as the professor of chemistry Leopold Gmelin (1788–1853), who descended from a late seventeenth-century chemist whose pharmacy still exists at Tübingen.

Although students profoundly mark the social and cultural life of the town, the student residences are an especially remarkable feature of the urban fabric, in particular the so-called *Verbindungshäuser*. Next to the

“...Tübingen's temporary backlash has preserved the old city centre and conserved for us a marvellous example of a late fifteenth century university foundation...”

eastern and to the western limit of the old town, on the Österberg and the Schlossberg respectively, the cityscape is dominated by a superb series of residences of student associations, about thirty *Verbindungshäuser*

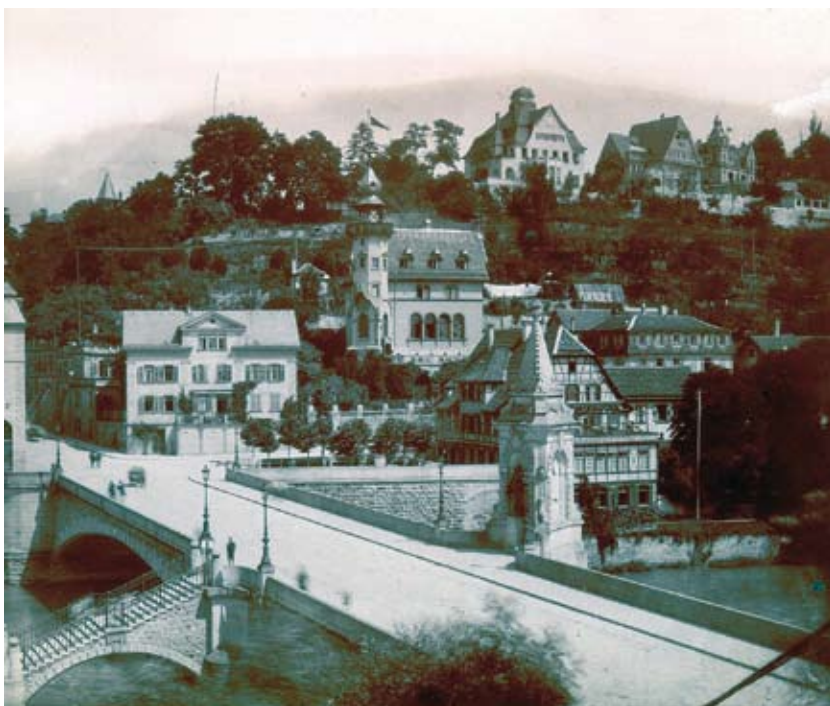
Fraternity houses in Tübingen, postcard of 1927

Verbindungshäuser in Tübingen, Postkarte von 1927



(fraternity houses), named after their traditional fraternities, associations or communities such as Franconia, Rhenania, Stuttgardia, Nicaria, or called the Alamannenbourg, the Roigelhaus, Preußenhaus, Igelhaus, etc., founded during the nineteenth century and still active. Each of them has been designed by a different architect, mostly between 1870 and 1920, and as such they provide an overview of architectural styles from late romanticism to *Jugendstil* and *art déco*.

To conclude, we may state that the university town of Tübingen was from the beginning a rich and self-sufficient cultural space for the total range of institutions, expressions and performances of the world of higher education: scholarship, science, and administration, including the skills of the cultural elite. Tübingen was from the very moment of inauguration of its university, a true university town, a town that was physically dominated by the built environment of its university and its gradual expansion, whose essential role was to provide facilities for university life, and whose population lived primarily from and for the academic functions of the university in close interaction with the civic society of the town.



Bridge over the Neckar with fraternity houses on the hill „Österberg“ around 1910

Neckarbrücke mit Verbindungshäusern auf dem Österberg um 1910

Comparing Tübingen and Marburg as university towns

Let us now briefly summarize the preceding assessment and compare Tübingen with Marburg for the benefit of their joint, 'serial' application as 'university towns' on the UNESCO World Heritage List. First of all, both towns appear as full-fledged and full-grown university towns throughout their history, ever since their foundation in the period of humanism and Reformation by an active ruler, surrounded by intelligent councillors. Due to the relatively small size of the towns and the absence of other predominant urban functions before the foundation of the university, due to the growing weight of the university and its members in the local society and the urban space, due also to the involvement of the latter in essential domains of social, political, cultural and religious life, the interaction between the university and the urban institutions, the population and local living conditions has been from the start an essential factor of the urban identity and urban policy of the two towns, in their self-perception and the perception of others as well as in society and in urban design. Seen from the perspective of the concept of cultural space, the university has indeed worked as an all-pervading factor in the towns' physical, social and cultural space, shaping, sometimes even determining not only the built environment but also the social relations and the cultural life of the towns, including their spiritual flavour. Although belonging to different states and with a slightly diverging political evolution, both towns have gone through a similar urban development, in three quite comparable stages. In all, they actually appear as the very model of 'university towns'.

Yet there are differences in their evolution, even from the start of their foundation period. Although both universities have apparently gone through quite similar evolutions, the accents differ: the medical sciences were more decisive in Marburg, the humanities (including theology) in Tübingen, and these differences were clearly reflected in local social, cultural and even economic life and in the self-image of the universities. Notwithstanding their quite comparable character, their claim to fame and to the inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List, though in both cases motivated by the value of culture and science, is slightly different. At Marburg, ultimately this claim is justified by the fact that its university, the very first Protestant university in the world, has in an exemplary way realised the model of a 'university town', using intelligently the cult and the memory of the local saint Elisabeth, a saint representing all over the Christian world the universal value of charity and care of the sick, for the development of medical cure and care as core activities of the university, until the present day. For Tübingen, the founding moment of the university itself, its *Sternstunde* that would mark for the centuries to come the intertwining of town and university and also

mark the political relations in the country, may be considered an exceptional moment in the cultural and social history of the West. It benefitted from the unique constellation of that moment, when the local overlord managed to



University town of Marburg, old town with castle
Universitätsstadt Marburg, Altstadt mit Schloss

create from the very start in a couple of years a complete academic institution in perfect cohesion with the urban space, and to integrate it entirely into the urban fabric of the town. The functional break in the built environment of the Oberstadt that was realised in Tübingen is opposed by the functional continuity in the Oberstadt of Marburg. In later centuries, the industrial development essentially passed by both towns, but Marburg was able to benefit much more than Tübingen from the industrial offspring of the medical and natural sciences, whereas Tübingen wrought itself a predominant image as home of the muses, of printing, poetry, literature and all the arts of the mind.

The symbiosis between the town's social life and the university in a common cultural space has in both cases been noticed by many visitors and repeatedly affirmed by representatives of the Marburg and Tübingen population themselves.

Strikingly, the same aphorism has repeatedly been applied to both towns in identical words: "Göttingen *has* a university, Tübingen [or Marburg] *is* a university". There might be no better maxim to support the common application of these two genuine and remarkable 'university towns'.



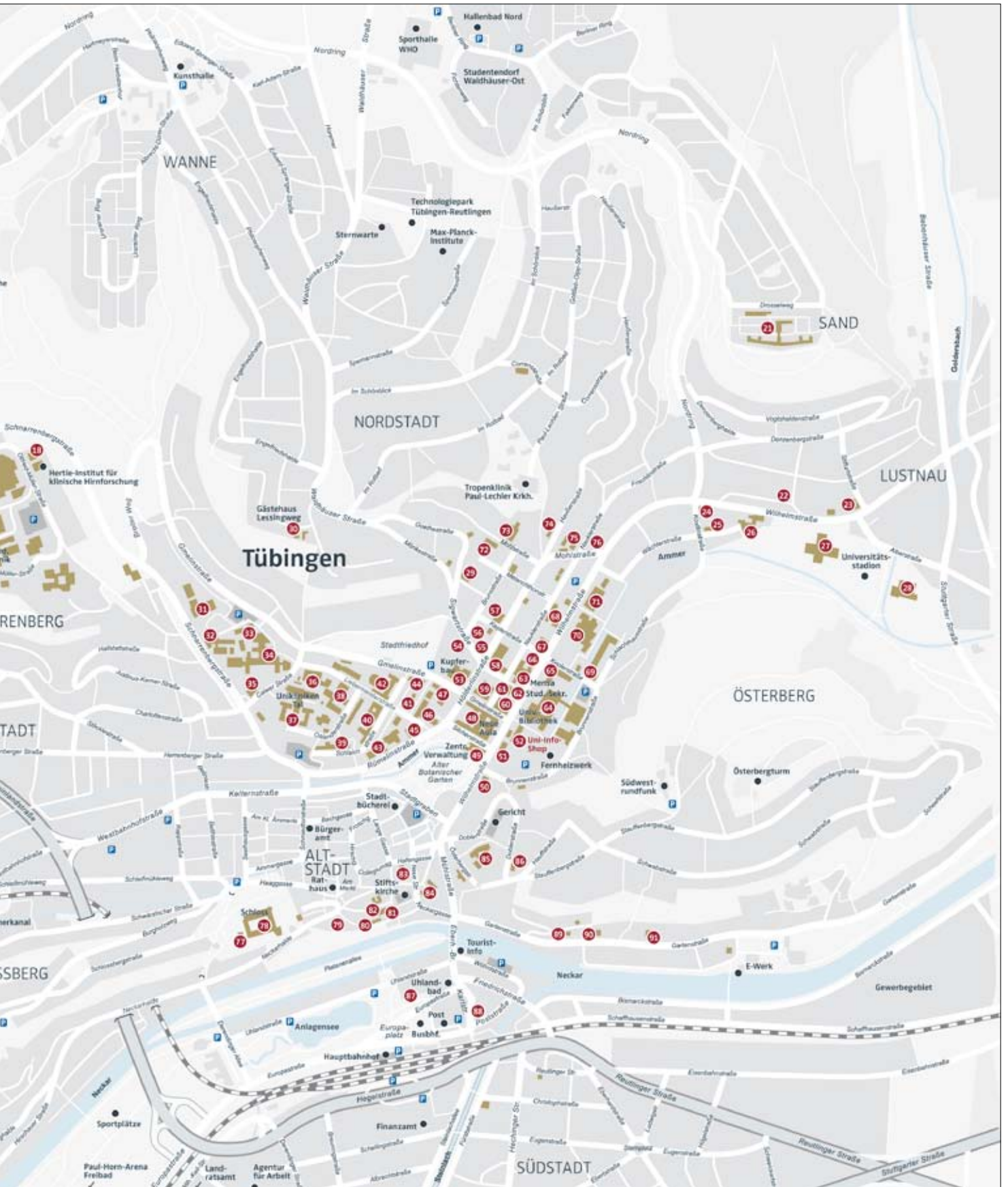
Universitätseinrichtungen

- 18 Biologie, Institut für Evolutions- und Systematik, Institut für Mikrobiologie und Infektionsmedizin, 13 Physiologie (Dortige der Pflanzen/PM, Auf der Morgenstelle 1 und 2, Zentrum für Molekularbiologie der Pflanzen (ZMPL/PM, Auf der Morgenstelle 3)
- 19 Fakultät Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Fakultät, 19 Pharmazie/PM (8 Bau)
- 20 Chemisches Zentralinstitut, Praktikumskolleg Chemie/PM (14 Bau)
- 21 Mathematik/PM, 16 Physik/PM (2 Bau)
- 22 Werkstofftechnik der Physik/PM (76 Bau)
- 23 Technisches Zentralbüro
- 24 Wissenschaftszentrum Pflanzengentechnik, Neuentwicklungsabteilungszentrum 2, Bereichsleiter Naturwissenschaften
- 25 19 Physik/PM (2 Bau)
- 26 Verfügungsgelände Pflanzengentechnik
- 27 Chemikerkollegium und Sonderabfertigung der Universität
- 28 Chemie/PM (4 Bau)
- 29 Mikrobiologie (7 Bau)
- 30 Biologie/PM (3 Bau)
- 31 Physik 1, Auf der Morgenstelle 26
- 32 Physikisches Institut, Medizinische Fakultät, 13 Biologie-Aufbau 5a, 6
- 33 Lehr- und Lernplätze (DLZ), 13 Biologie-Aufbau 5a, 5b
- 34 Interkulturelles Institut für Biochemie/PM
- 35 Werner Reichardt Zentren für integrative Neurobiologie (ZIN), 13 Biologie-Aufbau 5a, 5b
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- 54 Department für Augenheilkunde, 13 Biologie (13)

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