

This article was downloaded by: [Virve Sarapik]

On: 11 September 2013, At: 03:03

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954

Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



## Journal of Baltic Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rbal20>

### Young Estonia and The Early Twentieth-Century Cultural Utopias

Virve Sarapik

Published online: 11 Sep 2013.

To cite this article: Journal of Baltic Studies (2013): Young Estonia and The Early Twentieth-Century Cultural Utopias, Journal of Baltic Studies

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2013.830356>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

# YOUNG ESTONIA AND THE EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY CULTURAL UTOPIAS

## Virve Sarapik

This article examines aesthetic and social ideals in the early texts (1904–1908) of one of the first integral Estonian cultural movements – Noor-Eesti (Young Estonia). The aspirations of Young Estonia can be mapped by means of two principles of culture-making: a utopian one that seeks to change society as a whole, and a monadic one that focuses on the individual. The ideal of the Young Estonia movement is characterized by harmony and entirety – a kind of unity of social classes and cultural spheres, as well as the text and its parts; hence the connections between the arts and society (i.e., the belief that through the development of the cultural sphere, the whole of society develops as well).

**Keywords:** Noor-Eesti; Estonia; beginning of twentieth century; utopia; cultural movements; aesthetics

### Introduction

The wave of Russification in Estonia in the late nineteenth century was followed by a noticeable rise in cultural self-awareness. Tartu, whose intellectuals formed the circle of the daily newspaper *Postimees*, and Tallinn, with its more pragmatic attitudes, became the major cultural centers.

The early twentieth century witnessed radical changes in Estonian social and cultural life, caused by external factors, as well as by internal developments. In addition to profound social and political upheavals, the 1905 Russian revolution marked transformations of cultural life as well. The period preceding this date was characterized by the emergence of different circles and groups of high school students. The brutal suppression of popular uprisings in 1905 (including corporal punishment and executions without legal sentencing) was a true shock for Estonian intellectuals and resounded throughout Western Europe and beyond. Many intellectuals and high school students who had participated in revolutionary events were forced into exile,

---

Correspondence to: Virve Sarapik, Institute of Art History, Estonian Academy of Arts, Suur-Kloostri 11, 10133 Tallinn, Estonia. Email: [virve.sarapik@artun.ee](mailto:virve.sarapik@artun.ee)

where they generally continued to maintain contact with their homeland. Many young people went to study in Finland.

Noor-Eesti (Young Estonia), founded by high school students immediately before the revolution of 1905, became the most radical movement of cultural innovation. This group, or rather movement, comprised a loose membership that drew together writers, students, and artists; it published almanacs and, for a period of time, a magazine. It also organized art exhibitions and published books. Surprisingly, the movement's key members did not spend much time together – they lived in different locations and even different countries, some of them studying abroad or in exile.

In terms of world view and aesthetic positions, Young Estonia was far from homogeneous. The political sympathies of its members ranged from absolute neutrality through moderate Marxism to rightist views. Among the literary movements, neo-romanticism occupied the central position.

Young Estonia decisively disagreed with the older generation of Estonian intellectuals, attempting to break free from the still-dominating German and Russian cultural influences and to reorient itself toward Scandinavian and Romance cultures.

In the existing research and interpretation of the activities of Young Estonia, three stages can be noted:

- (1) The shaping of the canon took place in the 1920s–1930s. At this stage, the Young Estonia movement was seen to be modernizing Estonian culture and taking it to the European level. Since a number of Young Estonians acquired significant cultural positions in independent Estonia and actively developed the meta-level of culture, this canon was largely shaped by the members of the movement themselves.
- (2) The 1960s–1970s and the Soviet canon. Under the conditions of the post-Stalinist Thaw, an earlier national culture was being reintroduced. The most suitable people for the Soviet regime were the writers and artists of the Young Estonia movement, due to their connections with the revolution in 1905 and Russian culture; excessively radical form experiments were still absent. Several monographs and monumental histories of art and literature appeared, which led to the opinion that the period had been thoroughly researched and was “done with”.
- (3) A new wave was largely connected with Young Estonia's 100th anniversary (Lindsalu 2006; Methis 2008). A number of articles were published that offered new angles and criticized the earlier canon (Annus 2005; Haug 2004a; Hennoste 2005, 2006; Hinrikus 2006; Monticelli 2006). However, no comprehensive overviews have yet materialized.

The current article also attempts to approach Young Estonia's texts from outside the existing canons, casting a critical eye on the aesthetic and social ideals expressed in Young Estonia's early texts (written between 1904 and 1908), with the aim of analyzing their ideas on how to improve Estonian society. These ideals were formulated in rather general terms, and poetically rather than programmatically. Attention must therefore be paid to rhetorical methods, i.e., what differentiates these texts from earlier Estonian written texts. Since Young Estonians were not revolutionaries, but poets, prose writers, essayists, and linguistics students, their ideals were utopian. The main feature of a utopia is the non-existence of the described

ideal situation. In their manifesto-like editorials, the Young Estonians, too, presented their opinions about a culture and society that did not yet exist. This was also the reason why the ideals expressed in these texts can be analyzed on the basis of two principles of culture creation: the utopian, which wants to change society, and the monadic, which focuses on the individual.

## 1. Two Principles of Culture-Making

Over the course of the past decade, the subject of utopias has once again become topical and a number of general theoretical overviews have been published, in addition to articles dedicated to more specific and narrower problems. One reason for such popularity is the analysis of the relationship between the socialist system, the utopia, and Marxism, inspired by the collapse of the Eastern Bloc. Another impulse is related to genre: links between utopias, dystopias, and science fiction. The starting point of these writings largely depends on the background system: whether the concept of utopia is tackled within the context of political theories, whether it is seen as a type of text, or whether the term is considered in a wider historical and cultural-theoretical framework. The definitions can be divided into wider and narrower definitions, based on a utopia's form, function, or content (cf. e.g. Levitas 2010, 4).

The current article differentiates between the terms utopia and utopian. A utopia is an opinion, expressed explicitly, for example as a writer's text, manifesto, or treatise about a better society; its paradigmatic example is Thomas More's *Utopia*. Utopian is a way of thinking or an impulse that propagates critical attitudes towards the existing social order and a wish to change it. A utopia presumes a certain chasm between itself and the existing order, the actual situation, and regards an ideal society as being located somewhere farther off, at a spatial or temporal distance. It is of course possible, especially considering the everyday meaning of the word "utopia", to treat it as an extremely wide phenomenon, involving various dreams, fantasies or types of unreality, although such an extension renders the word somewhat useless. In the following, utopia thus marks a specific expression of a utopian way of thinking, whereas a utopian way of thinking does not necessarily assume the formation of an explicit utopia.

There are naturally large numbers of texts that theoretically interpret utopia. A few stand out for views that are still taken into consideration by today's researchers, either critically revising or supplementing them. Among them is Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia*, published in German in 1929, with in an updated version in English in 1936 (cf. Ricoeur 1986; Turner 2003; Wegner 2002), as well as Lewis Mumford's (1922), Ernst Bloch's (1986) and Frederick L. Polak's (1961) works. Louis Marin's semiological analyses constitute a significant milestone as well (Marin 1984, 1993; cf. Jameson 2004, 2005). For the discussion part of the current article, the treatises of Mannheim and Marin have proven especially suitable, because they pay serious attention to both utopia's connections with the emergence of modern social classes (including intellectuals) and utopia's structural-spatial features. Both aspects are essential in constructing the Young Estonia ideal.

Inventing a new and better social order is a total project. It is usually a product of a dissatisfaction with existing circumstances and of an inventor who is confident that he knows how everything could function better. At the outset, however, it soon becomes clear that it is not enough to improve only one part of the society – the whole, together with all its parts, must become better. To confirm this idea, we might cite various utopias throughout the ages, from Plato's ideal state to classical utopias, and, for example, the classics of Marxist-Leninist thought.

A compact model of society presupposes an attitude regarding high culture: science, literature, and other arts. The function of scientists (or at least of philosophers) in an ideal society has been widely recognized, and they have even been accorded ruling positions (cf. Plato's *Republic*, Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, and Tommaso Campanella's *The City of the Sun*), whereas the matter is more complicated with the arts. The creators of ideal societies have typically become stuck on the social role of art (cf. Sarapik 2003, 109–14).

In comparison, we could point to other means of achieving a (utopian) state of the idyll, the ideal abode, e.g. Arcadia, where the "good life" is achieved thanks to the enjoyment or creation of art. The aim to design ideal cities developed in the same direction as modern utopias; such cities were also supposed to improve social relations and human existence. At first sight, escapism might seem like a utopia too: people fled to their country manors from the plague (e.g., in *The Decameron*), and artists' communities moved to idyllic rural locations. Entirety is here preserved, although entirety is created by separating one part from others. The aim is to become isolated from the rest of society, which seems unworthy or unpleasant, either temporarily or permanently, and without hope that this kind of action will suit all of society. An ideal city needed a surrounding country life to feed it; a country manor needed external financial sources and, sooner or later, the artists' communities had to return to the mundane world. The idyll was disrupted when the system was no longer closed, just as external intruders posed a danger to classical utopias (see Bakhtin 1981, 231).

Although the authors of classical utopias – More, Bacon, and others – often used methods of literary fiction and presented their ideal societies as explicitly fictional, their aims were not *strictly* literary. On the other hand, different periods offer numerous examples whereby literary works undertake the discussion of social problems and opportunities to develop: for instance, allegories, twentieth-century science fiction and dystopias, and many realist novels. The genre borders of utopias are inevitably blurred, and the common feature linking these diverse works can be called the utopian principle.

The utopian principle is therefore connected to interpreting the development of society and culture, although this inevitably results in self-reflection or interpreting one's own role and actions. The utopian principle of culture-making and self-reflection includes the attempt to improve the situation of a society, a country, and a people or a group of people. This principle is based on dissatisfaction with the status quo, a belief in the necessity of changing it, and the projection of individual deeds against that background. The utopian principle proceeds, first along a temporal axis, and then along a positive-negative axis. Faith-in-progress, or a hope for things to get better, is of course positive. The negative side contains, first of all, dystopia, which includes a fear of radical changes. Another form is existential

pessimism, that is, acting despite presumed hopelessness. This kind of negative utopia characterized the late nineteenth-century Russification period in Estonia, as well as the Soviet era. It was characteristic of the period starting in the 1970s, when faith in the survival of the Estonian nation was on the wane, but people aspired towards nationhood nevertheless.

As the utopian principle presupposes changing the status quo, this in itself causes the result of these changes to shift further in time, into the future. However, often examples are sought in a past society. Hence, time-wise, the positive ideal world is situated either in the past (a fondness for antiquity and the classical ideal as the only chance to improve things, e.g., Estonians' ancient fight for freedom) or in the future. The better future world may be one available to future generations or instead may be located in the paradise beyond. Here, too, an appropriate functioning of culture could secure this aim.

The geographical isolation of classical utopias (a distant island or later another planet) does not create a new category of utopian principle. Spatial distance is imaginary and necessary for creating a possible ideal that can be compared with our own society, although achieving that ideal generally requires revolutionary transformation. Isolation is among the main features of the utopian chronotope, and temporal isolation and spatial isolation are often intertwined.

Another method of culture-making concerns the individual, something we here call the monadic principle (we could also use the word “atom-like”, meaning initial, indivisible): this involves focusing, first of all, on the interpretation of one's own activity and creative work, on developing one's mental and physical self. The purpose is not to influence society as a whole, either because of a belief that this is impossible or because one's self or the aesthetic principles of one's actions are placed above everything else. The monadic does not necessarily mean individualism; this principle may emerge in stable social situations or periods which tend to emphasize individual freedom (liberalism) and the self-expressiveness of art-making, preferring these to determinism and art's social function.

These two principles are not naturally totally distinct, rather one is always hidden in the other: completely suppressing one's self is quite rare, as is the opposite – a lack of any faith in the world-changing power of individual activities. However, they both exist, because any interpretation of one's activities, *autopoiesis* [self-reflection], is the inevitable foundation of any conscious activity and therefore, via that activity, of culture. Thus utopian and monadic principles always exist together in culture as a whole, in its parts, as well as in an individual's activities, and we can only talk about one or the other as dominant.

The monadic principle does not form as clear a two-axial operating space as in the case of the utopian principle. On the one hand, monadic culture-making is analyzable in terms of the usual models of personality (e.g., introversion-extraversion) (De Raad 2009); on the other, the temporal axis (e.g., past ideals of youth vs. faith in a better future) is obvious as well. Although I drew parallels between utopia and escapism above, there is a conceptual difference. Escapism and purely aesthetic aspirations (*l'art pour l'art*) are subordinated to the monadic principle; the aim of such activity certainly focuses on the individual and not on society.

It is quite clear that different eras result in different behavioral patterns and cultural typologies, diverse connections, and the mutual impact of an individual and society. A utopian and monadic principle makes it possible to first of all analyze how individuals and groups themselves interpret and understand their actions.

## 2. Aspirations of the Young ... Days of Struggle

2.1. The Young Estonia movement emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, at a time when Estonia was part of czarist Russia. Compared with the period of national awakening in the second half of the nineteenth century, the cultural aims of this movement were much more radical; it was not satisfied with the level of Estonian culture and considerably changed the general picture of Estonian culture in the following years. Young Estonia did not spring up out of nowhere or develop in a space isolated from the rest of society. It was enhanced by the general modernization of society, technological innovations, developing towns, the growth of journalism, and the activity of various cultural societies.

The initiators of the Young Estonia movement were high school students. The main location was Tartu with its secret groups and student circles (*Eesti Külvaja* [Estonian sower], and *Ühisus* [Unity]). Encouraged by Gustav Suits, the literary almanac *Kiired* [Rays] (I–III, 1901–1902) was published. Young people elsewhere also became more active in the tense atmosphere preceding the revolution in Russia in 1905. At the same time, secondary schoolers at the Kuressaare published the magazine *Nooreestlane* [Young Estonian] in manuscript. In autumn 1902, Johannes Aavik arrived in Tartu from Kuressaare to start his studies at the university, and his joint undertakings with Suits thus began. Thus, it was first at Tartu where the ideas and subsequent publications of Young Estonia took shape.

For economic reasons, Aavik traveled to Russia in 1903 to begin his studies at the Institute of History and Philology in Nezhin, although he kept in touch with Suits by letter when they compiled the first Young Estonia issue. The first almanac appeared in July 1905, and the collection titled *Võitluse päivil* [Days of struggle] was published that same autumn, on the retreating wave of censorship. The second almanac came out in 1907 and the third in 1909. This period was when Young Estonia's ideas matured.

The question remains: who and what actually constituted Young Estonia? Was it a group, a movement, or activities uniting various people? There were publications and authors writing for it, and later a publishing house and a joint-stock company. There were circles of friends, but these dissolved over the course of about 10 years. Later, there emerged an almost petrified or mythologizing understanding about the role of Young Estonia in the development of Estonian culture, and finally there were the recollections of the participants themselves. What today is seen as Young Estonia is in fact a later construction. In the independent Estonia of the post-WWI period, Young Estonians held key positions in the cultural life and thus determined the later interpretation of the movement.

The current article is based on the writings of four people who were connected with Young Estonia from the beginning: the poet, essayist (later professor of Estonian



literature), and author of the programmatic texts Gustav Suits (1883–1956); the prose writer and literary historian Friedebert Tuglas (1886–1971); the linguist Johannes Aavik (1880–1973); and the poet and linguist Villem Grünthal-Ridala (1885–1942). The multi-talented Bernhard Linde's (1886–1954)<sup>1</sup> often ambitious art-related writings and vigorous activities occurred a bit later.

The above-mentioned four only met and began working together in Helsinki in September 1906, when Tuglas arrived there. Suits had started his studies at Helsinki University in February of 1905; after graduating from the Kuressaare high school, Grünthal-Ridala moved there in autumn 1905, and Aavik arrived at the end of the same year. Bernhard Linde, however, stayed in Tartu and thus dealt with things in the homeland. The reasons for going to Helsinki were different for each Young Estonian. Tuglas was directly connected to revolutionary activities, whereas the attraction for others was mainly the more liberal and promising Helsinki University. Still, it should be pointed out that the revolution in 1905 made a peculiarly strong and fertile impact on the development of Estonian culture. Many public figures, intellectuals, and artists were forced into exile and thus acquired considerably wider experience than would have been possible at home.

**2.2.** This article concentrates on the earlier, programmatic texts of Young Estonia from the first to the third almanac (mostly written between 1904 and 1908), which dealt mainly with the group's interpretation of itself, Estonian culture, and society. The examined stage in the development of Young Estonia is characterized not so much by programmatic manifestos – the introductions of the almanacs and other essays are far too argumentative and long – as by a conscious wish to express the aims and starting positions.

The period of 1904–1908 was characterized by the unity of the Young Estonia movement, and faith in the growth of its activities and influence. Splits between various people were not yet significant or insuperable. Principles certainly altered during that period, although the articulation requires more details in order to differentiate between development stages with similar ideas.

In addition to what was published in the almanacs, the article also tackles other published writings by the central Young Estonia authors. There were not many of those: first of all Gustav Suits's collection of essays *Sihid ja vaated* [Aims and views, 1906], his overview of Estonian literature in German (1908), and more important texts published in the press (1907a, 1907b); Friedebert Tuglas's first long essay *Põrgu väravas* [At the gate of hell, 1908]; and Johannes Aavik's reviews (Aavik 1905a, 1907a, 1907b, 1908a, 1908b).

The number of texts is not large, and they are rather uneven and ideologically heterogeneous. Because of the writers' relative youth and other circumstances of the movement (e.g., the geographical distance between its leading figures), there was never a compact and explicitly expressed Young Estonia movement as a world view or plan of action. In order to determine the ideas more clearly, various later self-reflections on and recollections of Young Estonia by some authors should also be taken into account.

Another background source is material in manuscript, primarily correspondence that is now in part published. Third, the external and later reception of the Young Estonia movement has been taken into consideration. Fourth, the historic context of



Young Estonia is significant as well: whether and to what extent the opinions of Young Estonians differed from contemporary aspirations and central ideas.

2.3. Young Estonia, a new generation, emerged with revolutionary ideas. However, it is interesting to find out what exactly the struggle was supposed to change and what new aspects it was to bring about. At first, I examine two programmatic texts written during the 1905 revolution: *Noorte püüded* [Aspirations of the young] and *Võitluse päevil* [Days of struggle], both by Gustav Suits (1905a, 1905b).

*Noorte püüded*, the introduction to the first almanac of Young Estonia, is quite a long text that uses romantic figures of nature to offer a subjective overview of the situation in Estonia and finally set some aims for future activity. The time was characterized by pessimism, skepticism, and lack of unanimity. This negative situation could only be overcome by the (spiritually) young, who were sufficiently brave, self-confident, and of enterprising spirit. Social and cultural aspirations could not be separated: education and culture were precisely the means that could give meaning to, develop, and enliven Estonian society. The culture the writer had in mind differed radically from the existing culture; it was professional (i.e., European) and its literature did not aim to entertain or educate the masses. The author noted that it was a time of transition and rebirth, but was not sure what was waiting ahead and made no attempt to put it into words. Even Young Estonia's own cultural ideal was not formulated, because it would only be shaped on the basis of an intellectual affinity still to come.

The manner of the writing of *Noorte püüded* was something totally new in the Estonian cultural context of the time. It was also new compared to Suits's earlier texts. It is first characterized by an abandonment of the diminutive and self-degrading metalanguage of nineteenth-century Estonian culture, and by a wish to express ideas firmly and without hesitation. However, compared with subsequent writings, the introduction to the collection *Võitluse päevil*, *Noorte püüded* constituted a transitional phase. Traces of the earlier manner of writing can be found in the subtitle and in some fixed rhetorical figures, such as *single thoughts*, *fragments from a longer text*, etc.

Another manifestation of change was the interpretation of the aims of their activities: seeing them in the context of shared or societal benefit, or as self-centered. The latter – a totally new ambition – was based on confidence in individual independent activity, which inevitably caused clashes with different views and individualities. However, aspirations for shared benefits no longer included overall public goods, but more or less split according to an ideological, generational or national basis. The central keywords are thus: young, new, future, and freedom.

Although the first lead articles introduced a distinction between the young and the old, the young generation still associated itself with national aspirations and avoided rigid oppositions: “Working out independent views, independent opinions, demands that the opposing views are thoroughly weighed and examined.... This makes it possible to work together with people holding different ideas ...” (Suits 1905a, 5).

One of the main positive ideas of the lead article was collaboration for the benefit of society and the freedom of the young to “stand above all parties” (Suits 1905a, 5). The best example here would be Jaan Tõnisson, the intellectual leader of that

somewhat older generation that gathered around the daily *Postimees*, and who worked tirelessly (thus establishing himself) for the people. So, at least initially, the young did not separate themselves from the rest of the Estonian intelligentsia.

One feature of the relationship between personal freedom and joint activity was the author's name. Secondary schoolers were not supposed to publish anything under their own names and hence the many pseudonyms of young Suits (see e.g., Tuglas 1933, 1021). However, using initials, pseudonyms or no name at all, or other methods of concealing real names in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century in Estonian writing, were more the rule than an exception. This was, by no means, a playing around with pseudonyms, as referred to by Gérard Genette (1997, 46–54), which arrived in the Estonian cultural space a dozen or so years later, nor was it a case of authors avoiding responsibility, as suggested by Foucault (1998, 211–12). Instead, it meant subjecting one's individuality to the higher ideas of serving the people, or an even prouder and more programmatic belief that the author does not present his own views, but pure truth. Later reasons for using pseudonyms include the national-aesthetic aspect and of course avoiding political persecution. The national and aesthetic were intertwined: the widespread abandoning of German names led to a synthesis of seeking (Estonian) beauty in names, and the beauty was mostly in the sound.<sup>2</sup>

The oscillation of the “aspirations of the young” between shared benefit and finding oneself meant placing oneself in an in-between existence, where one end constituted Suits's semi-cognizant yearning for Tõnisson, a wish to resemble Tõnisson,<sup>3</sup> and individual aspirations of the young were at the other end. The text repeatedly expresses the in-between state, transition, and this condition actually produced most of the leading ideas.

The protagonist of the *Noorte püüded* is an abstraction *the young*, on whose behalf the author seems to speak. Although using the *we*-form, he is nevertheless speaking in his own name, thus drawing a subtle distinction between himself and the young, as if taking a step away from them. The author in the *we*-form does not set himself up as a spokesman for the young; he does not attempt to identify himself with them, not even through his language use. In *Noorte püüded*, the *we*-point of view, or the person using the *we*-form, smoothly moves from the *we* as the entire Estonian people to a *we* as the contemporary era; from the *we* as all the young people to an almost-individual *we*, which probably denotes those young people who shared the views of Young Estonia, thus indicating the vagueness of the same *we*-identity.

Youth itself is an intermediate area: it can include people with gray hair and a youthful spirit (the young old) and exclude (spiritually) old young people. Still, the intermediary state as rhetorical topos grows through repetitions into an even more significant principle in *Noorte püüded*; time, youth, aspirations, and ideals of the young are in-between. Through the best-known maxim in *Noorte püüded* – “Let us be Estonians, but also become Europeans!” – which had established itself in the Estonian cultural consciousness, (young or new) Estonia as a whole is finally fixed in the intermediary area. However, *Noorte püüded* appears to wish to maintain the given state of affairs rather than actually arrive somewhere, to be on the path to the summit rather than at the summit itself. The lines “*We stand at the gates of two states: / one is darkness and the other light. / We, the young, wait with sparkling eyes: / it is coming:* the end

and the beginning!” (*Lõpp ja algus*, [The End and the beginning], Suits 1905c, 6) express the same idea that Tuglas (1905, 73–74) had described as a singularly stimulated searching and a state of choice.

In *Noorte püüded*, Epp Annus (2005, 527ff.) saw a wish to halt the progress of time by abandoning history. Unlike her, Toomas Haug (2004b, 24–25), who focused on the changing poetry of Suits, found a desire to keep the cohesive state of continuity. The fact that continuity, albeit fragmentary and annulling earlier historical views, was nevertheless significant for Young Estonia is evident in their own reconstructed history: sooner or later, all of the central figures of Young Estonia wrote their own literary histories, however different they might be. We should also not forget the two images of creator that ideally suited neo-romanticism and which Young Estonia idealized, the two types of genius: the mentally disturbed Juhan Liiv and the “first Young Estonian”, Kristian Jaak Peterson, who “died the early death of the gods’ favorite, at the age of 21” (Suits 1968, 1570). Both provided the Young Estonia identity with a necessary and new historical dimension. At the same time, their experience shows the relativity of halting time and temporal continuity: rapid movement in time and space, although seemingly constant, can produce a kind of standstill, an impression of staying in the moment or of stopped time.

The disappearance of the diminutive style of writing and verbalizing the aims of the movement were associated with the third change: rejecting pessimism, faith in oneself, and the intertwined belief in the future and the great tasks the future would offer. Precisely this attitude was defined as a new necessary world view, as opposed to skepticism and pessimism.

One of Suits’s first programmatic texts was the introduction to the almanac *Kiired III, Eesti elu või Eesti surm?...* [Estonian life or Estonian death? ...] (1902), whose structure and rhetoric somewhat resemble those of *Noorte püüded*. This too includes descriptions of the elements: the rise and fall of waves, storms, although the waves do not represent a new rise, but blows of destiny attacking the shore (i.e., Estonia’s survival). We also find the image of being in a valley and in fog, but people do not ascend from the valley to conquer mountain tops; rather, they merely manage to “stay in a slightly higher place on a St John’s night” (Suits 1902, 9). A ray of hope is provided by fires, which must thus be kept alive. Hope is only linked with the fatherland and not with the self-realization of the one who keeps the fire going. Despite the rhetorical methods, which seem similar at first glance, the general attitude in the text and the author’s point of view are totally different. *Eesti elu või Eesti surm?* speaks on behalf of an *I*. *Noorte püüded*, on the other hand, uses a *we* with a sliding meaning. *Noorte püüded* identifies with the storm and the gathering waves, seeking support in the elements; the main aim of *Eesti elu või Eesti surm?* is survival, mixed with pessimism: “Like an islet you stand in the huge ocean of the world, my people, an islet, around which tempests have always raged and waves seethed ...” (Suits 1902, 8). *Noorte püüded* enters into dialog with the text of *Kiired*, in order to amend its attitudes, and for the new youth to cast aside the doubts and pessimism of the schoolboys of that time.

Nevertheless, the monadic element is still subjected to the utopian in both texts: an individual’s loftiest aim is to pursue the needs of society and, only through and after

that, to follow ideas that advance him. Something thus exists in the future which is better than the present, but *Noorte püüded* makes no attempt to specify this ideal. Instead, it focuses on *how* to act in the name of the ideal. Some kinds of ideals also lie in the past, namely, nineteenth-century ideas of national awakening, which unfortunately never materialized: “The dreams were pretty and bold, in that great week of creation! ... But the history of Estonian self-consciousness is a story of a summer that never arrived” (Suits 1905a, 11). The synthesis of the past dream and the maxim about becoming European vaguely reveal the ideal of *Noorte püüded*.

The means to achieve the ideal, “our young”, include literature, art and science (Suits 1905a, 6, 18). It is here that the Estonian society sadly lagged behind Western Europe (Suits 1905a, 18). The aim was not, therefore, struggle, which crops up in the text as a promising figure, but creative activity. Due to the rather vague social ideal and the much clearer and more familiar means, the means – creation – became the aim and dedication that was supposed to secure the realization of the future ideal.

2.4. *Noorte püüded* was completed over a long period of time before the revolution erupted in 1905, whereas the lead article *Võitluse päevil* [Days of struggle] (Suits 1905b) was penned at the apex of the revolution and revealed a markedly different attitude. Criticism of the existing literature was here sharper – literature was claimed to have a slave mentality – and expectations for the future were much clearer too: a free social order and a free homeland.

*Võitluse päevil* (Suits 1905b) is more compact, more lucid, and introduces the basic ideas of Marxism on the historical role of industrial development and the proletariat as a social class. The rhetoric of struggle intensifies, although there are few other familiar images describing the aims and activities of the young. One reason might be the disappearance of censorship, but might equally be the alteration in the world view of Suits himself.

Together with the proletarian struggle, which was for the first time conducted on the basis of “scientifically based doctrine” (Suits 1905b, 4), intellectual life changed. However, this led to conviction that art depends on social circumstances. A significant difference between the two texts is how they understand the functions of literature and art: the creative work that in *Noorte püüded* existed in a kind of independent sphere was only supposed to inspire human souls. In the collection *Võitluse päevil*, on the other hand, art acquired an Aristotelian mimetic character and a social function derived from the revolutionary period. After all, how can a writer “remain indifferent to all that oppresses people economically and intellectually” (Suits 1905b, 7)? However, the author immediately realizes how inappropriate to his own wishes this path is, claiming that even during the days of struggle, the poet is “first and foremost a poet and not a politician” (Suits 1905b, 8). An obvious contradiction lingers in this text.

The collection *Võitluse päevil* is characterized by a remarkable spatial emphasis on the author’s name: it is not indicated modestly through initials at the end of the text, but placed in full under the title, and repeated in upper case in the heading. Such a visual explication of authorial position had not occurred in Estonian publications before. The *we* of the main text is also more distinctly delineated: “But we, who

consider ourselves members of the dissatisfied layer, surging upwards, we have the glee of opposition in our blood” (Suits 1905b, 7).

### 3. Aims and Views, Ideals and Utopia

3.1. Among other texts by Young Estonians, the longer piece by Suits, *Kaks ilmavaadet* [Two world views] (Suits 1906, 3–60), discussed Marxism quite thoroughly. Besides the editorials in the almanacs, this was one of the most programmatic texts of that time. Suits did not include it in his book of selected essays titled *Noor-Eesti nõlvakult* [From the slopes of Young Estonia] (1931). The text is, in fact, rather sloppily worded, and although it does not directly say anything about the aesthetic ideals – including the functions of art – of Suits or Young Estonia, it certainly specifies Suits’s social attitudes. In his writing, Suits seems to be following the principle of continuity: his texts grow one out of the other; an unfinished thought in one is developed in the next text, even if it argues against or partly opposes the first one.

In between writing *Noorte püüded* and *Kaks ilmavaadet*, Suits published a short piece called *Vanad ja noored* [The old and the young], which is located between these two both chronologically and substantively (Suits 1905d). Besides the texts by Suits, the young/old opposition is evident in the early-century works of writer and essayist A. H. Tammsaare (1878–1940; see, for example, Andresen 1986). The contemporary reception associated this partly with Russian influences (see, for example, Jõgever 1907). Although the opposition became topical largely due to the revolution, it was on the whole just a general human point of view.

*Kaks ilmavaadet* continues with the topics of Marxism, the old and the young, and expectations of struggle and liberation. New ideas include unwavering support for individualism, the insuperability of the young/old opposition, and its direct connections with new and old world views. Mention should be made of a third shift as well: instead of art, the liberating dominant force became science: “This world view considers science to be the greatest bearer of the idea of liberation” (Suits 1906, p. 8).

*Kaks ilmavaadet* is based on a simple differentiation – the new and the old – thus representing a peculiar pathos of generational determinism. The old inherently carry fading views; they grew up and developed in the Baltic pastoral-bourgeois environment, without ever quite managing to rid themselves of its pockmarks (Suits 1906, 7).

Only “our time” brings forth people who think differently, united by “mistrust of the previous way of thinking” (Suits 1906, 11). The main cause of contemporary changes for Suits was the emergence of a capitalist method of production, although he believed that social-economic alterations led not only to the developing working class, but also to individualism, individual self-awareness and an urge for freedom (Suits 1906, 35). The political and social shift coincided with a cultural transition era, and the revolution certainly had a significant and eye-opening function there (Suits 1906, 4).

Unlike *Noorte püüded*, *Kaks ilmavaadet* thoroughly analyzes the situation that needs to be eliminated. However, what follows the text’s central idea – liberation that unites all aspirations – is not quite clear. The new emerges through the negation of or opposition to the old. Whatever changes in thinking, the oppositions and transformations found in the nineteenth century all focus on “the trinity of the old conservatism –

the czar, faith, and homeland – which are today simply referred to in a more abstract way: morality-lawfulness-nationalism” (Suits 1906, 13, 19).

The author does not find any essential differences between the nineteenth-century ideology of national awakening and the ideas of public figures in the early twentieth century. Culture had been subjected to the Church, whereas later it followed an increasingly moralizing nationalism. According to Suits, Jaan Tõnisson, the leader of the older generation, relied not so much on Christian morals as on Kant’s categorical imperative “you can because you must”: “He sees a person’s greatest freedom in the exhaustive work for the good of society; a sense of duty rules over his freedom” (Suits 1906, 30).

It was apparently the exhausting and occasionally hypocritical work for the public good and the denying of oneself that evoked Suits’s desire for individualism. After all, one of his chief objections to strict Marxism was that in the proletarian state art had been turned into commodity, the urge to create had been forgotten, and there was no personal or artistic freedom (Suits 1906, 60). The new world view recognized the need to produce a human being out of an ‘animal of duties.’ An opportunity to realize the monadic element seemed to be considered an ideal: “This is individualism, an urge for free creation and opportunities for self-expression, which is growing and expanding in Estonia as well” (Suits 1906, 35).

Moralizing and nationalism had to be replaced not just by individualism alone, but by individualism paired with socialism. Suits admitted that there was no uniform Estonian people; it was split into classes and the tensions caused by class differences had to be solved by socialism.

However, a special social layer arose: the intelligentsia and free creators who were provided with individualist freedom. This “something for each” was, for instance, reflected in the remark by Suits:

And the trains rushing across the country, telegraph and telephone posts standing by the road – all these show the progress of a new creative culture in Estonia and have quite the same “revolutionary” meaning to simple country people as Nietzsche or Gorky to intellectuals. (Suits 1906, 47–48)

Suits never mentioned any obligations associated with the new world view. Freedom that had to liberate both individualism and the oppressed classes was, in fact, mutually dependent: individualism was not free when there was no political liberation and suppressed classes still existed.

Similarly, and also unlike Marxism, Suits united nationalism and internationalism. Abandoning their opposition occurred through the inevitability of a certain national belonging, because culture could only be national (Suits 1906, 54). National sentiments were also not connected with morals or duties; rather, they were considered a “simple natural feeling, a human necessity, which can only be as it is and not in any other way” (Suits 1906, 54).

In summary, this text offers at least three significant views. First, *Kaks ilmavaadet* by Suits has been regarded as a pointless attempt to match mutually excluding oppositions, socialism and liberalism (e.g., Puhvel 1969, 344; Karjahärm & Sirk 1997, 269–70). For Suits, indeed, these oppositions did not constitute insuperable



obstacles of the new and old world views, but rather conflicts within the new world view.

In this text, Suits's ideal society has been supplemented by the need for personal freedom, but he decisively rejects Marxism's "beautiful castle in the sky of the future society" (Suits 1906, 58). The still-sketchy thought was developed by Suits in his writing titled *Kultuur ja poliitika* [Culture and politics], which grew out of the lecture series presented at the summer courses of the Estonian Educational Society in 1907. Here, he finalized the idea of the art world's special position, one that is independent of the class struggle within the ideas of socialism (see Suits 1931, 23).

Secondly, the image of ascending the mountain is also logically furthered: the cultivators of flatlands are a nation of serfs, whereas people living in mountains, deserts and other extreme locations are characterized by an inherent desire for freedom (Suits 1906, 22ff.). Still, when new times and aims arrive, it is possible to overcome the state of serfdom; this does not logically lead to a racial determinism – a problem picked up a few years later by Grünthal-Ridala (1913) and somewhat emphasized by Aavik as well.

Third, unlike the state of serfdom, national belonging is inevitable; it is given to us at birth and influences our activity. The connection to nationality, a common language, and history is thus passive, but inescapable. This Humboldt-like view contains the first strong contradiction with Aavik's later language innovation practice (e.g., 1924), which abandoned the idea that a language is a naturally evolving system.

3.2. When we continue to construct the Young Estonia ideal further, we cannot avoid relying on the common features found scattered in different texts: essays, criticism, and fiction.

- (1) First, there was the development of a new social layer, the intelligentsia, which could only happen by creating a suitable semiotic environment. This required a new language for translating high culture, and new types of texts based on that language that would unite the topic of the intelligentsia to the relevant style. Most persistent in that area was Aavik, with his slogan "Our language and literature must become the language and literature of the intelligentsia" (Aavik 1905b, 130) – the total opposite of Jaan Tõnisson's idea:

"The Estonian written language must truly be a language of people. Our literature must be available to all; it must be a literature of people" (*Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi Aastaraamat* 1909, 12).

- (2) The second common feature is the natural-geographical distance of the ideal from Estonia. This is evident in the rhetoric of the programmatic texts, in the poetry at the time of Suits's first collection, *Elu tuli* [The fire of life] (1905), and in the fiction of other authors.

A recurrent metaphor is the image of climbing a mountain. This is programmatic, with a hint of Nietzsche in the background, but the association of verticality with consciousness, social condition and evaluation is certainly a wider principle that organizes structures of thought.<sup>4</sup> Climbing a mountain blends with the ideas of rising waves, ascending in general and especially to the skies.



The dominant, characteristic figures of speech in the texts and opinions of different researchers vary. Nigol Andresen considered the figure of mountains episodic and stressed the stormy sea and one's own island (Andresen 1983, 8–14). Toomas Haug, on the other hand, developed the topic of mountains, drawing parallels between Italy, the Alps and southern countries that replaced the previous mythological ideal place *Kungla* (Haug 2004b, 29–34).

The third temporal-spatial ideal location is the Northern Land, *Põhjala* (for example, in Suits's collection of poetry *Elu tuli*, 1905c). The earlier ideal place – *Kungla* – located in a dreamy past, was separated by temporal distance; the Northern Land was separated spatially, and ancient Italy lay at both a temporal and spatial distance. What matters in all three is emphatically placing the ideal, which is marked only with its name, far away; it is not at an accessible distance, either spatially or temporally. The socio-cultural ideal is therefore framed by the romantic nature rhetoric, which emphasizes dissatisfaction with the existing situation and also the distance and impossibility of the same ideal.

- (3) A third common feature is the distinctive request for cosmological entirety: the text and all its parts had to be subjected to the same principles; form and content had to correspond to each other, and the style had to be in accord with the narrative and characters. An artistic whole, emerging from the tensions of dissonance or multilingualism, was excluded (see Aavik 1907b, 1908b). Let us recall that a suitably developed language was able to develop only in literature that dealt with intellectual topics and was directed at intellectuals.

One incentive for Tuglas to write his first long essay, *Põrgu väravas* [At the gates of Hell] (1908), was the unsuitable ending of the national epic *Kalevipoeg* [Kalev's son]:

The last page of the epic ruins much of the general impression of the work, because it ignores the rules of creative artistic work .... The higher art rises, the more it moves towards inner harmony and formal symmetry, trying to provide a typically artistic, rounded, final link that is independent of all relations inside the work. (Tuglas 1908, 265)

Similar principles are developed further in Tuglas's essay on Vilde and Peterson (see 1909, 110). Entirety was achieved by the unity of the expression plane and the content plane, form and content. The beautiful form of the text had to be not just linguistic, but also visual. The entire environment, including different arts and spheres of human activity, had to be compact and harmonious as well. Such an all-embracing project was typical of the late nineteenth-century/early twentieth-century world view, e.g., in Art Nouveau's aspiration for totality.

The most radical orientation toward the future and a desire for the new was represented by Johannes Aavik. Unlike Suits and Tuglas (e.g., the short story *Oma päikese poole* [Toward our own sun] (1905), Aavik did not heroize struggle, but instead focused on the ideal of the future itself. Above all, we should mention Aavik's linguistic innovation, which produced the foundation for a new communicative system. First, the means of creating texts – language – had to be perfected, and thus the style and texts would be perfected as well (e.g., Aavik 1905b, 1907b).

A kind of end-point of the ideal was J. Randvere's (Johannes Aavik's) treatise–short story "Ruth" (Aavik 1909), where an ideal woman is presented. Here the monadic principle is realized, and the demand for harmony is developed fully. "Ruth" displays the accord of the male and female principles, the co-existence of different kinds of art and science, summarizing and blending all the urges typical of Young Estonia.

#### 4. Discussion

Truth, Reality (they write it with a capital letter, as if it were the name of an evil divinity) is for them ... an inferior concept, hostile through and through, humiliating and detaining. They all create a new world of their own beside it or above it; whether like Randvere, who constructs his über-woman member by member, or relying on the fantastic, as does Tuglas, or on the ancient, beyond the seas, as in Ridala. (Aino Kallas 1921, 30)

4.1. The above shows that the earlier texts of Young Estonia did not present a clearly and fully developed ideal, although there are fragments of the ideal in Tuglas's and Aavik's desire for wholeness, in Suits's in-betweenness, in the opposition to the existing conditions (the slave mentality, and blind surrender to the existing rules of morality) and in romantic figures of speech (stormy sea, island, mountaintop, Kungla, the Northern Land and Italy).

These elements can be gathered into four groups:

- (1) the ideal is not the realization of the interests of the existing class/group (e.g., workers or young people), but it emerges as something totally new, in between the opposing interests, i.e., as a new social group, the intelligentsia;
- (2) a clear temporal and spatial distance of the ideal, and reaching it, inevitably becomes a constant state of being on the way;
- (3) the semiotic totality of the ideal, which presupposes its 'foundation' from the most primary basis, language;
- (4) the harmony and entirety of the ideal: a kind of cosmological unity of social classes, the cultural sphere, the text and its parts.

Not all ideals and utopias were shaped in the early stage of Young Estonia and the utopian ideas formulated in the early period – 1905–1907– were naturally developed further in subsequent years. Suits (1918) realized one possibility in his later idea of an Estonian republic of work; Grünthal-Ridala did the same by associating the ideas of breed and nation to surpass the slave mentality (Ridala 1913), and Aavik in building language, the basis of his total semiotic project (e.g., 1924). The activity of marginal Young Estonia members could be added here as well: Bernhard Linde's ceaseless efforts in realizing a Young Estonian art world, Peeter Ruubel's (1918) social ideals, Rudolf Lesta's urban utopias (see Haug 2006), and Jaan Sarv's (1913) concepts of creative science, which are connected with the principle of beauty.

4.2. Let us now return to the utopian and monadic principle presented at the beginning of the article. The main features of Young Estonia's aesthetic and social ideal can be associated with a utopian way of thinking, and direct parallels emerge with the

views of two authors mentioned earlier in the article, Karl Mannheim and Louis Marin.

Karl Mannheim's theory rests on the opposition of ideology and utopia. Ideology serves the interests of the ruling class and justifies and secures the existing social system. Utopia, on the other hand, expresses the interests of the lower class, containing a set of ideas that criticize and try to change the existing system (Mannheim 1936, 49ff.). Mannheim's utopia is therefore directed towards the future, and his ideology towards the past. For the current topic, however, Mannheim's attempt to limit the concept of utopia is more important. Utopian thinking does not fit into the real situation where it occurs, and which Mannheim calls topia: "the road of history leads from one topia over a utopia to the next topia, etc." (Mannheim 1936, 198). Not all ways of thinking that distance themselves from reality, however, can be regarded as utopian, but "only those orientations transcending reality will be referred to by us as utopian which, when they pass over into conduct, tend to shatter, either partially or wholly, the order of things prevailing at the time" (Mannheim 1936, p. 192). For example, the medieval paradise was located outside society, in a sphere beyond history, and the idea of paradise was still an integrated part of the medieval society and its ideology, but not a utopia (Mannheim 1936, 193). This point of view again confirms the differences between the aforementioned escapism and utopia.

According to Mannheim, the articulation of utopias, and thus the innovation of society, was associated with the emergence of a free-floating intelligentsia. Although the priesthood, for example, could be included in the intelligentsia, the priesthood was nevertheless static and directly linked with securing the monopoly of the existing order (Mannheim 1936, 11, 156; cf. also Heeren 1971; Loader 1997; Mendel 2006). Mannheim's views thus resembled those of the possible role of the intelligentsia expressed in Young Estonians' first texts, and also emphasized the significance of the intelligentsia as a new social group that advanced the whole society. Another touching point is the distancing of the ideal from the surrounding reality: all of Young Estonians' ideal places stressed the impossibility of realizing them in Estonia.

Without directly relying on Mannheim, similar ideas were developed by Louis Marin, presenting an even more suitable association with Young Estonia's search for ideals. Marin also represented the trend which tried to restrict the concept of utopia, rather than expanding it. According to Marin, society was mature enough to create utopias only at the beginning of modern history, when the bourgeoisie and capitalist method of production emerged (Marin 1984, 198). So, Thomas More was able to write his *Utopia* only then and not before: "Utopian discourse occupies the empty – historically empty – place of the historical resolution of a contradiction" (Marin 1984, p. xiii).

Invading empty space is an even more significant principle, because the utopian discourse is the "zero level" of the dialectic synthesis of the opposites: "It edges its way in between the contraries and thus is the discursive expression of the *neutral* (defined as 'neither one, nor the other' of the contraries)" (Marin 1984, xiii; cf. also Marin 1993, 404ff). More's *Utopia* is neither England nor America, neither the Old nor the New World, but an area in between them; utopia is indeed located as a seeming neutrality somewhere between no and yes, true and false, the present and the future. A utopian discourse, however, does not resolve antinomies, does not offer synthesis, but instead

stages “an imaginary (or fictional) solution to the contradiction. It is the simulacrum of the synthesis” (Marin 1984, xiii).

Existing in between, in the intermediate area, was, however, exactly what characterized Suits’s programmatic prose and poetry. It created not a clearly expressed utopia, but still promised it through struggle and waiting for the new. Andresen drew parallels between the old/young opposition of A. H. Tammsaare and Suits, whereas Marin’s train of thought seems to be confirmed by Tammsaare’s repeated use of the birth of a child as a symbol for atonement. In the short story *Vanad ja noored* [Old and young] (1903), the child who is born when Kaarel is dying justifies the latter’s aspirations and reconciles the generations (see Andresen 1986, 32). In the same manner, Sauna-Eevi’s son Villu reconciles the opposites in the novel *Kõrboja peremees* [The master of Kõrboja] (1922). The new ideal does not take sides, but remains between the two opposites, making use of the resources of both knowledge and experience.

Utopianism can only emerge via the clear-cut externalization of the ideal. This means that there must be a distinctly perceived difference between the real and ideal, and the ideal sphere must be filled with tension by distance, which can be crossed only with difficulty.

## Conclusions

The activities of the members of Young Estonia and their contemporaries were mostly connected to the principle of utopian culture-making. Among the members, the cultural figures of the older generation often represented a pessimistic utopia, expressed during the Russification period as opposition and an urge to preserve; at least on the basis of their writing, Young Estonians believed in the realization of a new, positive world view.

At least from 1906 on, starting with *Kaks ilmavaadet*, the ideal society according to Suits also contained a monadic principle, or the selfish independence of the creative person. Aavik’s ideal focused on developing one layer of society, the intelligentsia, and on the methods to achieve this: nothing emerges by itself, and the new better world must be built from scratch, starting from its semiotic foundation, language. Everything created before is not worth much and the existing culture is imperfect. Somewhere beyond, after this construction work, the next stage of the ideal might take shape: the creator’s self-sufficient monadic perfection, as in Randvere’s “Ruth”.

Some alterations took place in the views of Young Estonia during the examined period, but there was no radical change. The change occurred inside the utopian principle, and did not involve its replacement with the monadic dominant. Here, the dominant aspect moved from the purely utopian, self-denying principle towards the monadic. This is evident in the disappearance of the phrase “we need consensus” in Young Estonia texts or, more precisely, its transformation into a wish for individual freedom. At least in earlier texts, individual freedom was still firmly connected with social freedom.

Individual freedom could only be achieved via class freedom. The utopian intermediary area of Gustav Suits, the emerging desire of Tuglas for total perfection, and the semiotic aesthetics of Aavik and Grünthal as the guarantee of its inevitable

foundation all joined in the aspiration for a society where the monadic principle would be realized as well. However, this was not only the freedom of traditional oppressed classes, workers and peasants, but also the development of a totally new social layer – the intelligentsia and especially artists. The main aim of the members of Young Estonia, as they moved towards monadic freedom, was to create a compact cultural sphere, a world of art, and in that aim they moved in unison with other contemporary cultural activities. A society that made it possible to also develop to perfection the principle of monadic culture-making thus became ideal.

## Acknowledgements

This research was supported by the targeted research financing program of the Estonian Ministry of Science and Education (SF0030054s08).

## Notes

- 1 For example, we could cite Gustav Suits's concluding words in the *Young Estonia* magazine as one of the first summaries of Young Estonia's activities from an insider's point of view (1910/1911); this summary mentions the same five names as the "leading spirits of Young Estonia" (see also Ruutsoo 1986, 210, 213).
- 2 See, for example, Aavik's letter to Tuglas from 27 May 1909: "Right, your pseudonym is thus Tuglas. Pseudonyms seem to be quite fashionable, at least in our literature. Hansen is Tammsaare, Hubel is Metsanurk, you are Tuglas, I am Randvere. And there are others .... We now need Suits and Grünthal to put on masks as well, especially the latter, because I don't think his German name suits an Estonian poet. It is a pity that we have names such as Peterson, Bornhöhe and Vilde, with their foreign form and sound upsetting our national character" (Vihma 1990, p. 17).
- 3 This is also evident in Suits's frequent need to analyze Tõnisson's person and activities, which conceals a wish to oppose (and via that a wish to become free), and also in his wish from an earlier period to identify with Tõnisson. Two writings should be compared: the long analysis of Tõnisson in the essay *Kaks ilmavaadet* [Two world views], which seem to have led to the demand for individualist freedom (Suits 1906, 29–34), and the "speech of fratricide" in 1913 against Tõnisson (see Haug 2004a). The view on earlier identification is also presented by Toomas Haug (2004a, 75).
- 4 Compare George Lakoff's orientation metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 14–19; Lakoff 1987, 283).

## References

- Aavik, J. 1905a. "Gustav Suits: Elu tuli." *Postimees*, 18 November.
- Aavik, J. 1905b. "Eesti kirjakeele täiendamise abinõudest." In *Noor Eesti I*, 114–31. Tartu: Kirjanduse Sõprade kirjastus.
- Aavik, J. 1907a. "Prantsuse kirjanduse iseäraldused." "*Uue Virulase*" *lisa*, 16 June, 36; "*Säde*" *lisa*, 19 June, 1; 23 June, 2; 30 June, 3.

- Aavik, J. 1907b. "Rütmus ja riim." *Meie Aastasada*, 17 July, 11; 18 July, 12.
- Aavik, J. 1908a. "Vaatlused Soome uuema kirjanduse üle." *Kirjandus ja Teadus*. "Õiguse" hinnata kaasanne, 7–12.
- Aavik, J. 1908b. "Psühholoogialik roman Eesti kirjanduses." *Kirjandus ja Teadus*. "Õiguse" hinnata kaasanne, 39–40.
- Aavik, J. [Randvere, J.] 1909. "Ruth." In *Noor-Eesti III*, 18–74. Tartu: Noor-Eesti.
- Aavik, J. 1924. *Keeleuuenduse äärmised võimalused*. Tartu: Istandik.
- Andresen, N. 1983. *Suits ja tuli. Uurimusi ja artikleid*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.
- Andresen, N. 1986. "Noorte ja vanade vastuolude motiive A. H. Tammsaarel." In *Paar sammukest eesti kirjanduse uurimise teed. Uurimusi XI*, 31–38. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.
- Annus, E. 2005. "Noorte püüded ja rõõmus ajalugu: Gustav Suits ja Friedrich Nietzsche." *Keel ja Kirjandus* 7: 526–34.
- Bakhtin, M. M. [1937–1938] 1981. "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes Toward a Historical Poetics." In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by M. M. Bakhtin and M. Holquist. Translated by C. Emerson and M. Holquist, 84–258. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Bloch, E. 1986. *The Principle of Hope*. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Boccaccio. 1972. *The Decameron*. Translated with an introduction by G. H. McWilliam. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- De Raad, B. 2009. "Structural Models of Personality." In *The Cambridge Handbook of Personality Psychology*, edited by P. J. Corr and G. Matthews. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi Aastaraamat I*. 1909. Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Selts.
- Foucault, M. [1969] 1998. "What Is an Author?" In *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, Vol. 2, edited by J. D. Faubion, 205–22. New York: The New Press.
- Genette, G. 1997. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grünthal-Ridala, V. 1913. "Tõu küsimus." In *Eesti Kultura III*, edited by V. Reiman, 199–363. Tartu: Postimees.
- Haug, T. 2004a. "Isad ja pojad. Gustav Suitsu kõne Jaan Tõnissonist aastal 1913." In *Troojamäe tõotus*, 73–95. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.
- Haug, T. 2004b. "Kustas ja Villem sajandi algul." In *Troojamäe tõotus*, 24–40. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.
- Haug, T. 2006. "Nooreestlane Rudolf Lesta." In *Noor-Eesti 100. Kriitilisi ja võrdlevaid tagasivaateid*, edited by E. Lindsalu, 70–85. Tallinn: TLÜ Kirjastus.
- Heeren, J. 1971. "Karl Mannheim and the Intellectual Elite." *The British Journal of Sociology* 22 (1): 1–15.
- Hennoste, T. 2005. "'Noor-Eesti' manifest teiste kirjandusmanifestide taustal." *Looming* 5: 746–54.
- Hennoste, T. 2006. "Hüpped modernismi poole II: 20. sajandi eesti kirjandusteadus Euroopa kirjandusteaduse taustal. 5. loeng: Noor-Eesti ja positivism." *Vikerkaar* 9: 78–93.
- Hinrikus, M., ed. 2006. *J. Randvere "Ruth" 19.–20. sajandi vahetuse kultuuris*. Tallinn: Eesti TA Underi ja Tuglase Kirjanduskeskus.
- Jameson, F. 2004. "The Politics of Utopia." *New Left Review* 25: 35–54.
- Jameson, F. 2005. *Archaeologies of the Future*. London: Verso.

- Jõgever, J. 1907. "G. Suitsu katse 19. aastasaja hariduslisi ja ühiselulisi voolusid Eestis ära märkida." *Eesti Kirjandus* 4: 58–59.
- Kallas, A. 1921. *Noor-Eesti. Näopildid ja sihtjooned*. Tartu: Noor-Eesti [in Finnish 1918].
- Karjahärm, T., and Sirk, V. 1997. *Eesti haritlaskonna kujunemine ja ideed 1850–1917*. Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus.
- Lakoff, G., and Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levitas, R. 2010. *The Concept of Utopia*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Lindsalu, E., ed. 2006. *Noor-Eesti 100: kriitilisi ja võrdlevaid tagasivaateid*. Tallinn: TLÜ Kirjastus.
- Loader, C. 1997. "Free Floating: The Intelligentsia in the Work of Alfred Weber and Karl Mannheim." *German Studies Review* 20 (2): 217–34.
- Mannheim, K. 1936. *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. San Diego, CA: Harvest.
- Marin, L. 1984. *Utopics: The Semiological Play of Textual Spaces*. Translated by R. Vollrath. New York: Humanity Books.
- Marin, L. 1993. "Frontiers of Utopia: Past and Present." *Critical Inquiry* 19 (3): 397–420.
- Mendel, I. 2006. "Mannheim's Free-Floating Intelligentsia: The Role of Closeness and Distance in the Analysis of Society." *Studies in Social and Political Thought* 12: 30–52.
- Methis. 2008. *Noor-Eesti kümme aastat: esteetika ja tähendus*. Special issue of *Methis. Studia humaniora Estonica* 1/2.
- Monticelli, D. 2006. "Keeleuendus ja tõlkimine Noor-Eesti kultuurilise utopia raames. Villem Ridala tõlgitud 'Süütu' näitel." *Keel ja Kirjandus* 5: 379–86; 6: 477–90.
- More, T. 1976. *Utopia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Mumford, L. 1922. *The Story of Utopias*. New York: Boni and Liveright.
- Noor Eesti I. 1905. Tartu: Kirjanduse Sõprade kirjastus.
- Noor-Eesti II*. 1907. Tartu: Noor-Eesti – Kirjanduse Sõprade väljaanne.
- Noor-Eesti III*. 1909. Tartu: Noor-Eesti.
- Plato. 2001. *The Republic*, edited by G. R. F. Ferrari. Translated by T. Griffith. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Polak, F. 1961. *The Image of the Future*. 2 vols. Leyden: Sijthoff.
- Puhvel, H., ed. 1969. *Eesti kirjanduse ajalugu. III köide. XIX sajandi lõpust 1917. aastani*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.
- Ricoeur, P. 1986. *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ruubel, P. 1918. "Noor-Eesti ja poliitika." In *Kümme aastat. Noor-Eesti 1905–1915*, 48–61. Tartu: Noor-Eesti.
- Ruutsoo, R. 1986. "Bernhard Linde ja 'Noor-Eesti'." *Keel ja Kirjandus* 4: 209–20.
- Sarapik, V. 2003. "\_topias and Islands." In *Place and Location: Studies in Environmental Aesthetics and Semiotics III*, edited by V. Sarapik and K. Tüür, 107–28. Tallinn: Estonian Academy of Arts. Accessed 10 January 2011. [http://www.eki.ee/km/place/koht\\_3.htm](http://www.eki.ee/km/place/koht_3.htm)
- Sarv, J. 1913. "Ilu teaduses [kõnekoosoleku protokoll]." In *Eesti Kirjanikkude Seltsi "Noor-Eesti" Aastaraamat 1/1912*, 35. Tartu: Noor-Eesti.
- Suits, G. 1902. [S–s.] "Eesti elu või Eesti surm?.." In *Kiired III*, 7–9. Tartu: Kirjanduse Sõprade kirjastus.



- Suits, G. 1905a. ["Noor Eesti" toim] "Noorte püüded. Üksikud mõtted meie oleviku kohta." in *Noor Eesti I*, 3–19. Tartu: Kirjanduse Sõprade kirjastus.
- Suits, G. 1905b. "Võitluse päivil." In *Võitluse päivil*, 4–8. Tartu: Noor-Eesti.
- Suits, G. 1905c. *Elu tuli. Laulud 1900–1904*. Helsinki: Yrjö Weilin.
- Suits, G. 1905d. = Spectator. 1905. "Vanad ja noored." *Uudised*, 3 February.
- Suits, G. 1906. *Sihid ja vaated*. Helsinki: Yrjö Weilin.
- Suits, G. 1907a. "Kultura ja poliitika." *Elu*, 24 July, 58; 27 July, 59; 1 August, 60; 3 August, 61; 18 August, 65.
- Suits, G. 1907b. "Aino Kallas. Ants Raudjalg. Eesti jutustus." *Elu*, 22 December, 110; 24 December, 111; 28 December, 112; 31 December, 114.
- Suits, G. 1908. "Die estnische Literatur." In *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, edited by P. Hinneberg, I, Vol. IX. Die osteuropäischen Literaturen und die slavischen Sprachen. Berlin: Teubner.
- Suits, G. 1910/1911. "Lõpusõna." *Noor-Eesti* 5/6: 637–41.
- Suits, G., ed. 1918. *Eesti Töövabariik. Eesti Sotsialistide Revolutsioonäride Partei märgukiri Eesti iseseisvuse küsimuses*. Tallinn: Töö ja Võitlus.
- Suits, G. 1931. *Noor-Eesti nõlvakult. Kahe revolutsiooni vahel*. Tartu: Noor-Eesti.
- Suits, G. [1908]1968. "Eesti kirjandus." *Looming* 10: 1564–76.
- Tuglas, F. 1905. = Mihkelson, F. 1905. "Ühe luuletuste-kogu puhul." In *Võitluse päivil*, 69–74. Tartu: Noor-Eesti.
- Tuglas, F. 1908. = Mihkelson, F. 1908. "Põrgu väravas. Parallelid." *Eesti Kirjandus*, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.
- Tuglas, F. 1909. "Eduard Vilde ja Ernst Peterson." In *Noor-Eesti III*, 113–94. Tartu: Noor-Eesti.
- Tuglas, F. 1933. "Noor-Eesti algajult. Gustav Suitsu 50-nenda sünnipäeva puhul." *Looming* 9: 1019–25.
- Turner, C. 2003. "Mannheim's Utopia Today." *History of the Human Sciences* 16 (1): 27–47.
- Vihma, H., ed. 1990. *Kultuurilugu kirjapeeglis. Johannes Aaviku & Friedebert Tuglase kirjavahetus*. Tallinn: Valgus.
- Võitluse päivil. 1905. Tartu: Noor-Eesti.
- Wegner, P. 2002. *Imaginary Communities: Utopia, the Nation, and the Spatial Histories of Modernity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

---

**Virve Sarapik** is a senior researcher in culture studies at Estonian Literary Museum and Estonian Academy of Arts, Estonia. Her research interests include the relations between pictorial and verbal representation, visual culture, and the problems of mimesis. She is editor-in-chief of the academic journal *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi* (Studies on Art and Architecture). (virve.sarapik@artun.ee)

---